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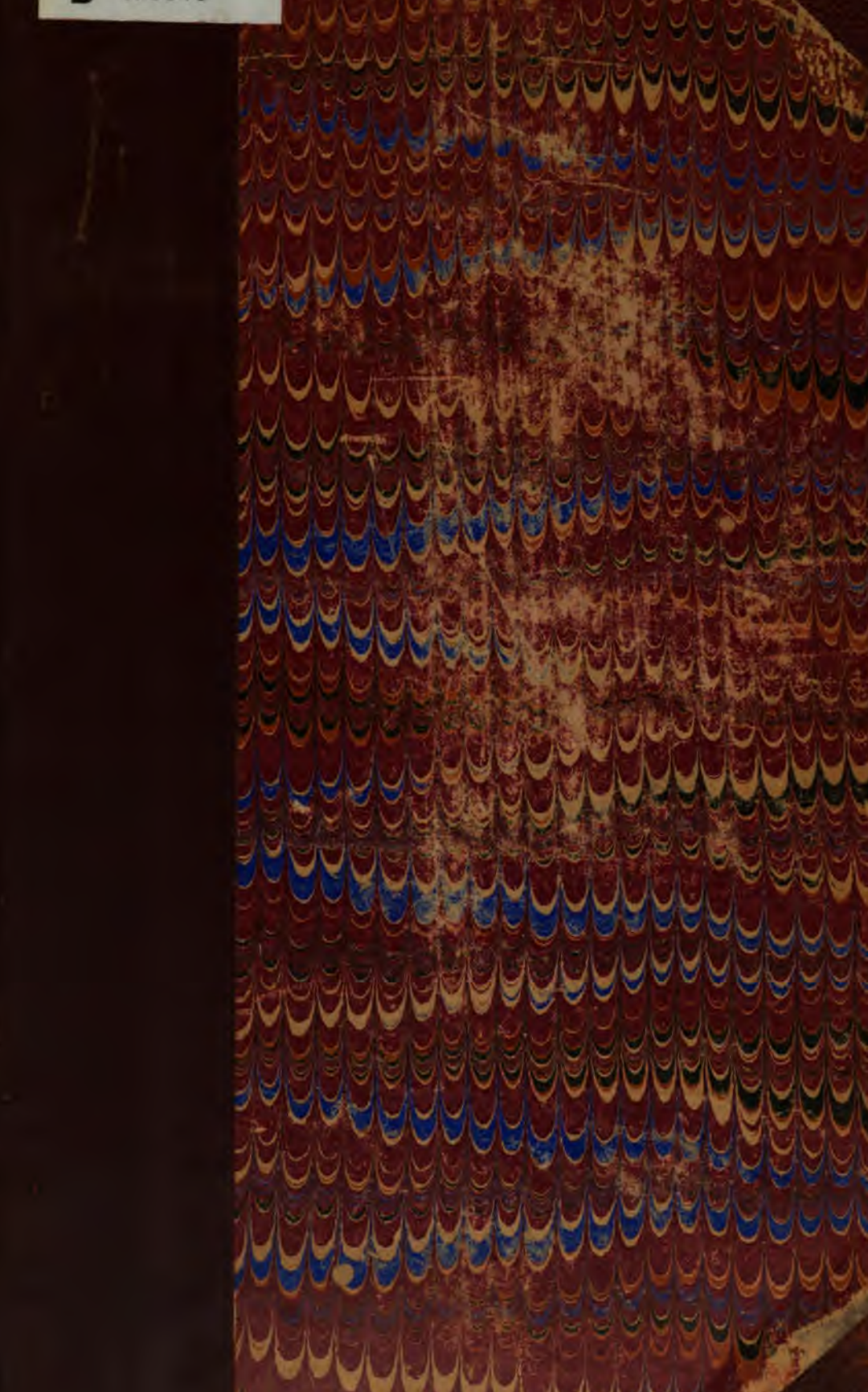

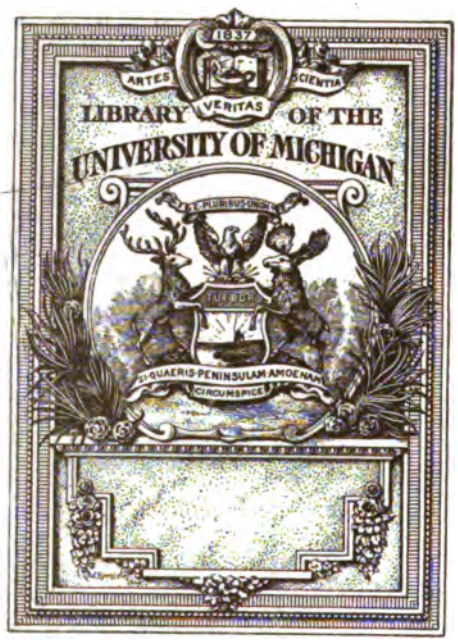
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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

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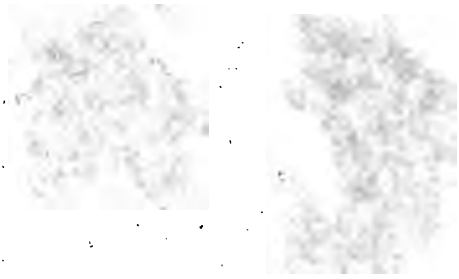

METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1887.

ART. I.—THE FUTURE OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM.

AT one of our Lord's latest interviews with his disciples, after his resurrection and before his ascension, he assured them that he had been endowed with all authority (ἐξουσία, executive authorization) "in heaven and in earth." This gift of power —the Father's commission—related to our Lord's Messianic work, and it was here referred to in respect to the command that immediately followed its declaration. All that had been done was in some sense preparatory to the aggressive movement now to be inaugurated. The extent of the campaign then to be undertaken is indicated by the words "all nations"—the whole human race, and also its continuance—to the completion of the gospel age. And with this order to go forward, came the assurance that the divine Leader would himself accompany the expedition. It was to be a royal procession, going forward with conquering power to recover a revolted and alienated kingdom.

The movement for the reconquest of the world (τῆς γῆς, the world of mankind) was not then first undertaken; it had been decreed from the beginning, and something of its methods had been intimated as early as the day of the first act of disobedience, and the divine dispensation revealed in the Old Testament was itself a part of the one great work of redemption. But the proclamation of the coming of "the kingdom of heaven," by John the Baptist, and by Christ himself through his disciples, indicated the undertaking of a new and more aggressive manifestation of Christ's work in our world. That

work, as then announced, comprised especially the fuller revelation of the divine purposes, and the actual setting in order of the agencies for the accomplishment of the work intended—the marshaling of the invading host (the offering of the required sacrifice having been made), for all which Christ's exaltation at the right hand of the Father was a necessary provision.

When our Lord ascended up on high, he by no means retired from actively participating in the work of conquering the world to himself: rather, like a wise military commander when about to assail the enemy's ramparts, he assumed a position from which he might more effectively direct and sustain his advancing sacramental hosts. He sat down at the Father's right hand, not to rest, but in intensest activity; "from henceforth expecting" τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκδεχόμενος—awaiting the assured sequel, the complete subjection of his enemies. The agencies on the human side by which the work was to be effected were the preaching of the Gospel and the ministrations of Christian discipline; on the divine side, they were God's all-controlling providence and the efficient operations of the Holy Spirit, which were assured to continue *always*—ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος—to the end of the gospel dispensation.

The stages through which the processes of the Gospel must pass before the consummation of the æon are only very generally indicated in the prophecies of the New Testament. So much as is given has been taken up by those who have shaped the religious thinking of Christendom, and these things, supplemented by rabbinical and pagan fancies, have formed the mythico-Christian conceptions bequeathed to us from the dark ages of the Church. At the earliest times there seems to have prevailed among the disciples a persistent expectation that the ascended Christ would very soon come back again to the earth in his human body, to abide and to re-establish in perpetuity the throne of David. This was the form taken by the still-surviving expectation, so often expressed by our Lord's followers during his earthly life-time, that the Messiah would come to Israel to assert and maintain universal and endless dominion. That this was the expectation of the disciples during our Lord's ministry, in common with that of the whole Jewish people respecting the Messiah, is manifest; nor did Christ's death and resurrection and ascension remove that expectation. Just

before he was separated from them and received up into heaven, they—unmindful of his declaration to Pilate, that his kingdom was not of this world—were asking him, "Dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" His answer seems to indicate that he would divert their thoughts from that subject as impertinent and misleading, and direct them to that which lay immediately before them—the coming of the Comforter, and their own work to be accomplished under his inspiration and leadership.

The angelic messengers who stood with the disciples as they gazed upward after their ascended Lord, reassured them that his departure was not to be final, but that he would come to them again. Just how this was understood by those who heard it may not be obvious beyond question; it is, however, quite certain that according to the prevalent merely human conception of the nature of Christ's kingdom, it soon came to be accepted as a promise that the ascended Christ would shortly return again to the earth. From this soon grew up the expectation of the Second Advent—a literal and sensible coming again in his proper bodily person—which it was also believed was likely, and almost sure, to occur within a very brief period. How largely this expectation was entertained by the apostles, is a question that has been variously answered. Judged by their words, it would seem to be clearly manifest that they fully accepted it; but to so suppose would imply their fallibility, though not necessarily in respect to any vital Christian doctrine. It is, however, quite certain that this expectation was rife in the Church at a very early date; and through the succeeding eighteen hundred years to the present time it has continued to prevail; and though perpetual disappointments have been the steady result, yet the fixed hope continues, and each successive generation—nearly every decade, indeed—has had its appointment for the coming day.

With the notion of the Second Advent has been very closely connected, in the popular eschatology, that of the Millennium, the expectation that the restored "Son of Man" will set up his kingdom, a political state, which is to continue a thousand years. The scriptural basis for such an expectation is the narrowest possible, consisting only of a single very brief expression in one of the least understood parts of the Apocalypse, in the inter-

pretation of which scarcely any two authorities are agreed. Among those who profess to believe in the Millennium as something to be realized under the gospel dispensation there are the widest possible differences of opinion in respect to its time, and also as to its nature and purposes. There is no agreement about the conditions antecedent to its inauguration, nor as to its date in the world's calendar, nor how long it shall continue, nor what shall come after it. Some would make its years simply those measured by the sun's circuit; others would make them "prophetical years," accounting a solar year as one day, and so stretching the Millennium to three hundred and sixty-five thousand solar years; and still others more cautiously prefer to understand the round period as only a general expression for an extended but undefined term of existence. The popular ideas respecting the whole subject of the Millennium is unusually indefinite and obscure, being little else than the notion of a good time to be realized in the course of events, usually referred to more than half in jest, and for the most part represented as being anticipated by a continuous process of moral and social betterments; and the season itself is usually spoken of as preeminently one of peace and good will among men. The nations shall cease from wars, the lion and lamb shall lie down together, and the elements shall have no power to hurt or destroy.

The forms in which the notions of the Second Advent and of the Millennium have been held at various times and by different parties, have been widely various and often entirely irreconcilable. Since the lapse of time has compelled the abandonment of the early expectation that Christ was about to come very soon, many of the most sober exegetes have discountenanced all attempts to determine the time of the Second Advent, holding that, agreeably to Acts i, 7, no revelation has been made of the date of that event—perhaps not to Christ himself, certainly not to any others. But this view has not been generally accepted by the great body of those who make most of the expectation of that event, and who are generally inclined to fix it in the not remote future. So, too, as to what shall be the character of the expected Millennium, and who shall have part in it, there seems to be no settled conviction, and especially whether it will be preceded by an increasing career of conquest by the Church, or on the contrary, that it

shall burst upon the world in its growing sinfulness, to destroy the workers of iniquity. The former notion seems to prevail among those who only follow the superficial thinking of the multitude; but with those who have most seriously emphasized their convictions, the latter view has chiefly prevailed. So St. Bernard of Cluny begins his celebrated hymn on "The Celestial Country" by recognizing the fact that

> "The world is very evil, the times are waxing late;
> Be sober, and keep vigil, the Judge is at the gate."

Modern Adventists appear to generally accept this pessimistic view, and to contemplate with a truculent satisfaction the temporary overflowing of ungodliness that is to be suddenly reversed and avenged at the nearly approaching "crack of doom."

Christian literature, both Catholic and Protestant, is at nearly every point deeply tinged with these adventist and millenarian conceptions, sometimes definitely stated and elaborately defended, but more commonly assumed without definite statement or rational proof. In specifically devotional literature, both prose and poetry, they are used as objects of faith and hope, and as incentives to watchfulness. In scriptural exegesis they serve as keys with which to unlock mysteries, and in some systems of theology they are as hewn stones prepared to the hands of the builders with which to construct their edifices, whether of truth or fable. The language of the Bible has for fifteen hundred years been read and interpreted under the dominating influence of these conceptions; and meanings have been given to words and phrases which could not have been thought of but for such preconceptions.

In some way connected with the Second Advent and the Millennium in the popular thinking is the coming forth from their hiding places of the dead bodies of men, but whether at the "Second Coming," and the beginning of the "Millennium," or at its close, it is not agreed. Some, taking advantage of a single and very obscure passage, which speaks of a "first resurrection," infer that at Christ's "coming" all the righteous dead—though some say only the martyrs—will be raised up, to live and reign with him during the Millennium, and that at the end of that period all others will be raised and brought to the "judgment." Scarcely any other article of the popular creed

is more generally accepted than that at some time in the future there is to be for every one a calling to account. The mythological notion of the Nemesis and the scriptural doctrine of retribution are no doubt alike the outgrowth of a universal intuition; and out of this, enforced by the words of Scripture, has grown up in the Christian consciousness the assurance of divine judgment and compensation; and because the final adjustment is contemplated as future, it is spoken of as the "day of judgment," the "day of the Lord," and "that day." This conception of the divine presence in men's affairs is alike sublime and terrible; it is also wholesome as to its moral and religious lessons; and it is only what might be expected, that it should often be presented in the teachings of holy Scripture, and that its solemn progress should be described in language suitable to its awful grandeur, and set forth in the glowing and poetic imagery of prophecy. The strange thing about the matter is, that this imagery should have been translated into cold and literal matters of fact.

It seems needful, therefore, to re-examine this whole subject, with an ever-present conviction that the traditional acceptation of the words and phrases used to sustain the traditional conceptions respecting the future of the kingdom of Christ, should not be conceded except at the requirement of an intelligent and fearless, as well as reverent, criticism. Until emancipated from the thraldom of popular preconceptions, no one is qualified to inquire what the Scriptures do teach respecting the things that must *shortly*, ἐν τάχει, in order or regular course, come to pass. Something of this kind will be attempted, at a few points out of many, in the following pages of this paper.

The words addressed to the disciples immediately after the ascension will first be examined, for on that passage more than on any other one the advocates of a literal and bodily second coming of Christ are accustomed to rely. It is in these words: "This Jesus, which was received up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye beheld him going into heaven." Such an assurance so given, even if it only indicated that the now departed Jesus would come again to his disciples, was timely and very needful. The hope of the establishment of Messiah's kingdom was the dream of the age and the nation, and especially had it become the aspiration of our Lord's dis-

ciples, cherished and intensified by their years of association with him. That hope was sadly shaken when he announced to them his approaching decease, but it was partially restored by the promise that he would come again to them. It seems to have died with Christ's death and burial, but to have revived again, but not unmixed with bewildered perplexity of thought, with his resurrection. And now at this interview, which proved to be the last, they fondly asked if indeed he would then set up his kingdom. His ascension in their sight, after a parting word of command, still further deferred their hopes and seemed to call for the most certain words of assurance, and so the "two men in white apparel" were at hand to repeat to them the promise before given, that he would come to them again.

It is claimed that this promise indicated not only the fact that Christ would return, but also described the manner and circumstances of his coming again. Our English Bible, in both the old and the new versions, says that his return shall be "*so* and *in like manner*, as ye beheld him going into heaven,"—which has been construed to mean that his return will be attended with all the sensible accidents and conditions of his departure. The original words, answering to our "in like manner," are ὃν τρόπον, and perhaps no other phrase of two words in all the Greek Testament was ever made to carry so heavy a burden, —indicating, as they are made to do, not only the *fact* of the coming again, but also and especially the "identity of its mode and manner,"—which it is claimed by such eminent authorities as Alford, and Hackett, and Alexander, and an innumerable consenting multitude, is the only possible construction of the words used. But the Scriptures are their own best interpreter, and to them our appeal shall be made.

The phrase in question occurs elsewhere in the New Testament four times, two of which (Matthew xxiii, 37, and Luke xiii, 34) are identical in both form and substance, being used to express Christ's purposed care for Jerusalem, "*Even as*—ὃν τρόπον—a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings." In these cases it will not do to say, as Alford says in the other and parallel case, that the phrase "must be applied literally," for the supposition would be simply absurd. In Acts vii, 28, we have Stephen's reference to Moses's killing the Egyptian, and

his subsequent attempt to make peace between two contending Hebrews, when he that did his neighbor wrong thrust him (Moses) away, saying: "Wouldest thou kill me, *as—ὃν τρόπον*—thou killedst the Egyptian yesterday?" Certainly in that case only the *fact* of the killing, without any reference to the "manner or method," was involved in the inquiry. The same words are found in 2 Timothy iii, 8, in the clause, "And *like as* —*ὃν τρόπον*—Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses," etc., when certainly the fact only, and not its special details of "manner and method," is intended to be indicated. It thus appears that in every other case in which the phrase used in Acts i, 7, to indicate the coming again of the ascended Christ is employed, it certainly designates a *fact* and nothing more, and accordingly it has for its English equivalents in the places severally, "even as," "as," and "like as," with the evident purpose in each case to declare a fact without referring to its conditions. Is it not evident, then, that the phrase in question has been rather too largely drawn upon?

But beyond any other word or form of language, the popular theory respecting Christ's coming again has been made to rest upon the single word *παρουσία, parousia*, which has been accounted the key to the whole situation; and upon it there has seemed to be a willingness to rest the whole case. It becomes necessary, therefore, to look carefully to the use of that word by the New Testament writers. It is found in twenty-four places, and in seventeen of these it is used to express something about the relations of Christ to his people. In the other seven cases it refers only to ordinary affairs, and in all of these the common idea evidently intended to be expressed is that of *presence*, and so they are rendered in the Revised Version, either in the text or the margin. That this is the primary and natural sense of the word no competent Greek scholar will hesitate to grant. The word is made up of the verb *εἰμὶ, to be*, and the preposition *παρὰ, at*, or *with*, signifying *to be at*, or *with*, a person or place, time or event. When its participle form *παρών* is employed as a noun, agreeably to the usage of the language, usually to indicate a person, it signifies one present or near by, and figuratively *a helper*, one that "stands by" another. The adverbial phrase *τὰ παρόντα* is equivalent to the English temporal adverbial noun *now*, the present (time and

affairs). It may also be noticed, in passing, that whenever in the New Testament the idea of "coming" or "approach" is expressed, the word ἔρχομαι (John xiv, 3) or ἥκω (Matt. viii, 11) is used. Both of these terms occur in many places with almost absolutely the same meaning, to wit, the coming of some one to a person or place, either literally or figuratively. All this would seem to indicate that our Lord's promised *parousia* is not to be understood as a drawing near, or coming from, some other place, but, instead, of his abiding presence with his faithful ones, to be manifested in grace and power.

This determination of the plain and natural sense of the word in question, because it removes the corner-stone of the traditional second advent theory, is, of course, earnestly opposed by its advocates, who rally at this point all their forces of criticism and authority to defend a position at once so valuable and so vulnerable. Dr. Tyng (*Premillennial Essays*), in the face of rational criticism, affirms that "the literal rendering of the term is 'the *becoming* present,'" but adds that the idea of *abiding* is not excluded. So Auberlin (in Lange): "The expression, 'the *parousia* of Christ,' denotes in the New Testament the Second Advent of Christ, and that alone." References of this kind might be extended almost indefinitely; and yet, though these are great names, and their declarations are very positive, we may not only challenge them to defend their positions in the arena of criticism, but we can also meet them with an array of authorities quite equal to their own; for it will be found that the preponderance of modern authorities is on the other side. Bloomfield quotes with approval the rendering made by Hales of the passage, "What is the sign of thy coming?" (Matt. xxiv, 3,) changing *coming* to *presence;* and Rosenmüller paraphrases the passage, "Porro quærunt, quondam præsentiæ, Christi futurum esse signum,"—"They ask what shall be the sign of Christ's presence." Reuss (*History of Christian Theology*, p. 190) says: "In it (the *parousia*) *permanence* is emphasized in contrast with the shortness of his former visitation, *for the word translated coming properly signifies 'presence.'*" Dollinger (*First Age*, vol. ii, p. 7) writes: "Jesus described the judgment on Jerusalem in the symbolic language of prophecy as connected with his *parousia*, and bade his disciples await his coming (becoming manifest), and recognize it in that event;"

and still more definitely, a little farther on, he says: "His presence, which he called in prophetic language a coming in the clouds of heaven, would consist in the manifestation of his divine interposition in human affairs as the expected protector of his Church." "Parousia," says Stuart (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. ix, p. 456), "means not *coming*, it means *presence*." Canons Evans and Farrar both declare in favor of "presence" rather than "coming," as the only New Testament sense of the word; and even Meyer, who seems in some cases to refer to the *parousia* as something still in the future, says: "After his repeated intimations of future suffering and death, the disciples could not conceive of the advent of Jesus to set up his kingdom, and make a *permanent stay*, in any other way than on a solemn second coming," implying that really Christ's absence was not local or objective, but that the unspiritual minds of the disciples conceived of him as locally departed from them, so that his renewed manifestations to their quickened spiritual perceptions would appear to them like another coming down from heaven.

If now we accept "presence" instead of "coming" as the true meaning of παρουσία, signifying, not Christ coming again to his people, but his abiding presence among them, we shall have a uniform and consistent sense for the word, as used in the New Testament. The *parousia* is, then, Christ's presence with his people, exercising his power in his mediatorial office; a precious and eternal abiding with his Church, of which he is the ever present and active head. But in all this there is nothing that comes within the range of the sensuous perceptions. The promised "presence" is wholly spiritual, but not therefore any the less real and personal.

No doubt our Authorized Version of the Scriptures is responsible for not a little of the prevalent misapprehension of this subject. The notion of the "Second Advent" was probably accepted by the makers of that version, though perhaps in a rather indefinite way, and accordingly they first read their own conceptions into the original and then transferred them more definitely into their translation. And now our New Versionists, though evidently aware of the mistakes of their predecessors and of the misleading renderings of the old version, have at once confessed its faultiness, and yet hesitated to clearly

correct it; for they still translate the word in their text "coming," but tell us in the margin that the meaning of the Greek original is "presence."

It would seem, then, that this *parousia* of which we read, indicates the continuous and abiding presence of Christ among his disciples—the fulfillment of his promise, "Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end—not of the 'world,' but 'of the *æon*,' the gospel dispensation. He had declared (Matt. xvi, 28) that he would set up his kingdom during the life-time of some of those to whom he was speaking; and for the perpetual coming or manifestation of that kingdom, he had before taught his disciples (in that which we designate the Lord's Prayer) to pray during all the coming ages of the Church.

An important outward event in the practical manifestation of "the kingdom" was to be the destruction of Jerusalem—which was less significant because of the overthrow of the material city and temple than as the sign of the subversion of the Jewish worship and hierarchy—the removal of the old theocracy with its outward institutions and services, and the setting up in its stead of an essentially spiritual kingdom, of which Christ would be the always-present head. Because the Jewish rulers would not receive Christ in his proper Messianic character, the removal of their "house" was rendered a necessity in the development of the Gospel, and an event so signal in the working out of the divine purposes might fittingly be spoken of as an eminent manifestation of the presence of Christ. Then and there, as in scarcely any other event in the history of the race, the divine presence was manifested in terrible power for the vindication of his chosen ones and in the discomfiture and overthrow of his enemies; and so that catastrophe became a lively figure through which to illustrate the resurrection of the dead—that is, the everlasting life after death—and the final judgment, both of which should, perhaps, be contemplated, like the *parousia*, apart from the sensuous and materialistic conditions in which the misdirected thinkings of Christendom have placed them. The "kingdom of God" was at hand when the Forerunner opened his mission on the Jordan; and a little later Christ himself spoke of it as about to "come" to the then living generation; and the kingdom so begun was not to be at any time abandoned by its divine Head.

Christ's "comings" are in different places referred to in the New Testament as past, present, and future events. In the more general sense Christ has already come, and he continues his comings in the dispensations of his grace and providence. He came on the day of Pentecost, and at the destruction of Jerusalem; at the calling of the Gentiles, and in the Christianization of the Roman Empire; at the Reformation in the sixteenth century, and in "the religious movement called Methodism" in the eighteenth century. He comes to the bedside of the dying believer, and to the humble contrite souls that pray to him; and, in a special and eminent sense, the hour of death is to the individual "the coming of the Lord." As the providential director of human affairs, Christ's presence and power are often manifested in the social and political changes of the world; and when these are referred to in the programme of the drama of the nations, the gorgeous imagery of prophecy is often used. "Christ," says Vitringa, "is said to come in the clouds of heaven as often as he shows forth his glory and majesty in the particular operations of his grace, severity, and power, and [so] exhibits himself to the Church as if present." Van Oosterzee more fully and clearly sets forth how, and in what sense, scriptural imagery should in such a case be interpreted. "Christ is said to come whenever he makes manifest his glory as king of the kingdom of God in enhanced splendor before the eyes of all. This he did in its initial stage during his life on earth, but yet much more after his exaltation to heaven—in the destruction of Jerusalem, for example; in the fall of heathendom; and in the reformation of the Church; and it is the task of an exact exegesis to determine with regard to every place in the New Testament in what sense precisely *there* a coming of the Lord is spoken of."

The conversation on the Mount of Olives (Matt. xxiv) related to an event of the utmost importance, then about to occur. The significance in relation to Christ's kingdom of the things there spoken of, constituted their occurrence pre-eminently a manifestation of Christ's presence in human affairs, and especially in those that related to the Church. Our Lord's words were spoken in response to the twofold question of the disciples concerning his *παρουσια* (manifested presence) and the *συντέλειας τοῦ αἰῶνος* (the consummation of the æon—that is, in that case, the gospel dispensation). The answer was at once more

definite and more comprehensive in its scope than the inquiry, as conceived by those who made it. In the first place, he speaks of the coming overthrow of the city of Jerusalem as an outward event, with suggestions to his disciples respecting the manner of meeting that terrible catastrophe. Next he passes from these outward things, and begins to speak of those that lay beyond the range of men's senses, and which were incomparably the more important—that is, the entire removal of the old theocracy, which had been placed, by its custodians, in direct and violent opposition to Christ's incoming kingdom. The qualifying words, *εὐθέως δὲ μετὰ*, by which the contiguity of the two parts of the one great event is indicated, are evidently intended to express an order of thought rather than a contiguity of times. While to the outward vision the Jewish State would be passing into ruin, to the divine eye the *αἰών* instituted at Sinai through Moses for the literal Israel having served its purpose, was nearing its end; and, because of the perverse unbelief and rebellion of the Jewish rulers and people, the transition which, in any event, was appointed to take place, would be attended with terrible devastations. Accordingly that most stupendous and fearful tragedy in human history is foretold by Christ in the imagery usually employed in setting forth great prophetic events—the darkening of the sun and moon, the falling of the stars, and the shaking of the powers of heaven. The precise date of the culmination of this catastrophe is not declared, but its time is fixed in the most direct terms, within the continuance of the then present generation. As a prophecy of future events the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, of the lessons of which the twenty-fifth is an illustration and "improvement"—found its complete fulfillment in the destruction of Jerusalem and the removal of the Jewish theocracy; which removal, however, opened the outlook toward the future and coming glory of the Church.

The promise of Christ's manifested presence—to be thenceforth ever-abiding with his disciples—was inaugurated on the day of Pentecost; and thenceforward it has continued to be openly displayed in the power of the preached Gospel and the conquests of the militant Church, resulting in mightier works than any that Christ did while in the body. He had proclaimed his doctrine, and had attested his divinity by his "mighty

works," but the most effective displays of his regal power were yet to be made; and to that end the living Church had to be dissevered from the dead body of Judaism, which result was accomplished by casting down the old theocracy in an overwhelming catastrophe.

"It happened just as he said it would—in that generation Jerusalem, the city of David, the capital of the Jewish State, with its sacred temple, the shrine and sanctuary of the Jewish Church, was laid low. . . . Then it was that the Christian Church, emerging from the ashes of the old theocracy, and armed both with miraculous power and the faith and zeal of that martyr age, went forth on her appointed mission to subdue the world to her King. Then it was that the kingdom of God came with power, and Christ came in his kingdom." *

The parousia is steadily spoken of in Scripture as inseparable from "the kingdom of God," the latter signifying the whole of the divine method for saving men through Christ during the gospel dispensation, and the former the attendant light and power of Christ's presence with his Church "alway," and "to the end." But the setting up of that kingdom was not completed by a single act—a *coup de main*—but rather it was a growth and a development through many successive stages. Even its beginning cannot be fixed precisely, and its earlier advancements escaped the notice of the wise men of this world. Evidently, too, the changes through which the old was replaced by the new were not the results of forces not before in existence. The process was not by new creations nor by violent revolutions, but a normal outgrowth, by a natural though not a painless transition from the antecedent theocracy, and, with all its jealousy of its own offspring, the old became also the foster-mother of the new. In its widest sense the kingdom of God dates from the Garden of Eden, and the day of the first transgression; then and there the Church was first of all founded with the promise of salvation through "the seed of the woman." That promise was in some sense renewed with Noah and Abraham, with Jacob and Moses; it was seen in the sanctuary of Israel, and in the shekinah it became an abiding presence. But

* *Parousia* (p. 153), by Israel P. Warren, D.D., Portland, Me. We have also utilized that author's criticisms and arguments in other portions of this paper. —D. C.

its fuller and more glorious displays were reserved for our own better dispensation, which is eminently the era of Christ's peculiar manifestation of himself in Zion—the perpetually glorious *parousia*. And this itself constitutes "the latter-day glory" of the Church.

The Parousia, then, is upon us. Christ is present in his kingdom among men, and is steadily carrying forward the government he has in hand toward its consummation. This is the work of which the ancient seers spoke with so much rapture when they saw the day of Christ, and were glad. This great conflict is that "travail of his soul" which Christ saw in prophetic prospect, and its final outcome constituted "the joy set before him," in view of which he "endured the cross and despised the shame," and which he himself described in the glowing imagery of prophecy. And although the progress of the Gospel has not been attended with the physical phenomena which those prophecies, literally interpreted, call for, still the essential excellences of the spiritual triumphs of Christianity infinitely transcend all those things. And all this great work is now going forward among men.

It is now nearly two thousand years since Christ's kingdom was first established, and during all that period the vital forces implanted in it have been working; and it is these, under the fostering care of God's providence and Spirit, which have resulted in what we see to-day in the majestic prevalence and power of Christianity. Never has there been any sudden intervention of extraordinary force in its behalf to remove obstacles, to save from disasters, to destroy enemies, or to impart miraculous powers. . . . From the scenes of the day of Pentecost, which ushered in the new kingdom, to the Reformation under Luther and Calvin and Knox, and the revivals attending the preaching of Edwards and Whitefield and Wesley, and our pastors and evangelists, the story of salvation has ever been one and the same. Through the foolishness of preaching God has saved them that believe. . . . There has never been any other mode of spiritual conquest for the kingdom of our Lord, and there is no warrant for believing there ever will be.*

The inauguration of the real and perpetual parousia dates back more than eighteen hundred years, that is, from the day of Pentecost; which, however, was only the sunrising after a protracted dawning, and we know nothing of any other. The scheme of interpretation, which is commonly spoken of as "traditional," has at no time been accepted as an essential part of the catholic faith, though certain elements of a physical

* *Parousia*, pp. 212, 213.

eschatology found their way as interpolations into the Apostles' Creed as early as the fourth or fifth century. But a more spiritual conception of Christ's kingdom, though not so widely proclaimed, has been substantially accepted for three hundred years past by large portions of Protestant Christendom. That conception is, that immediately upon his ascension and enthronement at the right hand of the Father, Christ entered upon a campaign of conquest in our world with the joint agencies of the revealed word operating through men's understandings and the Holy Spirit acting upon their hearts; and that this work is now in progress, and is destined to go forward, without any essential change of conditions, to the *end*, that is, the consummation of the gospel dispensation, of which end many think the Scriptures give no certain assurance as to how or when it will come. The joining of the end of the world (the *cosmos*) with the consummation of the gospel era, has no doubt been favored by the mistranslated clause (Matt. xxviii, 20)—the promise of Christ's presence with his apostles—which, in the Authorized Version, is rendered "even unto the end of the world." The incorrectness of this is partially recognized in the Revised Version, by putting in the margin, as a more literal rendering, the words: "the consummation of the age." The meaning of the Greek word *αἰών*, *eon*, is not adequately reproduced by either of the words, "world," or "age." The term as there used is definite and specific, indicating a presumably well understood *eon*—epoch or dispensation—which must at least cover the whole period onward till the end of Christ's mediatorial reign, of which only the faintest intimations are in that place given.

The kingdom of heaven thus inaugurated was destined to *grow*, like the mustard-plant, and to assimilate its subjects to its own nature, like the leaven in the meal, and to develop itself like the growth of the corn—"first the blade, then the ear, and then the full corn in the ear." Christianity is pre-eminently a plant of the Lord's own planting. It has become deeply rooted in our world, and its growth to completeness is assured—first of all in the revealed purposes of the Father and the promises of Christ, and next, and to our dim sight more manifestly, in its steady onward course through the ages. Like the century plant, its progress may seem to us to be so slow, and its blos-

soming so long delayed, that our impatient unbelief is ever asking: "Where is the promise of his coming?" But God is not in a hurry, and yet his purposes are sure. But we have more than our faith to assure us; the process is plain and open to our observation, and the progress of events points to the coming of the day—perhaps nearer than we have been wont to suppose—when Christianity shall become the one universal religion of mankind. Our Lord's command: "Go, preach my Gospel to every creature," was also a prophecy and a promise. The work then begun was destined to succeed by the agencies then set in motion.

At each succeeding act of the sublime drama the Church has advanced to its great work with augmented powers, and with each new development of its spiritual life it has girded itself anew for its great work, till now it stands forth in divine panoply, prepared to go up and possess the land in the name of the Lord. The material world, also, with the counsels and the powers of kings, is bringing its tribute of effective agencies to forward this work. Learning and culture, the arts and sciences, wealth and social influences, commerce, and even war, are all rendering service to the cause of Christian evangelization. Sometimes this is rendered gladly, but more frequently in obedience to influences by which the wrath of man is constrained to glorify God, and beyond that purpose is limited by unseen obstructions. This is that Gospel of the kingdom—the stone cut out of the mountain without hands—which is to fill the whole earth; and this in its progress will bring in the new heaven and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.

Thus far all is assured; but beyond these transactions divine revelation does not lift the curtain of the future; the Gospel is the final dispensation of revelation. Its outlook has no westward horizon to indicate its sunset; we are told almost nothing by any trustworthy authority about the end of the visible—cosmical—earth and heavens; and the references to the indicated *end* of the gospel *eon* may be only an outlook upon the vast ocean of that future, of which we know very little, and that little in very remote perspective. But whether on the earth and beneath the starry sky, or in the heaven of heavens, in the house not made with hands, Christ's regal priesthood shall be without end—as the King in Zion,

and the Priest *forever*, he will reign and serve in the New Jerusalem.

This view of the case replaces the traditional Second Advent by the manifestation of Christ in his Church, in providence and in spiritual power—walking among the golden candlesticks and holding the stars in his right hand; and it takes away the materialistic and chronological Millennium, and gives in its place the reign of grace in the spiritual Zion, reaching from the day of Pentecost to the indefinitely remote and dimly apprehended completion of the gospel age—*ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος.*

Art. II.—KEBLE AND "THE CHRISTIAN YEAR."

The classical literature of the Christian Church grows slowly. Much of our religious writing is so affected by the mental tendencies of the age in which it was written, that it seems antiquated and unnatural under changed conditions of thought and feeling. Oftentimes the spirit of controversy so affects an otherwise valuable book, that when the controversy is settled or outgrown the work perishes. On the other hand, when a book speaks to the abiding feelings of the heart—when it meets a real want of the soul, and has, therefore, a real life in it—it becomes a Christian classic. The theological writings of the early Christian Fathers are now and then read by students of Church history or Christian doctrine; but the "Confessions" of Saint Augustine, which are filled with the deepest feelings, aspirations, and questionings of the heart, have passed out of theology into literature. After ages read the book, not because there can be gathered from it some of the remarkable theological opinions of the author, but because it is full of universal Christian experience. The monastic writers of the Middle Ages are forgotten; but the marvelous *De Imitatione Christi* is dear to Christians of every clime and language. The religious controversies of Milton's time have now little interest for ordinary people; but Taylor's *Holy Living and Holy Dying*, Baxter's *Saint's Everlasting Rest*, and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* are treasures in the library of all reading Christians.

No book of the present century seems more likely to become

a Christian classic than Keble's *Christian Year*. It has been growing in popularity with the general Christian Church for more than fifty years. Tried by the test of use, and its enduring power to speak to the heart and the imagination, it has not been found wanting. The popularity of the book among those outside the Episcopal communion was at first somewhat hindered by circumstances in the life of the author. He was recognized as one of the leaders in the High-Church party of the Church of England, a party with which Christians generally had but little sympathy; and it was natural that the book should be regarded as affected by the spirit of that party. But in spite of a few things which might justify such a suspicion, the work was too catholic to be confined by the limits of any sect or party, and for more than a generation its influence has been steadily widening.

John Keble was in many ways a remarkable man, though his life was for the most part that of a hard-working and comparatively humble minister in the Church of England. He was born at Fairford, in Gloucestershire, in 1792. His father, also a clergyman, was a man of thorough scholarship and decided High-Church views. He took the preparatory training of his son under his own charge, and so early and so thoroughly imbued him with notions of reverence for tradition and obedience to authority that Keble apparently never passed through any real season of doubt and heart struggle. He entered Oxford at the age of fifteen, and proved the excellence of his father's training by gaining a *Corpus* scholarship. After gaining a "double first" in classics and mathematics, he was made a Fellow of Oriel in 1811, and remained at Oxford for some five years, as tutor and college examiner, until he took holy orders and settled as curate to his father.

It was during his connection with the university that he became acquainted with Pusey, Newman, and others, with whom he was afterward associated in what is known as the famous Oxford movement. These young men, full of piety and enthusiasm, were pained by the low spiritual condition of the world about them, and looked eagerly for some regenerating influence. They had been educated at a university whose every association and ideal were linked with the past. They had been trained in the literature of antiquity as the perfection of human

thought. They had been under the fostering care of a Church which guarded her traditions as the most precious part of her heritage. It is not wonderful, that with a quickened spiritual life their first thought was for a revival of the past of the Church, for a re-establishment of the ancient power and practices of that Church, which they fondly believed to be divinely instituted and commissioned, and whose most minute observance was to them sacred on account of its assumed origin. The authority of the Church must be made supreme, and then the kingdom of God would come upon the earth. They made little account of reason or of the individual conscience. Men differed widely in their religious opinions, and yet claimed to hold their views conscientiously. They argued, that if this were true the consciences of men were at fault, for the teachings of God could not be contradictory. The only way in which harmony could be secured was, by submitting the conscience to the wiser authority of that Church which had preserved the teachings of its divinely inspired leaders. They would not acknowledge to themselves how near their belief came to Romanism, though the greatest difference really was in substituting a divinely inspired Church for an infallible pope. If they rejected the supremacy of reason and conscience, they must really believe that the leaders of the Church in all ages were divinely inspired and infallible, and they thus differed from the Romanists only in making the range of infallibility a little wider. Their position was not so logical as that of the Romanists. Taken critically one by one, their arguments could all be easily overthrown. But they were ruled by feeling and not by logic. They pressed upon the attention of men the sacredness of the Church, believing this to be the first necessary step toward the conversion of the world.

There may seem at first thought little connection between Wesley and this High-Church movement; and yet the increased seriousness and attention to spiritual things forced upon the English Church by the Wesleyan revival is no doubt responsible for much of the spread and success of what was called Puseyism. The spirit of the Oxford movement had been stirring for some time among the younger graduates, fellows, and tutors; but it first took shape in 1833, when Keble was called to preach the Assize sermon at Oxford. His subject

was "The National Apostasy," and the sermon was specially called out by the action of the government in cutting down the bishoprics of the Irish Church, a natural result of the Catholic emancipation. Such a sign of attack upon the Church, and especially the spirit in which this attack was made, filled with alarm those who believed her to be sacred. They felt that it was time to lift up her banners, to assert her authority, and to press upon the attention of men the sinfulness of infringing upon any of the powers which had been divinely committed to her.

This sermon was followed up by the famous series of *Tracts for the Times*, published between 1833 and 1841, which had a wide influence, and caused the name of Tractarianism to be given to the movement. The reformers brought forward and emphasized the doctrines of the authority of the Church and the value of tradition. Apostolic succession, baptismal regeneration, priestly absolution, and the real presence were all taught in some of these tracts with more or less earnestness and distinctness. The culminating point was reached in 1841, when Tract No. 90, written by Newman, was published. It was designed to show that much of the doctrine of the Romish Church could be held consistently with subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. This excited so much popular feeling that the tract was condemned, and Newman was requested by the Bishop of Oxford, in a way that was practically a command, to cease the publication of the series. The formal Tractarian movement was thus brought to an end, and in 1845 Newman, its greatest thinker and advocate, carried his principles to their legitimate conclusion and went over to the Church of Rome. But the reverence of most of his associates for the past was connected so closely with their reverence for the Church of England that they only thought to correct what, in their opinion, were its deviations from the original and apostolic standards. The influence of their work was felt in a revival of the High-Church party in the English Church, which continues to the present time. Of this party Keble was all his life a prominent and consistent member. His spirit was not naturally a controversial one, but his sense of duty was strong, and he never shrank from avowing and defending his opinions or giving aid and counsel to

his weaker brethren. The High-Church movement was largely directed to securing a greater reverence for the external observances of the Church to a more elaborate ritual, and to formal church association and labors. There is no permanent value in ceremonial; it cannot serve for any length of time to keep and nourish spiritual power; and the movement has now largely degenerated into mere ritualism. But with Keble and his associates there was at the bottom of it a deep and earnest spiritual feeling.

Keble loved the Church of England devotedly, and was glad to pass the most of his life in a comparatively humble position in her service. Until 1835 he remained most of the time at Fairford, earnestly and faithfully discharging the duties of curate to his father. His love for his father and his sense of duty and obligation seem to have been so great that he did not long for a wider sphere. In the meantime he was called to Oxford at various times on duties connected with the university. He was public examiner, and in 1833 was elected professor of poetry. The principal duties of professor of poetry at that time were to deliver two or three lectures a year in Latin, and to select the subject for and assist in awarding the Newdigate prize for the best English poem. The lectures from his chair, in spite of the way in which they were hampered by the language, attracted more than ordinary attention. In 1835 his father died, and in the same year he was married to the daughter of one of his father's old college friends, and also became vicar of Hursley. For thirty years he was actively engaged in the work of a country parish, devoting largely the profits of his writings to building for it a new and suitable church edifice. No other duties were allowed to interfere with his duty to his parishioners. They were always foremost in his thought, and he ministered faithfully unto them in spiritual things until he was forced to lay down the burden of his life-work. In the fall of 1865 his failing health compelled him to cease from active labor, and in the spring of 1866 he died. His wife, his loving and faithful helpmate, followed him only a few weeks later. During all the years of his life at Hursley he was the faithful adviser of the High-Church party, and his counsels were constantly sought by those who were more actively and publicly engaged in propagating its doctrines.

The moderation and wisdom of his advice gained additional weight from his well-known conscientiousness and deep, fervent piety. No man of his time exerted a wider influence by the simple power of his personal character. Several of the tracts of the Oxford series came from his pen. He made a number of contributions to the periodical literature of the time, and was the author of two considerable prose works, a *Life of Bishop Wilson*, and an edition of the works of Hooker, the latter a standard work for candidates for the English priesthood.

It is, however, as the author of *The Christian Year* that Keble is principally remembered. This was first published in 1827, though the poems of which the book is composed had been growing under the author's pen for some eight or ten years. It is a series of short poems, or, as he calls them in his sub-title, "Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holy Days throughout the Year." Keble had a moderate opinion of his own merits as a poet, and it was only at the earnest solicitation of friends who had long known and admired the beauty of some of these poems, that he determined to complete and publish the series. In one sense, the completeness of the book is its greatest fault. There is a poem for each important church occasion, and the subject is taken from the gospel for the day given in the prayer-book. It could hardly be expected that a poet's muse would move responsive to all such themes, and some of the poems give the impression of having been made to order. In some instances it is plain that the poem had been composed without reference to a particular occasion, and was afterward, by an effort, connected with the subject for the day. But, nevertheless, the book is a remarkable collection of religious poetry. It was born of a true poetic inspiration, and is one of those works which the world will not willingly let die. It soon attained a wide popularity in the Anglican Church, and its merits are now pretty well recognized by Christians of all denominations. Since its first publication there have been sold in England alone some half-million copies, and it is found beside the prayer-book on the tables of thousands of educated English Churchmen. No religious book of the present century has gained such a host of constant and appreciative readers.

The key-note of the book is struck in the quotation from

Isaiah that forms its motto: "In quietness and confidence shall be your strength." He says in his preface, "Next to a sound rule of faith there is nothing of so much consequence as a sober standard of feeling in matters of practical religion." With this belief, it was his aim to beget in his readers an earnest, thoughtful, reverent state of mind. The book does not touch upon all sides of the Christian life. There is little of the rapture of Christian experience to be found in it. But within its range it is the poetry of genuine and universal feeling. There is occasionally a slight obscurity of thought, as though the mistiness of spiritual feeling had not had time to crystallize into a clear form of expression before it was written down. Sometimes the reader is called upon to supply from his own thought so much that is but remotely implied in the poem that he has to read it slowly and carefully in order to get its full reach or appreciate its beauty. In general, however, the feeling is so direct and genuine that it speaks at once to the heart. It cannot be said that the book is as well adapted to the vulgar and uneducated as *The Pilgrim's Progress* or an ordinary hymn. It requires a certain amount of culture and poetic sensibility to appreciate it. The poems are written for a thoughtful spirit, and must be read thoughtfully; but they are not lifted out of the spiritual range of any ordinary Christian life.

Considering the life of its author, one of the most remarkable things about *The Christian Year* is the catholicity of its tone. There is hardly a trace of controversial Tractarianism to be found in it. If one looks closely he can see evidences of the tone and bent of mind that inclined Keble to Tractarian doctrines. But the meditative devoutness of the poems has little in common with the active doctrines of the Oxford school. The author was primarily a poet, and a poet with a rich spiritual nature. He wrote from a heart full of deep religious emotion, alive to the spiritual meaning of the world about him, solemnized by a thought of his responsibility and his dependence upon God, and yet quickened with gratitude for the divine goodness, and warmed with the inspiration of heavenly love. The feeling which pervades *The Christian Year* is deep and true; it goes down beneath all mere conventionalisms of expression. The strength of Keble's poetic genius can be seen

in the fact that strong as was his reverence for the past, and for the very letter of church formulas and teaching, he yet escapes almost entirely from the ordinary religious dialect, the conventional phraseology, and uses the fresh and simple language of natural feeling.

No quality of Keble's mind is more apparent in these poems than its reverence. A deep feeling of reverence runs through all the book, and sacred things are treated in a manner that makes them seem really sacred. There is no straining for effect, but always a certain self-command and reserve. One constantly feels that the author might easily have expanded and carried on his thought; and this gives to the poems a certain richness that makes them the more satisfying as we read them over and over again. They do not give up all their contents at the first reading. They bear the best test of true poetry—they can be read and reread with increasing pleasure. The book is thoroughly modern in its tone. There is found in it abundantly that undertone of sadness that is so characteristic of our modern poetry. But it is not the sadness that springs from lack of trust. The faith of the poet is strong enough for him to see his way through, and he does not leave the reader in perplexity and doubt. The sin and the sorrow of life sometimes weigh heavily upon his soul. The eager questionings which are begotten by the restless spirit of modern culture may press upon him: but he only looks away to what is invisible and eternal, to the Great Source of all true help and consolation. There is every-where in *The Christian Year* the calm assurance of faith. Keble believed in the truths of the Christian religion with the profoundest convictions of his soul. The waverings of doubt, the uncertainties of a mind not quite sure of itself, were unknown to him. The feeling which pervades Tennyson's *In Memoriam* is wholly foreign to *The Christian Year*. The poems were written for those who believe, and there is nourishment for the believing soul on every page.

There is a decided difference between the poetry of *The Christian Year* and the kind of poetry which is best represented by that of Charles Wesley. Wesley's poems are vivid expressions of prayer, of contrition, of praise, or of thanksgiving. Keble's poetry is that of devout meditation, rising some-

times to adoration and praise, solemnized by penitence, quickened by earnest words of warning, but keeping a tone of thoughtfulness through it all. The poems of Wesley were mostly written to be sung or to be impassionately repeated—to move on triumphantly upon a tide of feeling. The poetry of Keble must be read slowly and thoughtfully; it does not force its way into the mind of the reader, but must be allowed to mingle gently with his thought. For times of great trial and trouble, of severe suffering and sorrow, the book is, therefore, not specially well adapted. Its tone is not emphatic enough, nor is its feeling sufficiently vivid, its words not direct enough, for the great crises of life—for those periods when feeling rather than thought bears sway, and when the mind must be strongly stirred by words of inspiration and comfort. But for the long stretches of ordinary existence that lie between, when amid our every-day interests, perplexities, and labors some special influences are needed to keep bright the spiritual life of the soul, it is an admirable stimulant and companion.

Keble had a remarkable appreciation of the beauties of nature, and he saw a spiritual meaning in them all. That symbolical side of nature which can only be perceived by a man of deep spiritual feeling who loves her truly, was open to his vision. He loved nature, not particularly in her striking forms and wilder aspects, but in all the varied unobtrusive charms which she spreads on every hand. He had a poet's eye for all her milder beauties, and they were to him full of tender teaching for the heart. A peace and quietness of soul that corresponds to the peace and quiet of nature in her softer moods, is one of the ideals which every here and there, by a few simple loving strokes, he brings beautifully before us. There is hardly a poem in the book in which there is not some line or image that bears testimony to his keen love and close study of nature. Nature is always healthful, and Keble's genuine love for her no doubt helped him to keep his poems so clear of any traces of morbid feeling.

In 1846 Keble published a second volume of poems, entitled *Lyra Innocentium.* Some of them have the grace, tenderness, and beauty of *The Christian Year*, but, as a whole, the book is decidedly inferior. It was written when he was actively engaged in religious controversy, and is affected by the tone of

his mind at that time. It has not the free vein of inspiration, the range of sympathy, the tenderness of feeling, that are found in the former volume. His muse is not so clearly an expression of the spontaneous feelings of the heart. One sees the denominational element in it, and feels that it is a church book. It has considerable poetic merit, but it does not speak to the universal heart, and will not become a Christian classic.

It was not until Keble had been laid to rest that the English Church realized how much it owed him. To him more than to any other man were due the spiritual influences which inspired the High-Church revival, and whose effects were felt far wider than its doctrines were received. The Church has erected a splendid memorial of him, in the way above all others he would have liked best, by founding in his name Keble College at Oxford. But it is as the author of *The Christian Year* that the world at large will remember him. This permanently enriched our Christian literature, and to its author, therefore, we all owe a deep debt of gratitude. Amid the tendencies to strained feeling and over-expression of an age like this, its repose and calm faith are wonderfully soothing. In the press of more exciting literature we should not neglect it, for there are in it perennial springs of refreshment and comfort. Its place is on the shelf or table which holds the few but precious books that are the companions of the soul in its choicest hours. The better we become acquainted with it the more we shall appreciate and love it.

ART. III.—THE LOGIC OF INTROSPECTION.

The Logic of Introspection; or, Method in Mental Science. By Rev. J. B. WENTWORTH, D.D. 12mo, pp. 446. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

THIS work certainly exhibits the author as a profound thinker in the misty realms of psychology. Few venture here at all, and to miss one's way is no discredit. It is a fault that the book has no index, although there is an elaborate table of contents. The author is very systematic in the treatment of his subject, and his arguments march forward with delightful precision, like the regiments of a well organ-

ized army. The style is clear, and in the main correct, although there are no literary charms to augment the value of his arguments. The book is unusually accurate in the grammatical construction of its sentences, although an occasional lapse may be observed. The verb and nominative do not always harmonize; for example: "This analysis and abstraction *does* not create them" (page 173); "*Is* there, then, presented here to his inspection certain facts that do not bear the stamp of necessity?" (page 437;) "Metaphysics *are* moonshine" (page 69). The work contains 446 pages, the type is large and clear, and the mechanical execution all that could be desired. Any difficulty experienced in reading it will result from the abstruse nature of the subjects treated.

The work is of necessity largely controversial, since the author finds most of the great names in mental science arrayed against him; and there is rather too much acid in the controversial passages to make them pleasant reading. He courageously makes an attack on the giants of philosophical inquiry, and slaughters the philosophers "hip and thigh." Francis Bacon, his eminent disciples Dr. Thomas Brown, William Archer Butler, Dugald Stewart, President Porter, and Dr. McCosh are challenged respecting their favorite method of Induction. Bacon is treated with no little severity, and something very like ridicule is heaped upon Dr. McCosh, as the special champion of the application of Induction to mental science, his work on *The Intuitions of the Mind* being criticised through several chapters. It mars the symmetry of the book that so large a part of it is devoted to the theories of Dr. McCosh.

In a brief introduction the author declares his theme to be *Psychologic Method*, and in the very outset he overestimates its importance. He says:

> Method relates chiefly to the direction of men's thoughts, the systematic course of their intellectual faculties, when engaged in the pursuit and discovery of truth. From its very nature, therefore, the question of method is the prime question of all science. . . . Indeed, in science every thing depends upon it. The fate of every system of philosophy is wrapped up in the method of its prosecution and development. . . . I did not, then, overstate or misstate the fact at the outset, when I said that Logic is, in the natural as well as the chronological order, the first of all the

sciences; that the department of philosophy which elucidates and settles the method of procedure of the intellectual faculties in the pursuit of truth is the prime philosophy."—Pages 21, 23, 25.

These statements are evidently too strong. Truth is the all-important thing, and the prime question is its discovery. The weakness of the claim is seen in the fact that the best methods of investigation have not yet been determined, and the author's present work is merely an attempted vindication of one among the possible number. We may reach truth by several roads, and, as is the case with public highways, some will prefer one and some another. Many a humble investigator has reached truth by not the best method; and the fact, which is admitted, that much truth has been discovered by the old methods, tends to invalidate the claims which the author makes for his own as the only method of any value in psychological research. The question of method is undoubtedly an important one, but nothing is gained by unduly magnifying its value.

Having cleared the way by these introductory words, the author finds before him a twofold task, namely, first to break down, Induction as a psychologic method, and then to install his new method in its place. It is a bold and weighty undertaking, and he certainly proves his courage and originality, though he may not prove his theory nor overthrow Induction. To break down the Baconian method of reasoning, or even limit its application, is an immense task. It has been proclaimed a solvent of all difficulties in the realms of science and philosophy; and although one may suspect that extravagant claims have been made, nevertheless Induction is still on the throne, and no revolution against its authority will be immediately successful. It is significant that our author found it necessary to devote so large a portion of his space to an attack upon Bacon and those who use Bacon's method. In establishing his new method he finds Bacon directly across his path; consequently his first work is to clear the track of the *débris* of what he takes to be a general metaphysical wreck.

We shall occupy no time in defending Francis Bacon, Dr. McCosh, or others from the onslaught of Dr. Wentworth, but shall merely inquire whether his attacks have led on to victory, and whether his new method is vindicated.

His first attempt is to show that Induction is inapplicable as

a method of inquiry in mental science. He professes no hostility to the method when limited to the domain of nature, but it is evidently a red flag that awakens his choler if used in the field of mental science. Barely tolerated in physical inquiries, he is determined to banish Induction from metaphysics. The author's interpretation of Bacon's purpose in founding his new method can hardly be considered conclusive, in the face of the great philosopher's express assertion that Induction is equally applicable to investigations in metaphysics. Time, and perhaps tastes, did not allow him to do more than consider the physical universe, but he certainly supposed his method of inquiry to be available in the domain of psychology. The real question is not what Bacon thought, but whether his method is available. So far as the weight of authority goes, our author is constrained to confess that it tells against him; but he is not at all terrified by an array of great names. He seems to be never better pleased than when questioning the conclusions of Bacon, Kant, Cousin, Reid, Stewart, and especially McCosh.

We must, of course, at once raise the inquiry, Why may not Induction be applied to mental as well as natural science? There is no objection inherent in the nature of things; and it will require a demonstration to convince men that the same method is not applicable in both instances. The reasons he assigns that it is not are, first, that mind and matter are distinct natures, and hence have to be examined by different methods. He says:

> The total dissimilarity of Mind and Matter, of Self and Not-Self, requires that the modes of investigation employed in the effort scientifically to know them and their phenomena, respectively, shall be different and dissimilar. It seems quite self-evident that those entities, lying at the very opposite poles of the universe of actual being, should be approached and examined by opposite and unique methods.—Page 304.

Assertions of like purport appear in many places throughout the book; but clearly it proves nothing to assert that mind is different from matter. Races of men are different from classes of plants, and yet conclusions are reached in ethnology and botany by the same method.

His next reason is, that psychical and physical facts are

essentially distinct, and hence require examination by different methods:

> But the force of these considerations, upon which we have now entered, is greatly increased when we add to the diversity of the nature to be examined the diversity in the nature of the facts which they respectively present to the attentive intellect, the diverse relations which these two orders of facts respectively sustain to the knowing faculty, and the difference in the instruments by which these differing facts are made known to the mind.—Page 105.

This second reason is too nearly identical with the first to greatly re-enforce it.

The third reason he assigns is, that the intellect discovers the principles, laws, and causes of Mind and those of Matter by different methods:

> In reaching this ultimate end of science, within the two opposite spheres of Mind and Matter, the intellect does and must pursue wholly dissimilar modes of inquiry.—Page 311.

We must submit that this is precisely what he set out to prove; and merely a re-statement of his proposition is not a demonstration.

These are the reasons given why Induction is not applicable to investigations in psychology; and we cannot but feel that they are inconclusive. His exposition of them, moreover, adds no weight to the bare statement here presented. And these reasons were thought to be either so strong or so weak that it was desirable to elaborate them twice, in the same order, in different parts of the book.

In the prosecution of his argument he holds Induction responsible for the materialism, sensationalism, positivism, and general skepticism that have so largely vitiated the conclusions of modern philosophy. All this may be true or otherwise, and still have no bearing on the question whether Induction is applicable to investigations in mental science; consequently we need not review the argument at this point. It is perhaps enough to say that a proper method has more than once been employed to reach false conclusions.

Having made his arguments for the overthrow of Induction as a method of psychologic inquiry our author proceeds to unfold his own method as a substitute. A right understand-

ing of his method is what we now seek, and this is no easy task on account of the uncertainty of meaning attaching to many metaphysical terms. His method is intuitive rather than inductive; and, if we put one word against another, it will stand—*Intuition vs. Induction.* But it seems clear that he uses the word intuition in an unusual sense, which makes an exposition necessary in order to discover the peculiar features of his method. The scope of consciousness is greatly enlarged, and there is an unusual lengthening of the inventory of intuitive ideas. Many results which have hitherto been reached by a process of reasoning he grasps immediately as Intuitions.

He classes as Intuitions, first, those general ideas which are self-evident, and require no reasoning for their vindication; although he nowhere gives us a catalogue of them. No direct issue is made with previous metaphysicians at this point, but our author clearly includes in his list some ideas that have not generally been acknowledged as intuitive. For example, he says:

> The knowing of every order of being is by the way of Intuition. . . . The principles of our method assert, that no order of real and substantive being can be cognized by us as such which is not given us immediately in Consciousness. Direct, intuitive perception is necessary, in order to an apprehension by us of a nature having actual being. This is the way, we have seen, by which we attain to the knowledge of self-existence, and also of the existence of the outer world. And it seems clearly impossible that we could gain a knowledge of substantive existence, of a distinct order, in any other way.—Page 406.

The bearing of this statement will be seen when we come to consider the relation of the author's method to a knowledge of the existence of God. It would have added value to his work if he had given a discussion of the ideas that are commonly regarded as intuitive, and had attempted a complete catalogue of them.

But the work of intuition does not stop with the presentation of certain broad general ideas. Our author says:

> Not only are the facts of Consciousness, when reproduced for the purpose of examination and critical analysis, directly perceived in Intuition, and known to be what they are by immediate rational vision, but also every thing else concerning them; every thing having to do with their nature, genesis, the powers pro-

ducing them, the laws regulating their procedure, their internal relations, and logical order. And to search out and expound these, their nature, causes, and laws, is the special aim of Psychology.—Page 114.

The entire process of adjusting a mental science, it is assumed, is intuitively performed. Accordingly, the author proceeds to argue that Psychologic classification is intuitional:

Each fact brought under the powerful lens of the interior eye of the soul, and held there under its burning and shining light, is at once reduced to its most elementary principles; its inmost nature is known, its essential properties are seen, and every thing pertaining to it is fully understood. And, therefore, its kinship to other facts of Consciousness is precisely determined, and with the utmost certitude.—Page 116.

And in this work of classification the facts of Consciousness are grouped, not by any apparent or surface resemblance, but according to the law or faculty from which they are derived. That is to say, for the purposes of his discussion, Intuition can make a catalogue of intuitive ideas, and distinguish them from ideas derived from other sources.

Still further, the subjective and logical order of ideas is intuitively determined. The claim here is, that the mind gains a knowledge of its own operations by intuition. The order of ideas in our mental processes is determined, not by inductions derived from observation, but intuitively by immediate vision. The paradox is maintained that the mind can take a position outside of itself, and watch its own operations, and by immediate insight behold all its processes.

The laws governing mental operations are also declared to be intuitively apprehended:

When the concrete facts of Consciousness are recalled, and discriminated, analyzed, and abstracted, and, thus resolved, held up in the clear light of Reflection, amid the living spiritual activities of the soul from whence they originally proceeded, they will call forth, and be responded to by, these very activities themselves—in gentle and subdued undertones, in which the Reason will intuitively behold the source and mode of their original production.—Page 130.

The above passage is supposed to give an account of the manner in which the mind intuitively perceives the laws which govern its processes.

Again, mental causes and powers are intuitively discerned. Whenever mental acts, of thought, feeling, or will, are presented in self-consciousness, the reason is able at once to determine from which powers of the soul they had their origin. Infallibly the acts of the judgment, will, memory, sensibility, are assorted and placed in their appropriate categories. The thought under this head appears to be substantially the same as that under the head of "Classification."

Thus it appears that the "various aims of mental philosophy" "are all realized by rational Intuition." It is a science whose conclusions are reached intuitively, and without a process of reasoning. There can be no doubt that this method greatly simplifies the study of metaphysics; but some uncharitable critic may aver that it is a convenient adjustment of troublesome ideas to place them among our Intuitions.

It might be supposed that no further demands could be made of the new method; that, having assigned to Intuition the task of furnishing us the ideas, causes, laws, order, and classification that make up a science of the mind, nothing remains for us but to receive the science ready furnished to our hand. But no; a "process" is necessary in order that we may inherit the blessings bequeathed us by Intuition. We must now look at the various conditions and steps necessary in realizing the purpose of the new method. Here is the first:

> The first thing requisite, in order to a complete and truthful investigation of the mind, its constitution, laws, and powers, is the manifestation of facts in Consciousness. Consciousness is, and must be, the ultimate foundation of all psychologic knowledge. And Consciousness is spontaneity. The constituent elements, laws, and powers of the human mind must first display themselves in spontaneous activity, in the Consciousness, before they can be reflectively known. And here is the great mystery of intelligent, personal existence, that it takes cognizance of its own actings, while they are occurring in spontaneity. That is, the personal human intelligence acts, and observes its actings, co-instantaneously. So that in every instance of conscious activity, though there is general spontaneity, there is, also, at the same time, the paradoxical fact of reflectivity, or self-observation, though it may be only slightly or faintly manifested.—Pages 247, 248.

The second condition is Self-consciousness, which the author defines as "the power of reproducing the facts and states of

Consciousness." Consciousness is involuntary, while Self-consciousness is more or less voluntary. In this process the eye of the soul is turned within, that it may, by the use of the Reflective Reason, inspect the reproduced facts of Consciousness. The author's divergence from the common view at this point is declared in the following words:

> So far from agreeing with certain philosophers, who assert that pure intuitive, absolute knowing must be involuntary, and wholly independent of personal will, I assert that the knowing consequent upon voluntary attention involved in Self-consciousness, is the purest and most absolute form of Intuition. Surely, spontaneous knowing is not the most absolute. It may be the most assertative and confident, since it accepts the results of its perceiving and affirming without questioning, and is usually backed up by the assurance of a blind instinctive belief. True, rational, scientific knowing is reflective,—is that kind of knowing which has reviewed its own processes; and hence enjoys an intelligent and satisfactory apprehension of the correctness of those processes. That which may be accepted as an absolute intuition in the spontaneity of Consciousness cannot be known infallibly to be such until it shall have been criticised in the reflectivity of Self-consciousness.—Page 250.

This last sentence states very succinctly the author's view respecting Intuitions. They spring from Consciousness, but must be taken up and acted upon by the reflective Reason in Self-consciousness, before they can be definitely known. It will be well to bear this fact in mind in the further consideration of his work.

The third condition in operating the new method the author denominates *Sub-consciousness*. Several pages are given to an elucidation of this term, and while Dr. Wentworth may have had in mind a distinct idea in connection with it, he fails to convey the idea to his readers. As clear a definition of the term as the book contains has already been quoted in connection with his discussion of the intuitive perception of the *laws* regulating mental processes. The prerogative of Sub-consciousness is to furnish a knowledge of the laws, causes, and powers attaching to mental operations. The kernels furnished by Consciousness are passed through the double mill of Self-consciousness and Sub-consciousness, the bran and worthless particles are excluded, and the product is the fine flour of intuitive truth.

The observational part of this process involves three distinct

steps. The first is discrimination, or the differentiation of psychical facts. The mind observes its own phenomena, and brings order out of chaos by classification. The second step is analysis, which resolves each phenomenon into its constituent elements. The third step is abstraction, which is interpreted as "the separate reflective contemplation of the resolved parts or elements of the phenomena of Consciousness, while thus resolved and held in solution." "These three acts of introspective observation," says our author, "are each intuitive in their (its?) nature."—Page 273. Just how observation—interpreted as discrimination, analysis, and abstraction—can be intuitive is not altogether apparent. More of this objection will appear farther on in the discussion.

Having traversed these various steps, and fulfilled these conditions, "Rational Intuition is the finishing stroke, the crowning act, of the process prescribed by our method of psychologic research." It will be seen that Intuition is at the end of this process, and not at the beginning. The author calls his new method by the title *Consciential*, because of its intimate connection with the facts of Consciousness, and its ability to afford a knowledge of the causes and laws back of the facts.

After giving a statement of his own method, the author makes an elaborate comparison of it with Induction as applied to questions in psychology. This transfers the field of conflict from Bacon to McCosh, as the special champion of the use of Induction in a study of the Intuitions. We must follow the tide of battle in order to get a clear idea of the book.

This contention with Dr. McCosh seems to result from two causes, one of which is a misunderstanding, and consequent misinterpretation, of that author's use of Induction. He attempts to hold McCosh to a rigid application of the Baconian method, whereas he applies it in a free and easy way to any process of reasoning which deals with the facts of observation. Dr. Wentworth argues that McCosh intended to practice "an exact and rigid adherence to those rules which Bacon laid down for the interpretation of physical nature." But a refutation of this claim is found in the following passage which our author quotes from Dr. McCosh:

> In inquiring into the evidence of the existence of native and necessary principles, into the place which they hold in the con-

stitution of the mind, into the laws by which they are guided and the way in which they manifest themselves, I am to proceed throughout in the method of Induction. I propose to prosecute the investigation in the way of the observation of facts, with an accompanying analysis and co-ordination, but still of facts which have been carefully collected. It has often been shown, that the method of Induction admits, *mutatis mutandis*, of an application to the study of the human mind as well as to that of the material universe.—Page 36.

It is clear from the explanatory Latin phrase which Dr. McCosh employs that he intended to use the method of Induction "with variations." In fact, he says in a passage not quoted by our author:

In professing to follow the method of Induction, I use the phrase as Bacon did, in a large sense, as standing for that whole mode of procedure which begins with the observation of facts, and makes its final appeal to facts as establishing the law. But in this process there may be a deductive element; as when we suppose that the law is so and so, that is, devise an hypothesis, and inquire what consequences would follow, always with the design of trying these results by facts, and adopting the alleged law only when it can stand the test.*

President Porter adds his testimony:

President McCosh entitled the earlier editions of his able work, *Intuitions of the Mind Inductively Considered*, but he used Induction in a general and popular sense.†

After declaring that Dr. McCosh intended to practice "an exact and rigid adherence" to the method of Induction, our author feels free to convict him and other philosophers of utterly mistaking the character of Induction. He says:

In common parlance, Induction is often used as synonymous with Observation. And even philosophers, who are supposed to use terms of science with the utmost precision, have been betrayed into this loose way of speaking, and thence into confusion of ideas upon this subject. Thus McCosh, in speaking of Metaphysics, says: "Like every other science which has to do with facts, it must be conducted in the inductive method, in which observation is the first process, and the last process, and the main process throughout."—Page 49.

Other philosophers there are who define Induction to be the method of Analysis and Synthesis. Even the critical Cousin, and the marvelously acute and learned Sir William Hamilton, have so spoken and treated upon it.—Page 50.

* *Intuitions*, p. 3.

† *Intellectual Science*, p. 430.

Again, our author employs an entire section, of five pages, to prove that Dr. McCosh confounds Generalization and Induction. In another part of the discussion he says:

> Let us inquire whether our author [Dr. McCosh], in his pretended discovery of these tests [of intuitive ideas] by Induction, does actually conform to the essential rules of that method of investigation.—Page 231.

Two pages are occupied in an argument to prove that he does not. Our author excoriates Dr. McCosh for using Induction, and then proceeds to prove conclusively that he does not use it in any correct sense of the term.

From all this we reach the conclusion that Dr. McCosh uses the method of Induction, not in a "rigid" but in a free and easy way, and that in fighting his processes of reasoning our author is not always discharging his batteries into the exact Baconian method.

But a more fruitful cause of the controversy with Dr. McCosh is our author's wide divergence from him and other philosophers in his theory of the Reason; and in this he finds the root and justification of the new method. The common notion has been, that intuitive ideas are impressed upon the mind by a law of its constitution; the new theory is, that the mind can (somehow) by direct vision see the truth of these ideas. The following passage will present the contrast:

> It does not convince us that we know and possess the truth, by being told that we are constrained by the constituent principles of our being to believe thus and so, and that it is impossible for us to believe otherwise. A thought, imposed upon me by a law of my mind, cannot truly be said to be an intellection. A conviction, irresistibly created in my mind, is by no means the same as an act of knowing; and it is only genuine, positive acts of knowing that can assure me that I am in possession of absolute truth. Unless the mind is endowed with the ability of directly seeing things as they are, of seeing, in this manner, the eternal realities of being, and their immutable relations, then, whatever it may think, or imagine, or believe, it must forever be destitute of genuine knowledge. The intellect must be endowed with the faculty of immediate sight and insight, of unerring, absolute Intuition, or it is without any capacity for apprehending the truth.—Page 391.

We can hardly believe that our author considers the operations of the intellect as free, as not "constrained by the constituent principles of our being;" and that his new theory of

the Reason leaves us free to accept intuitive ideas or reject them; yet such seems to be the drift of this passage. And then, just what he means by the oft-repeated phrase, "immediate sight and insight," it is not easy to determine. We are furnished with no method of determining what an Intuition is. We are told that the Reason "immediately sees" it; but unfortunately the Reason of most men does not immediately see many things that are claimed as Intuitions by our author. What are considered Intuitions by some are differently interpreted by others. Take, for example, *time* and *space*, which our author, with most others, places among the prime truths. Many metaphysicians are contending that they are not realities, but mere relations. (See Dr. Cocker's *Theistic Conception of the World*, page 71; and Professor Bowne's *Metaphysics*, page 177, etc.) That the mind is able by immediate vision to behold ideas, laws, principles, to inspect its own operations, and reach conclusions without the intervention of any process of reasoning, seems to us unphilosophical.

President Porter seems to have in mind the new theory of our author when, in a brief historical sketch of the theories that have been held respecting Intuitions, he uses the following language:

> It has been extensively taught that these original ideas and first truths are discerned by direct *insight* or *intuition* independently of any relation to phenomena. The power to behold them is conceived as a special *sense* for the true, the original, and the infinite; as a divine Reason which is permitted to gaze directly upon that which is eternally true. Such are the representations of Plato, Plotinus, etc., among the ancients. Thus the Platonizing and Cartesian divines of the 17th century, as Henry More, John Smith of Cambridge, Ralph Cudworth, and multitudes of others, freely express themselves. Malebranche, Schelling, Coleridge, Cousin, and others, have given sanction to such views more or less clearly conceived and expressed. Those, who combine with philosophic acuteness the power of vivid imagination and eloquent exposition, not unfrequently meet the difficulties which attend the analysis and explanation of the foundations of knowledge by these half-poetic and half-philosophic representations. It is manifest that the representations which they give are not true when literally interpreted. No direct inspection of primitive ideas and principles is conceivable. It is not by withdrawing the attention from, but by fixing it upon, the facts and phenomena of the actual world that the truths and relations of the world which is ideal and rational can be discerned at all.*

* *Intellectual Science*, p. 434.

Our author's new theory imposes upon the Reason an undue amount of labor. According to his theory, not only does the Reason furnish us intuitive ideas, but it also performs the work of the inner sense in observing the operations of the Mind, as well as the work of the Understanding in reasoning upon the facts observed. Metaphysicians have commonly confined the work of the Reason to the production of intuitive ideas; while the presentative or observing faculty has been allowed to do the work of introspection of the mind's operations; and to the Understanding has been assigned the task of classifying and judging. In other words (as these faculties are only terms used to aid our thought, and express merely the acts of which the mind is capable), our author teaches that furnishing intuitive ideas, introspecting the mind's operations, and determining principles or laws are identical acts, while they have commonly been regarded as very distinct. He puts upon the Reason a large part of the work which has commonly been assigned to the Understanding, and to Perception, or the Inner Sense. In other words, he has no use for the other faculties of the mind in psychology, but puts upon the Reason the entire labor of constructing a mental science.

If the above exposition of Dr. Wentworth's theory of the Reason be correct, it will readily appear that he could not walk in agreement with Dr. McCosh, who finds in the Reason simply intuitive ideas, which are authenticated and classified by the Inner Perception and the Understanding. We are very strongly impressed, however, that the disagreement largely arises from the pernicious habit which metaphysicians have of calling the same thing by different names. Under the terms, "Self-consciousness," "Introspection," "Reflective Reason," etc., Dr. Wentworth seems to include substantially what Dr. McCosh means by Induction. Our author devotes a chapter to proving that his method is rigidly scientific. The first reason given is, that it is grounded in observation, and he has already quoted Dr. McCosh as saying of the inductive method, that Observation is its first, last, and main process. The entire process, which the author describes under the head of Self-consciousness, seems to be a blending of what other metaphysicians place in the categories of Inner Perception and the Understanding. His "discrimination," "analysis," and "abstraction" seem to be sub-

stantially, though not formally, the Induction which he has so soundly berated. In various parts of the book we find such passages as the following:

Although in the spontaneity of conscious and primary activity we may feel the trustworthiness of our knowing faculties, and may enjoy an undoubting assurance of the reliability of their decisions, we are not, when we have arrived at self-conscious maturity, satisfied with this native confidence we have in their credibility. We desire to gain, also, a *reflective* assurance of their credibility. And *we are constrained to criticise* them, and *determine their trustworthiness by the use of scientific rules and tests.* —Page 287.

It deserves to be here repeated, however, that Consciousness is the antecedent and pre-requisite of Self-consciousness. The latter is wholly dependent upon the former, and is, and must be, forever limited to the *use of the materials which it furnishes.* Self-conscious reflectivity can prosecute its researches only as it *seizes upon, and employs itself about, the reproduced phenomena of Consciousness.* The reproduction of the concrete facts of conscious spontaneity, that is its initial and most fundamental work. The truth of all its subsequent affirmations and conclusions is dependent upon *the accuracy with which that work is done.*— Page 251, etc.

Now, absolute knowledge is given to us in the theory of investigation and criticism, [which ?] I have endeavored to unfold. And, therefore, this theory fulfills the conditions of an adequate scientific critique of the rational intellect. It does this, in that it presents to us, at every step and stage of the process, the rational intellect itself in introspective intuitive action; not in ordinary intuitive action, as when engaged upon singular objects; or, as when, employed upon pure and abstract ideas, it cognizes and affirms axiomatic and primary truths; but, as turned inward upon itself in introspection, and *gazing, with clear, perceptive vision, upon its own actings and productions;* thus *verifying its own knowledge, questioning and deciding upon the validity of its own faculties and modes of cognition,* and empowering itself, with absolute certainty, to make the marvelous and seemingly paradoxical assertion that it has absolute knowledge that it knows with certainty.—Page 290, etc.

Every cognition, belief, judgment, or affirmation of the rational intellect given in spontaneity, when reproduced in Self-consciousness, and *subjected to the gaze of the Reflective Reason,* must, there and then, yield up all it contains, and be precisely what it is seen to be. Every one of these must wholly disclose itself, in its elements, relations, modes of genesis, and degrees of certainty, *when analyzed by the Reason in intuitive self-conscious action.*—P. 291.

We are constrained to think that the phrases italicized in the foregoing passages all point to processes of reasoning which,

more or less, involve the Inductive method; Dr. Wentworth assigning the whole operation to the Reason, while Dr. McCosh and others find employment in it for the Perception, the Reason, and the Understanding.

Still further, our author feels called upon, near the close of his work, to explain that his method does not lead to pure idealism, or a denial of the existence of matter; and in so doing has occasion to disclose a still broader scope for the Intuitions, and a heavier task for the already over-burdened Reason. It might be objected to his method, he says, that it can furnish no knowledge of matter, since all mental "facts, causes, and laws" are given by Intuition. His solution of this difficulty is, that our knowledge of matter is likewise intuitive. The Reason immediately apprehends the existence of matter, performing, in addition to all its other labors, the work of the sense perception. He says:

> Our method declares that, by means of sensation, both self and body are simultaneously introduced into Consciousness, and thus subjected to the searching insight of the Reason in intuitive action. Through sensation, the Reason intuites (?!) body as a real substance as readily as it does self.—Page 395.

But, while furnishing a knowledge of the existence of matter, the Reason does nothing more; the nature, qualities, laws of matter, must be discovered by some other process. Thus it appears that Intuition furnishes us a knowledge of the fundamental ideas of the mind, as well as the causes, laws, and results of mental operations, and also a knowledge of the existence of matter. To the Reason are thus assigned the duties of sense perception and inner perception, and to the Understanding is left merely the task of searching for the nature, qualities, and laws of matter.

Our knowledge of mind and all its operations is intuitive; our knowledge of the existence of matter is intuitive; but our author grants to Induction the humble task of investigating the laws and qualities of matter. It would seem as though consistency requires him to halt his method at the boundaries of matter, and proclaim himself a pure idealist; or, having crossed the border, to make a complete conquest of both realms, and drive Induction from physical as well as mental science.

The book closes with a series of conclusions or corollaries

that necessarily follow if the author's main propcsitions are correct. These conclusions have no place in his discussion unless they depend upon his theory, and sink or swim with it. For some of them this claim is directly made, while as much is not asserted of others. It is not necessary to call attention to all these inferences, but some of them need to be emphasized. One is of great importance, namely, that his method enables us to define the precise extent and limits of the science of psychology:

> And what distinctness of outline and definiteness of aim do those principles of method we have set forth impart to psychological science! By them we learn that psychology has only to do with what the Reflective Reason intuitively perceives, as it looks in upon the facts of Consciousness. Whatever is beyond the possible intuition of the reason, as it is engaged in scanning and questioning the phenomena of the inner world, is outside of the jurisdiction of this science, and ought not to be regarded as a matter of psychologic quest, or thought.—Page 344.

According to the theory of our author the facts of psychology can be reached only by Introspection, and are apprehended intuitively. On such a theory, of course, every thing is ruled out that intuition does not reveal. Mental science is, no doubt, greatly simplified by such a process. The author says further:

> The sole faculty of the intellect which psychology employs is Reason—in the attitude of Introspection. The only data with which it is concerned are conscious facts and their environments, self-consciously reproduced. The only intellectual process which it brings into requisition is intuitive sight and insight.—Page 344.

Furthermore, our author denies that any process of reasoning is necessary in determining the laws and environments of our intuitions. He says:

> Unless, when I reflect upon the Intuitions of Reason, I do so by the use of Reason itself, in intuitive action—unless, when reproduced in Self-consciousness, I look upon them directly, and apprehend their absolute truthfulness immediately, and without any sort of probation or reasoning, I can never be satisfied of their unerring veracity, nor rely upon the immutable certainty of their decisions. —Page 218.

To indulge in a process of reasoning respecting our intuitions is to cast doubt upon them, according to this and other

statements of the book. Not only the ideas, but all facts and laws related to them, are determined by Intuition.

If all this be true, we should enlarge the scope of the corollary above referred to, and declare that our author's method makes the study of metaphysics unnecessary and impossible. If all our knowledge of mental operations is intuitive there is no place left for investigation; all reasoning respecting the powers and laws of mind is excluded. If it requires no process of reasoning to discover intuitive ideas, and if it invalidates them to reason about them; if, as the author asserts, "psychological classification" (page 115), "the laws governing mental operations" (page 126), and "mental causes and powers" (page 132) are all "intuitively apprehended," there is no room for the study of mental science. We already know intuitively respecting it all that can be known. And, really, this elaborate discussion of the subjects involved is wholly unnecessary; for, already, according to his theory, men apprehend intuitively all that he reasons so valiantly to teach them.

To give this objection another form, is not the fact that most metaphysicians do not take the view of our author positive proof that his theory is incorrect? If Intuition furnishes all the ideas he enumerates, why has it not furnished them to the thinkers whose theories he seeks to demolish? For, what is an intuition? Take the author's own definition: "It is a conviction, cognition, or judgment of the mind by which a truth is perceived or a fact is known immediately, and without reasoning."—Page 224. Why have not all the truths of our author's book been "perceived immediately and without reasoning" by metaphysicians? and does not the fact that they have not been so perceived tend to cast suspicion upon them? If he is the only one who, at this late day, has discovered their nature, is it not probable that they are not what he takes them to be?

And we are constrained to say, further, that his entire divergence from former lines of metaphysical inquiry, and the severity of the judgment he pronounces upon former investigators, greatly tend to discredit all metaphysical study. If the main work of each writer on the subject is to point out, with no little warmth and acidity, the absurdities and contradictions of fellow-laborers in the same field, the ordinary reader receives

the impression that such speculations are of no profit. We reached the conclusion years ago, that in the domain of metaphysics it is the simplest possible matter for even acute and thoughtful men to talk nonsense. Stately and pretentious words are rolled out in magnificent array, which are burdened with no clear thought; and the writers are not reluctant to convict each other of contradiction and folly. Our author is not blind to this state of things. He says:

> What has been the effect of this general contempt with which the results of psychologic thinking have been regarded—of this supposed unreliable nature of that extended mass of literature which has borne the name of Mental Philosophy? I answer, the effect has been to bring discredit upon all the highest branches of Scientific pursuit; to create a general distrust as to the reliability of all kinds of human learning; and to awaken and give countenance to that worst, most desperate and incurable of all species of skepticism, namely, lack of faith in the truthfulness and credibility of our intellectual powers.—Page 362.

We greatly fear that his speculations, instead of remedying this evil, have tended to make it worse.

Another inference is, that the adoption of his method must result in the eradication of sensationalism and materialism, and he exclaims, "A consummation devoutly to be wished!"—Page 347. We should be glad to have such a result accomplished, but cannot see how the adoption of any method in mental science must necessarily prevent a certain class of thinkers from believing that matter is the sum and substance of all things. Clearly this is not a corollary of our author's main proposition.

Another conclusion reached is, that the adoption of his method will banish the use of material comparisons and illustrations from metaphysical discussions. He very justly says:

> When the attempt is made to explain mental phenomena by physical allusions, confusion of thought always ensues; the mind is cheated into the belief of a real analogy where none whatever exists.—Page 358.

There can be no doubt that much of the confusion existing in metaphysical literature results from the imperfection of language, which requires the use of figures of speech in discussing mental ideas. The mind is very prone to rest in the figure and go no further. And especially where the thought itself is somewhat confused, the use of illustrations results in "confu-

sion worse confounded." If, therefore, he can relieve philosophy from the use of figures of speech he will render the world of thought a real service. But, alas! the author and special champion of the new method found it necessary to use a material illustration in the elucidation of that most recondite and mysterious thing which he denominates "Sub-consciousness." He says:

> I have somewhere read, that if a stringed instrument be played in the vicinity of other instruments of its kind each of its tones will by them be answered and repeated in subdued and gentle undulations. And this is a fitting illustration of my meaning.—Page 130.

In confirmation of his own criticism on the use of such figures, it may be doubted whether his illustration in this case will convey any meaning whatever to his readers. And yet in the present state of language metaphysical writers must employ figures or cease to write. Figures are wrapped up in single words, and much of the self-contradiction and criticism to be found in metaphysical literature results from misinterpretation of figures and misunderstanding of words.

The remaining inferences touch the sphere of theology, and are of vital consequence to religion and morals. The claim is directly made, that we cannot know God by any other method than his. Dr. Wentworth utterly discredits all proofs of the divine existence which result from a chain of reasoning. The knowledge of God is an intuition—nothing more or less. Here is a statement, at some length, of his position:

> If the being of God must be ascertained by us as the concluding result of a chain of reasoning, carried on by the employment of abstract ideas, as is almost universally consented to by all theologians, whether of the Cambridge Platonic School, of which Cudworth and Clark are the representatives, or of the more realistic school represented by Paley, then to me it appears plain that no scientific foundation can be found for theology, and we are forced to accept Kant's skeptical position with reference to the divine existence. . . . The propositions contained in the last section I am obliged to admit, whatever may be the result; for they approve themselves to my reason; and I seem clearly to discern their truth. What follows? Why, that our cognitions of the Divine Being as being, in order to be valid, and to afford a solid basis to theology as a department of ontological science, must be gained through intuitions, not as the result of syllogistic forms of thinking. I must confess myself unsatisfied with,

and unconvinced by, those arguments concerning the being of God, the living, personal God of Christianity, that are drawn from the ideas of the necessary and the contingent, the absolute and the conditional, the infinite and the finite, evolved in the mind by abstruse metaphysical reflection; or, from the notions of intelligent design, derived from viewing the wise correlations and combinations of objects and forces in the natural world. . . . In order that I may apprehend God as an actual existence, he must immediately impress himself upon my Consciousness. He must reveal himself to my inner being, by the production therein of such phenomena as will afford my reason an opportunity or occasion for intuitively beholding the divine nature.—Pages 408–412.

It is certainly a startling statement that we have had no means of knowing the existence of God until this method was discovered in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and that the proofs of the divine existence stand or fall with the theory of this book. We have been waiting and hoping for a universal recognition of an Intuition of the divine existence, but confess ourselves alarmed at the deliberate proposition to abandon all other lines of proof. In view of the author's statement that a knowledge of all being is derived by Intuition, the argument that the Arab is said to have made for the existence of God, by pointing to the tracks of a camel in the sand about his tent, will have a new meaning. Not only the existence of God, but that of the camel also, will be known as an Intuition, according to the new method. If the "foot-prints" of God in creation do not prove his existence, neither do the foot-prints in the sand prove the existence of the camel.

A knowledge of human freedom is also made dependent on the acceptance of this new method. The Baconian method is declared to bind all things in the chains of necessity. The following passages contain the substance of the argument:

Free facts—that is, those not produced by the force of an internal or external necessity, but which might, upon the mere choice of a free agent, have been otherwise—the inductive method, from its very nature, is compelled to ignore. In all its researches, it goes upon the assumption of the indissoluble and unvarying connection of natural cause and effect. It not only takes for granted the principle that every beginning must have a cause, but that every beginning must be the necessary result of its own cause. It not only begins with postulating the great principle of Cause and Effect, but also assumes, with reference to all facts lying within its proper range, that their causes must,

under like circumstances, invariably produce the same effects. Now, these postulates of Induction are true when predicated of physical phenomena and causes, to the investigation of which that method is precisely adequate, but, when predicated of some of the facts and causes that appear in Consciousness, they squarely contradict the great fact of man's freedom, and are as false as any propositions can be. . . . Though ten thousand facts, proceeding from a free cause, might be submitted to its inspection, this method would forever remain blind to their true nature; nor could it ever attain to a correct apprehension of the nature of their cause. . . . Those philosophers who have learned to view the human mind from the inductive stand-point, and have undertaken the exploration of Consciousness guided by the rules of the inductive theory, have, almost invariably, arrived at conclusions irreconcilable with the doctrine of man's free agency. —Pages 432–434.

On the other hand, it is claimed that the new method "admits and explains the free facts of Consciousness." Only about one and one half pages are given to the proof of this claim, and there seems to be need of a fuller exposition. In fact, it is merely a statement, and not a demonstration. The substance of the passage is contained in the following sentences:

As, however, the student of mind who shall begin and prosecute his researches under the guidance of those rules of method set forth in this treatise, shall enter the arcana of his own being, moved with the desire to know himself, he will not be required to look through any discoloring or distorting medium, nor will he be hindered, by the philosophical spectacles he may wear, from seeing any class of facts having existence there. On the contrary, the principles of his method will require him not to overlook any thing, and to look at every thing precisely as it is, while turning the eye of rational Reflection within, and gazing upon the objects and realities of that wondrous realm of being, illuminated, as it is, by the white light of Consciousness; and, at the same time, he is assured that he can see every thing there just as it is, since the seeing is, in this case, performed by the Reason in intuitive action; the eye of rational personality being turned in upon movements, laws, and forces that are immediately disclosed to it, as they stand forth self-consciously disclosed.—Pages 436, 437.

It is true that philosophers have mainly fallen short of a clear apprehension of free agency. Human freedom is an exception in the general order of things, and they are reluctant to admit the principle of exceptions. The law of necessity calmly reigns throughout the material universe. Plants and animals grow and propagate beneath its relentless sway. It is

only rational beings who break from under this wide-spread principle; and even here the revolt is only partial. The mind, in its operations, is mainly under the sway of laws that are absolute and unrelenting. Only in one direction, and with respect to one class of acts, is the human mind free. As Dr. Wentworth declares, this freedom can be predicated of only "some of the facts and causes that appear in Consciousness." God has seen fit to exempt rational beings from the operation of this otherwise universal law of necessity, so far as to give them the power of choice in moral questions; and it is not strange that philosophers should overlook this exception, or even deny its existence. It is very doubtful whether philosophy will ever throw much light on this question, and whether one method will be more availing than another in its elucidation remains to be seen. In the meantime, in his dealings with men, God serenely assumes that they are free, and, in their intercourse with one another, they act on the same assumption.

The last inference is of immense scope, namely, that the new method affords a reliable basis for the moral and rational sciences. Our author says:

> The Humanities and Rational Sciences are numerous, and quite as useful and practical as those which depend for their origin and growth upon physical observation, as must at once appear upon a mention of a few of them, such as Logic, Natural Theology, Moral Philosophy, Rhetoric, Political Economy, Jurisprudence, and the Laws of Nations. The "materiel" of this class of sciences consists, in the last analysis, for the most part of ideas, concepts, notions, which spring up within the mind itself by the action of subjective laws and processes of thinking, feeling, and acting. The validity and truth of this class of sciences will, therefore, depend almost wholly upon the care and accuracy with which these elementary ideas and concepts and notions are fashioned, and the correctness with which the deductive processes of reasoning upon them or from them shall be carried on. If this work of fashioning the elementary ideas and concepts, and of reasoning thereupon, shall be performed with entire correctness, the resultant systems of thought will be free from all admixture of error; and thus be intellectually nutritive and practically reliable, and wholly deserving of the name of science. The correctness with which the above-named work is wrought, is, and must be, chiefly conditioned upon the clearness with which the ideas and concepts of the mind are envisaged, as they shall be inspected in Self-consciousness, and the fullness and accuracy with which the relations involved in them shall be perceived and stated in the reasoning

processes. And it is here, in the securement of this clearness of envisagement, and this fullness and accuracy of apprehension of abstract relations, that our method is capable of furnishing the most valuable assistance.—Pages 439, 440.

It is not here claimed that our author's method can do more than furnish the ideas and facts upon which these sciences are built; but, according to the whole tenor of the previous discussions, the "work of fashioning the elementary ideas and concepts, and of reasoning upon them," is liable to vitiate the conclusions reached, and to render the result worthless. In the face of his own reasoning he can hardly claim reliability in the moral and rational sciences as a corollary of his method.

Such is an imperfect outline of the arguments and claims of this, in many respects, remarkable work. The aim of the book is nothing less than a revolution in mental science. The author does not deny that some truth has been discovered, but he proposes for the future to set aside all former methods and pursue the investigations of metaphysics by an entirely new process; and he pronounces his method to be "of a distinctively unique and peculiar character." If all that he claims for it is valid, it is a genuine insurrection against all older authorities in psychology, and it might prove a great blessing to mankind. All that remains to be desired is a satisfactory demonstration that the theory is correct. The author can hardly expect it to be received without question by those who have been accustomed to think along other lines; and, in fact, he does not so expect, but fully understands that he runs the hazard of failure in publishing his theory to the world. He says:

To succeed, however, in our attempt requires more than speculative independence. To doubt a long-cherished and almost universally received opinion is one thing, to vindicate and establish the doubt is quite another; but, nevertheless, I propose to hazard the undertaking; even failure herein is not dishonorable.—Page 57.

And, surely, to fail "herein is not dishonorable." If the author is at fault in his conclusions it is in a field where all have gone astray, some partially, some totally. It is to be hoped that his book will attract the attention of metaphysicians, and call forth extensive criticism and review. He may well covet and invite a searching analysis of his theory from those best able to render it.

ART. IV.—CORRESPONDENCE OF DR. COKE AND EZEKIEL COOPER.

[THE following letters—most of which have never before been printed—have been selected from the posthumous papers of Mr. Cooper, and are now given to the public as a valuable contribution to early Methodist history, and as an honorable record for both of the writers. The selections have been made by Rev. G. A. Phoebus.—ED. METH. REVIEW.]

Rev. Ezekiel Cooper to Dr. Coke:

August 11, 1791.

. . . Permit a friend to drop a caution to you, viz.: when you visit this Continent again, come with great care, with precaution, for you are suspected, by some of your sincere friends, to have conducted yourself when last here with a degree of unkindness to this Connection, and especially to our ever worthy brother A., [Asbury]. It appears to them as tho' there were designs against Brother A., and you must know nothing will touch the majority of our preachers sooner and more powerfully than to seek the unjust injury of him who has served them so long and so faithfully. I am unwilling to say too much upon this critical subject; but, feeling sensibly for the cause, I drop a few hints. I fear our brother in the lower part of Virginia [J. O'Kelly] is too much prejudiced against Mr. A., and I candidly believe his ambition carries him to measures unbecoming a servant of Jesus, in filling other minds with his own prejudices to strengthen his party, and obtain a conquest for a conquest. Should you favor his scheme, it may be very unthankfully received by you that I thus speak. But, let others mistrust as they may, I am unwilling to suppose you would unite with a party spirit, which, if persisted in, will certainly make havoc, division, etc. . . .

Be assured there are strange spirits at work. I wish to be for no party but the blessed cause of Jesus, and to unite with that which appears just, wise, and scriptural. . . .

I am, yours, etc., EZ. COOPER.

Dr. Coke to Mr. Cooper:

NEW CHAPEL, CITY ROAD, LONDON, *Nov.* 22, 1791.

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER: I would have written to you sooner; but a variety of circumstances have prevented. Soon after the English Conference, I found it in my heart to visit France. . . .

I had some design of going over to you "for good and all," as the common proverb is: but I now feel such a desire of being the happy instrument of spreading the Gospel in France that I believe I shall never give up my labors there entirely to others.

I hope to see you at the General Conference. However, remember, I come as a man of peace. O my dear brother, I only

desire to live to be in some degree an instrument of uniting God to man, and man to man. The salvation of souls, and the *union* of believers, shall be, I am determined, my only points to aim at and pursue, from this time forward. The time for every thing else is past. The Lord enable me to devote the remainder of my life's short day to his glory. . . . I am, your very affectionate Brother,

THOMAS COKE.

In 1798, Dr. Coke wrote to Mr. Cooper two letters, from which the following extracts are taken:

LONDON, *April* 21, 1798.

VERY DEAR BROTHER: . . . Unless I am particularly wanted in America, I believe I shall spend the next winter in England, God willing, which will enable me to settle all my little affairs in this country in the completest manner, so as to be ready to devote myself to the service of my American brethren: not but I shall be at any time ready at the call of those whose servant, for Jesus's sake, I now particularly consider myself; I mean the Methodist societies on your continent. . . .

After what I have observed above, you may easily perceive that my return to this country for a season, at the importunate request of the British Conference and by the advice of Bishop Asbury and the Virginia Conference, is not by me considered as in the least degree dissolving my solemn engagements which I made to the last General Conference in America. Though I am now here, as it were, the prisoner of the Lord, I am, notwithstanding, yours by every tie which love and truth can make. . . .

Your very affectionate brother, T. COKE.

In the second letter, under date of December 18, 1798, after recounting the terrible scenes of bloody strife then raging, the rebellion in Ireland, the persecution of the Methodists in the island of Jersey, and the increased responsibilities thrown upon the doctor in caring for the suffering and persecuted flock, there is the following:

If I was to give you the accounts of their [the Methodists'] sufferings which are now in my possession, you would be exquisitely pained. At last the government of the island passed a law for the banishment of all our people able to bear arms, which of course included their families. On this, we appealed to the King and Council, to whom an appeal lay: and our Government at home has indeed acted in the noblest and most generous manner. They have not only annulled the law, but are taking effectual steps to prevent any persecution in future. Our people in Britain are certainly unspeakably obliged to their Government for the pains it has taken in consequence of our appeal. But this business, which lay *entirely* upon me, has engrossed my time almost night and day for about ten weeks. So that your loan of

me to England has not, you see, been useless through the blessing of God. . . .

Pray for your truly affectionate brother, T. COKE.

In 1802 Dr. Coke wrote again to Mr. Cooper, from which letter the following extract is taken, showing his tender regard for his American brethren, and his recognition of his obligations to our Church:

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER: The great revival on the continent [of America] rejoices me exceedingly—yea, more, I can truly say, than a revival in any other country in the world. I have read to thousands, and shall read, God willing, to tens of thousands, the accounts I have already received of the progress of the work in Maryland, Delaware, and Tennessee. I am glad to find that my two old venerable colleagues are able, by travelling separately, to preside at all the Annual Conferences. I frequently travel with them in spirit, and never forget them and my other American brethren any night whatever, while I am bowing my knees before the throne. I am yours to command; and consider my solemn offer of myself to you at the General Conference before the last [Conference of 1796], to be as binding on me now as when first made; and nothing shall keep me from a final residence with you, when I, God willing, meet you at your next General Conference, but such an interference of Divine Providence as does not at present exist, and such as shall convince the General Conference that I ought to tear myself from you. Nothing less, I do assure you, shall prevail with me to leave you. . . .

Pray for your faithful friend and brother, T. COKE.

LIVERPOOL, *Mar.* 6, 1802.

In 1803 Bishop Coke wrote to Mr. Cooper as follows:

LINCOLNSHIRE, *Aug.* 29, 1803.

DEAR FRIEND: I sit down to write to you one short letter before I have the pleasure, God willing, of seeing you. I intend to sail in an American ship for Philadelphia, Baltimore, or New York in October. The Lord has opened my way wonderfully and clearly (I was going to say, that he has written it on my mind as with a sun-beam) to be wholly yours. He has endued the British Conference with the true missionary spirit: and they can and will support the West India Missions, God willing, with ease. They indeed used every argument which pure love and great esteem could suggest to detain me. But I am now going to spend the remainder of my life with you. The Lord blesses me with wonderful health for one in his 56th year of age; and, blessed be his name, he does in infinite condescension make himself known to me. I am much obliged to you, very much obliged to you, for your kind attention from time to time in circulating my letters; and for your many other kind instances of friendship.

Please give my love to y^e^ Preachers; and remember me before the Throne of grace. God bless you. I am,

Your much obliged and affectionate brother and faithful friend,

T. Coke.

In 1805 Bishop Coke addressed a Circular Letter to all the preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, printed by Strahan and Preston, Printers Street, London. Though reference is made to the Circular by Dr. Bangs in his *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, the text is not given.

Very dear Brother: Before you have received this letter, you will probably have heard of the alteration which has taken place in my state of life by marriage. I therefore feel it my duty to write to you in the fullest and most ingenuous manner, in respect of my relation to you, and the Methodist Connection in the United States of America.

About ten years ago, when it was the unanimous judgment of the General Conference that the Episcopacy needed to be strengthened, I proposed to reside with you for life; in consequence of which the most solemn engagements were entered into on both sides. The fulfillment of these engagements was delayed, with the consent of the Conference, by various circumstances then unforeseen; but I have never broken them in the smallest instance: and am now as willing to fulfill them as ever I was at any moment since I made them. My most beloved wife is also equally willing. She is, indeed, a twin soul to myself. Never, I think, was there a more perfect congeniality between two human beings than between us.

But, on the other hand, I should be the most ungrateful of husbands if I trifled with her health or feelings. It therefore does not appear at all probable that I shall make you another transitory visit. I cannot think of leaving my most dear wife for so long a time as a transitory visit would require; nor can I think of making her cross the Atlantic ocean twice for such a purpose. If we come to you at all, we come for life. But if we come for life, we come under the most express, permanent, and unalterable conditions; except in the case of the death of Bishop Asbury, in which case I should consider it as my duty to sail for America as soon as possible. But before I mention these conditions, I must make some observations respecting my venerable and highly esteemed friend, Bishop Asbury.

As far as I know my own heart, I can most truly say, that I have not a wish in my soul to intrude in the least degree on the labors of Brother Asbury. As long as he can regularly visit the seven Annual Conferences, you do not want me. But if he was so debilitated that he could not attend the seven Conferences, I should be willing to come over to you for life, on the express

condition that the seven Conferences should be divided betwixt us, three and four, and four and three, each of us changing our division annually; and that this plan at all events should continue permanent and unalterable during both our lives. I trust that our gracious Lord will continue so to strengthen Brother Asbury, that the necessity or expedience of this plan may not happen. But if it do, the Annual Conferences or the General Conference must be consulted on this business, and I have no doubt but they will determine with the utmost sincerity, and irrevocable integrity. I promise also, on my part, to abide most sacredly by my engagements, and to be yours entirely for life, if you judge it expedient, on the conditions before mentioned. Nothing, in that case, shall detain me in Europe for a moment after I have settled my affairs, but such an illness on my wife's or my own part as will absolutely incapacitate her or me from going on ship-board: for I can by no means leave her behind me.

But there is no present appearance that we shall be detained on the above account. My wife is one of the best of women; she breathes the genuine spirit of a Christian pilgrim, and would go with me any where, yea, through fire and water, in the will of God. My health has not been so good as it is at present, I think, ever since I first visited America, or even then, praised be God. The constitution of my beloved wife is a very delicate one; but with great care and attention it is my opinion that it is likely to bear the fatigues of travelling for many, many years. She has been, indeed, brought up in a most tender and delicate manner, and therefore needs conveniences through life which others, not brought up in the same tender way, have no need of. But the Lord has blessed her, and me through her, with a sufficiency to supply both her and my wants, in every respect, without being burdensome to any society.

We were married on the 1st of last April, and in six weeks we travelled about 400 miles; and in a few days we are going on another tour of about 600 miles, in which we shall cross the Irish Channel.

I must now observe that I do not intend, by any of the observations I have made, to derogate, in the smallest degree, from the worth and integrity of my old, venerable, and worthy friend, Bishop Whatcoat. I have, ever since I knew him, held him in very high esteem; but his age and infirmities render it impossible for him now to take even half the work *entirely* under his own care as a bishop. But I am truly thankful to find, by the accounts I have lately received from America, that he is able to meet Bishop Asbury at many of the Conferences.

There is no remarkable revival in the British or Irish circuits at present, but there has been a gradual increase in Britain. Our missions, both at home and abroad, prosper very much. I have sent to Brother Cooper and Brother Wilson a printed account of their prosperity, which I lately drew up. I bless God that the Committee which the Conference has granted me to aid

me in the management of the finances of the missions, to answer letters, etc., etc., etc., have shown such attention to the business, and have afforded me such aid, that I am now assured that the missions may be carried on with spirit without me, notwithstanding the fears of my British brethren in Conference concerning them.

Favor me with an answer to this letter, directed to me at the New Chapel, City-Road, London; and give me some account of the work of God in your district or circuit. Accounts of the great revival in America are exceedingly pleasing and profitable to our congregations in Great Britain and Ireland, and to the readers of our magazines. I wish you could see all my heart: if you did, you would find it as much, as cordially, attached to the American Methodists as ever it was in any part of my life.

I now leave the whole to the gracious disposal of our God; and recommend you, as I do daily, in humble and earnest prayer to his gracious protection. Remember me and my dear wife in your prayers; and believe me to be, what I most sincerely am,

Your very affectionate brother, and faithful friend,

T. COKE.

NEW CHAPEL, CITY-ROAD,
LONDON, *June* 1, 1805.

The reply of the Annual Conferences to the above Circular Letter drew forth from Bishop Coke the Circular Letter dated Jan. 6, 1807, a copy of which is now given. In it will be seen the defense made by the doctor against certain statements contained in the letter of the Annual Conferences:

(Copy.)

FALMOUTH, COUNTY OF CORNWALL, ENGLAND, *Jan.* 6, 1807.

MY VERY DEAR BRETHREN: I have received your Official Letter and sit down to vindicate myself, as I value your esteem very much. But it will be nearly impossible for me so to do to your full satisfaction, unless you give me credit concerning my motives —concerning the movements of my heart, as far as I am acquainted with them, and the views and intentions of my mind. I then, in the first place, declare to you that I have a strong and unfeigned love toward you all, and that the interests of the cause of God among us in the United States of America cleave very closely to my heart, and are a subject of my daily prayers.

In the second place, I highly venerate Bishop Asbury, and consider him as a second father, instrumentally, of the work among us in the United States. (Excuse me for using the word *us*, for I still consider myself as one of *you*.) I must, therefore, beg (and claim it from your candor) that nothing I shall say in my own defense may be considered in the least degree as disrespectful to him; as I consider him as acting in every thing which relates to me, as well as in all his episcopal labors, according to your will, that is, the will of the General Conference. I now proceed to my vindication.

About ten or eleven years ago the General Conference voted that *the Episcopacy needed to be strengthened.* The debate was remarkably solemn and affecting; and I was moved, by my ardent love of the work, to offer myself to you as a Coadjutor with Bishop Asbury, *for the strengthening of the Episcopacy.* Many were the prayers put up and many and solemn were the *reciprocal* engagements entered into at that time.

Either that day or the next, Bishop Asbury proposed to me a plan of operations—I was to visit Albany, Vermont, and the whole of the New England States, as far as our work then extended in those parts, taking Philadelphia, New York, and if I pleased, the Peninsula in my way; and to meet Bishop Asbury in the spring in some part of New England. I was astonished I did not see in this plan anything which related in the least degree to my being a Coadjutor in the Episcopacy, or which at all served to strengthen it; though it was for that purpose, as the primary point, that it was thought eligible by the General Conference that I should reside for life in America. Bishop Asbury was to hold the three Southern Conferences entirely by himself, and I was to spend my whole time *merely* as a preacher; and on a plan upon which I should spend the chief part of my time in preaching to very few. The Northern States would be covered with snow. I should have mountains of snow to ride over, only to preach in general (a few towns excepted) to the family where I was and a few of their neighbours. When Bishop Asbury retired, I fell on my face before God and said, "O God, what have I done?" Some of the presiding elders came to me afterwards to form my plan: and I was still more convinced that according to the whole plan I was to be nothing but a *mere* preacher. However, I was solemnly engaged: and though *you* had not yet in any degree complied with your part of the engagement, I was determined to move on even in that small sphere of usefulness. But before the General Conference finally broke up I received the Minutes of the British Conference, in which I was appointed to preside in Ireland for the ensuing year. This was done after I set off for America. I had promised the Irish Conference when I was at that Conference that if I was so appointed, I would be with them, God willing. This point I laid before the General Conference, and they unanimously judged that I ought to fulfil my engagement with the Irish brethren. I then proposed to Bishop Asbury to accompany him to the three Southern Conferences, and to sail to Ireland from Charleston. We accordingly went together; but to my astonishment I was not consulted in the least degree imaginable concerning the station of a single preacher. I did not expect, nor wish, to be any thing else than a Chamber-Counsel, the ultimate decision still to remain with Bishop Asbury. In short I neither said nor did anything during the whole tour, which had any usefulness attending it, as far as I can judge, but preach.

When I went to Europe I fulfilled my engagements in Ireland,

and took a solemn leave of every Society in my tour, and of the Irish preachers at Conference. The British Conference being to be held in a fortnight, and being only three days sail and journey by land distant from me, I thought it my duty in gratitude to take my leave of them. Four times the British brethren brought my case into their Conference before they could prevail on me to take over an address from them to the Annual Conferences, for my return to Europe till the ensuing General Conference. But I informed them of the solemnity of my engagements in the fullest manner. I then returned to the States: but the length of the voyage, my capture by the French, etc., put it out of my power to visit more than two of the Conferences. Indeed I visited but one—the Virginia Conference. Bishop Asbury and the members of that Conference were unanimously of opinion, that I might honorably return to Europe till the General Conference, and that the General Conference in the circumstances in which I was placed, would excuse me. Still, to my astonishment, I was not consulted in the least degree imaginable either in public or in private concerning the station of a single preacher, and had nothing really useful to do, as far as I can judge, but to preach. But what astonished me, I think I may say almost beyond expression, was the following mysterious circumstance. Bishop Asbury was so weak in body at that time, that he was convinced he could not reach Charleston in time to hold the Southern Conference; and therefore he did not attempt it. I offered my service, as it would have been equally the same to me to have sailed from Charleston as from New York. But he refused me; and appointed Brother Jackson to station the preachers, and Brother Jesse Lee to sit as moderator in the Conference. I knew not how to account for this in any manner consistently with your solemn engagements at the General Conference.

The next General Conference came. I confess to you, my dear respected brethren, I was by this time afraid, considering all the circumstances already mentioned, that if you kept me with you you would render me comparatively useless. I therefore previously accepted of the Address of the British Conference to you; but did not by myself or by any other person take the least step towards the introducing of it into the British Conference. When I came to the General Conference, determined to abide by your vote, you allowed me after two days consideration to return to Europe until the next General Conference at farthest, but principally on account of the Irish mission. But I was surprised, I was astonished, that you entered into no explanation concerning our *reciprocal* engagements; for during my whole stay at that time, I was not even consulted in any thing which related to the Episcopacy. I did indeed lay hands on a few who were ordained, and that was every thing.

When I last returned to America I did really believe from Bishop Asbury's letters, as well as letters from many of the preachers, that you did intend to enter into my case, and to em-

ploy me in some manner as a Bishop, so that I should have the opportunity of giving my judgment freely on all Episcopal matters. Under this impression I settled all my little affairs in England, and took with me nineteen chests, boxes, and trunks (besides ten chests containing copies of my Commentary) leaving behind me only that part of my library which I should not immediately want, and which might be sent after me on my order, and that part of the copies of my Commentary which I intended to leave for sale in England. I had at the preceding English Conference various severe struggles in my mind, whether I should take my solemn final farewell of my English brethren or not. I did repeatedly give them sufficient reason to doubt whether they should ever see me again or not. But I accepted of their Address as they had drawn it up in relation to me, merely from the uncertainty which still remained whether you intended to employ me in America in any other way than *merely* as a preacher. However, when I arrived in Virginia I made up my mind to stay with you for life, and had formed a plan of visiting the North, and of returning time enough to meet Bishop Asbury at the General Conference. But when I was at Bro^r^ Ellis's, near Richmond, a thought struck me with amazing power, "You should go to Georgia, to meet Bishop Asbury at the Georgia Conference." The impression made on my mind by this thought completely robbed me of a night's rest. In two days I set off for Georgia. But how amazed I was to find that every thing was exactly in the same situation: that so far from strengthening the Episcopacy according to the solemn engagements of the General Conference when you accepted me in form as one of your Bishops, I was still not to be consulted in the least degree imaginable, either publicly or privately, in the station of a single preacher: nay, when I asked for a copy of the stations of the preachers of the Georgia Conference, which was granted to every traveling preacher, I was refused! I then clearly saw the will of God concerning me—that I ought not to reside in America for life, unless the General Conference consented in some degree to comply with its engagements. I did not, and do not, want to station the preachers as Bishop Asbury does. Nothing should be done to grieve that venerable man: but I approve of and prefer the stationing the preachers at every annual Conference by a Committee with the Bishops at the head of it. But every Bishop ought to have a right to give his judgment, or he is but the shadow of a Bishop.

When Bishop Asbury and I arrived at Columbia I opened my whole mind to him. I laid before him my situation in Europe —"that I had there the Superintending of all the Missions—the missionaries in Ireland, Wales, the West Indies, and the British provinces in America: I have, it is true, an advisory and financial Committee to assist me in the management of these Missions, for which I bless God. Every year I preside at the Irish Conference, and there the preachers are stationed by myself and a Com-

mittee of nine, who are the representatives of Districts, only the plan is brought before the Conference for their approbation. In England I have been always either secretary or president of the Conference, and also of the representatives of Districts, and my judgment has very considerable regard paid to it both in the stationing of preachers and all the other business of Conference: and in all these instances, unworthy as I am, the Lord is pleased to render me useful. In Europe I have incomparably more time for literary matters than I could have in the United States. In respect to preaching, I can preach to three or four times the number of people I could preach to in the United States, in the year, from the compactness of the circuits and the crowded state of the inhabitants. Now for me, I urged, to spend my life in America *merely* to preach would be sacrificing so much of my usefulness that it would not be agreeable to the will of God." Bishop Asbury acknowledged the force of my arguments, and only requested me to visit New England before my return to Europe; which I accordingly did. It may add to my usefulness in Europe, that I am now General Superintendent of a new Institution—a mission for breaking open new ground in England; on which eight missionaries are already employed. But I must beg leave to assure you, brethren, that notwithstanding all I observed to Bishop Asbury, and all he observed to me, I was determined to abide by the vote of the General Conference, only I intended, in that case, to come to an explanation on the present subject, which the candor of Conference would not possibly have objected to.

Perhaps, dear respected brethren, you will now be ready to ask, Why did you offer yourself to us? I answer, I love the cause in America. I saw how wonderfully God owned the work under the present form of things. I considered your continent as making about a third part of the globe: that in time, under the blessing of God, it will be fully peopled, and with peoples chiefly speaking the English language. Such a work I considered as of *infinite* importance. And though I knew that the Spirit of God and the labors of the preachers were the chief points; yet if the Connection was thrown into confusion by any events at present unseen, the work might be destroyed or materially injured. For this reason I offered myself. But I had not then the most distant idea that you intended to employ me as a *mere* preacher. And yet that has been the case from that time to this. Now at this present time I would willingly come over to you on this ground—to assist in preserving the union of your body. To preserve that union I should think my life well spent or well sacrificed. As to health, the Lord is pleased to give me an uncommon share of it for a person of my age. My dearest wife, who is a blessing wherever she goes (though she aims at nothing beyond the scriptural and delicate sphere of her own sex), can bear travelling, under the blessing of God, five thousand miles a year, and I can bear to travel 10,000 miles annually. But I want you to

indulge me with some explanation in respect to my sphere of action, if I come over. Though I wrote my Circular Letter with great simplicity, and without intending to break any engagement, and was so fond as even to think that you would approve of it, I would not have written it if I had had then the same light which the letters of the Annual Conferences have thrown upon it. I hardly knew what to write. Something I saw should be done to draw forth an explanation, for though the opportunity of preaching in all your pulpits was an honor infinitely above what I deserve, yet in the circumstances in which the Lord has been pleased to place me I would not, as the servant of Christ, sacrifice my considerable influence in Europe for a sphere comparatively so small as that of a mere preacher in America.

Do then, my dear brethren, condescend to write to me a letter of explanation. Send duplicates—please to send one by the British packet from New York, paying the postage to New York, otherwise the letter will not go; and another by the first merchant ship. I shall then most probably receive your answer before the next British Conference, which I particularly wish to do. God bless you all!

Pray for your affectionate and (what I am sure of) your faithful friend, (Signed) T. Coke.

To the Members of the Baltimore Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church:

Doctor Coke desired this copy to be made and sent to Br. M'Caine as being more full and perfect than the letter he had sent to the Baltimore Conference. It is a copy of his letter to the Philad[a] Conference, which will be forwarded you in the original.

Rev. Ez. Cooper,
Care Rev. John Hagerty, Laight Street, Baltimore.

In 1808, prior to the session of the General Conference of that year, Dr. Coke wrote the following letter to Rev. Ezekiel Cooper:

London, *Mar.* 1, 1808.

My very dear Friend: I have but a few minutes to write to you, to save the packet. I am come here from the north of England on account of a dreadful persecution which has arisen in Jamaica against our people. O what a blessing it is to be in a country where there is no danger of persecution! I have written to the General Conference my whole mind with great simplicity in a few words. I wish I had not sealed my Letter to the Conference; but (if you see no impropriety in it) you are perfectly welcome to open it. If the General Conference call me on a plan of real Episcopal influence (as well as preaching); such as amounts to a fulfillment of their engagements, and will enable me to fulfil mine to them, I go over to you for life. I entirely leave the plan to the General Conference; but my duty to God obliges me to

observe, that it must be a plan which will give me a general superintending influence. I do not want any arbitrary power, any individual *decisive* voice. I would not use it, if my brethren gave it to me. On this ground I stand; and I am sure it is the will of God.

As to my letter to Bp. White, most of my brethren who are now members of the General Conference were then children or lads. We had no regular General Conferences: we had had only one. There were only District meetings: the little Connection was in danger of becoming a mere rope of sand, if the Lord had been pleased to take away Bp. Asbury. As to the repetition of the imposition of hands, I considered it then, as I do now, as a perfectly unessential point. I acted for the best; but with no intention of taking any actual step but by the consent of *a General Conference.* But I charge you, my brother and my friend, that as far as in you lies, you take care of my character. I do not deserve to be treated severely by any of my American brethren. But, if instead of calling me in such a manner as will *enable* me to fulfill my engagements to them, they blot my name out of their printed minutes, it will not be blotted out of the Lamb's Book of Life. But I cannot indulge a thought that they will use me at all unkindly.

I have written nothing with an intention of offending my dear respected friend Cooper, or any of my dear American brethren. I love you all. I pray for you earnestly. I feel exceedingly for the prosperity of your work. My dearest wife joins me in love to you and Brother and Sister Wilson, and all the Preachers, and Brother and Sister Russell and family. God bless you. Pray for us.

I am yours, very dear friend, affectionately and faithfully,

T. Coke.

P. S.—I shall send you the Comment on the New Testament as soon as I am assured that the dispute at present subsisting between England and the States will not render it insecure. I do entreat that you will consider what I have written in the first paragraph as the sincere language of my heart. What I have added (you will give me credit I am sure) is sincere; but has arisen from some reports which have lately reached me.

2d P. S.—Please to tell Bp. Asbury, with my love to him, that I wrote to him by the last packet; and please to tell Br. M'Claskey, with my love to him, that I also answered his by the last packet, —lest the letters should miscarry.

After he had received the official letters addressed to him and the British Conference, by order of the General Conference of 1808, Dr. Coke wrote as follows to Mr. Cooper:

Chepston, Monmouthshire, South Wales, *Sept.* 8, 1808.

My very dear Friend: Within these few days I received the Official Letters from the American General Conference to the British Conference and myself, as well as your very kind, very

friendly epistle. I am fully satisfied with the determinations of the General Conference. Even the only paragraph which a little affected me at first reading, I fully approved of on cool reflection—that Dr. Coke sh[d] not superintend in these States, unless first called upon, etc. Tho' abstractedly considered, it was not necessary, as I never interfered in the smallest degree with the affairs of the American Connection, when absent; yet it might be, and I believe it was very expedient to mention it, lest it should be imagined for a moment by the American Government, that I interfered in any thing relating to your country, while I was in a foreign country.

I cannot express my obligations to you and my other dear, very dear brethren *on the floor*, who so kindly, and I am sure, so ably defended my character. God bless you for it.

I rejoice that Brother M[c]Kendree was chosen Bishop. Except one, whom delicacy will not permit me to mention, I prefer him before all the preachers in the United States. The mildness, the caution, the humility, the fear of doing what is wrong, etc., of that man, qualify him in a high degree for the office he fills.

I am fully determined to keep up a correspondence with several of my most beloved brethren (tho' I do love them all, and almost daily pray for them all) in America. Please to give my kindest love to Brother Wilson and Brother Hitt. I shall write to them, God willing, by the next packet.

My Commentary on the New Testament is finished, blessed be God. The appendix and index, which were the two finishing strokes, have been printed off. The whole was completed about six months ago. But the embargo renders it impossible, or at least dangerous, to send any books over to America.

I will tell you my whole heart. The Lord does wonderfully preserve my most precious wife and myself. We are always travelling. The Lord has been pleased to give us a competency; but we have no house which we can command. Now, if judged expedient by the General Conference, or by all the Annual Conferences, we will come over to you *either for life, or to make you a transitory visit.* I intend to write to you often; and I shall correspond with Bp. Asbury and Bp. M[c]Kendree. I must conclude now. I am just going to preach, and my letter must go off this evening in order to save the packet. My dearest wife joins me in love to you. Pray for us.

I am, very dear friend, with a deep sense of my obligations to you, yours, affectionately and faithfully, T. Coke.

[A correct copy from the originals now in my possession.—George A. Phoebus.]

Art. V.—THE TEACHING OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

We do not here propose to discuss the successive and progressive thoughts which fashioned the surprising drama of the Logos made flesh as it presented itself to the mind of John, but instead to classify the teaching of the fourth gospel under the headings and groups of thought which sum up for us an outline of Christian theology. Fundamental distinctions are traceable between the style and vocabulary of John and of the Johannine Christ; but it is more than probable that John's own style was framed by the influence which his communion with the Lord had exerted upon him. There can be no doubt that the thoughts of Jesus interpenetrated him. He was saturated with them, and they gave a character to all his own meditations on the outcome and meaning of the Lord's life. The prologue is the generalization of all the teaching of our Lord, and is based line by line, thought by thought, upon the teaching of Jesus, and the special activities that he records. The teaching of John may be deduced, therefore, from every part of the Johannine writings. The concrete presentation in the Old Testament of "the One," "the only God," the free creation of all things by the Word or Spirit of his own eternal essence, is the basis of the Johannine teaching. The unlikenable "One" of Isaiah—God invisible not merely to the eyes of flesh, but even to the faculties of human intellect, which cannot find God by searching—God dwelling (as St. Paul says) in the inaccessible light—was a fundamental idea with the apostle. "No one hath seen God at any time" (i, 18) is a saying avouched or implied in our Lord's words (v, 37). This reduces the theophanies of the Old Testament to something less than they were supposed to establish. They are along the line of divine manifestations, but Christ himself was a witness of far more than patriarch or prophet ever beheld. The representation, however, is perfectly different from the philosophic conception of "the abyss"—or "the absolute"—from the dream of the Gnostic or the impassive and impersonal abstraction of the Hindu. The personality and individuality of the very essence of Deity is affirmed by every reference to the activity and characteristics of God. One of the most funda-

mental utterances is, that *God is* (*a*) *Spirit* (iv, 24), a statement which makes the spiritual nature of man the surest guide to human conceptions of his invisible essence. Man's inmost ego, his self-conscious intelligence, the center of his mental processes, gives the direction to all our approximations to the essence of God. He is the "*veritable God*" (xvii, 3), answering as no heathen deity has ever done to that august reality. Two other commanding and comprehensive terms lie at the heart of the Johannine conception. "God is light, and in him is no darkness at all." 1 John i, 5. This is suggestive of the absolute perfection of the Divine Spirit, the illumination which proceeds from him, by which all other things can be perceived, as well as of the unsullied purity of all his character. We learn that God is (not luminous, but) *Light itself.* The Lord addresses him as "Righteous" (xvii, 25), justifying all his ways, and vindicating all his providence.

The other supreme definition of the essence of the Godhead is "God is Love," and "Love is of God." 1 John iv, 8. The most fundamental and comprehensive idea of God is that he *loves*, that he lavishes, bestows himself upon the objects which he has made. The God of whom Jesus speaks "loved the world" (iii, 16), and evermore contemplates the world which he has made with supreme satisfaction. He is "in the beginning" (i, 1), and therefore "before all things," and his "bosom" (i, 18) is spoken of as the dwelling-place of infinite blessedness. But the most instructive term which is frequently on the lips of the evangelist is "the Father."

The idea is not an original one fashioned by this writer or set down alone by him, but it is the dominant and all-pervading one. God was described by the prophets as the Father of the theocratic people. Deut. xxxii, 6; Isa. lxiii, 16; lxiv, 8; Jer. xxxi, 9, 20; Hos. xi, 1. Israel is spoken of in some of these passages as his "sons and daughters." Isa. i, 2, 4; lxiii, 8; Deut. xiv, 1. A spiritual relationship between God and his people, based on fundamental qualities, and counting for far more than the creatorship or the makership involved in the Homeric Ζεὺς πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε [Jupiter the father of both men and gods]. Our Lord is reported by the Synoptists to have called God "my Father" (Matt. xi, 27), and in many places to have spoken of "your Father." Matt. vi, 4, 6, 8, 15;

xxiii, 9; Luke vi, 36. The term is expanded in many ways by the addition "in heaven," or "heavenly." Matt. v, 16, 45; vi, 1, 9, 14, 26, 32; vii, 11. God is not the father of inanimate or irrational beings, showing that those who can call God their "Father" possess a nature akin to his own. But the Fatherhood of God suggests a special form of moral and spiritual relationship which may have been forfeited, and which by divine love is re-established.

The gospel of John represents our Lord as continually speaking of God as "the Father," "my Father," and as "your Father" (xx, 17). He is the "living Father," who has "life in himself" (v, 26), who seeks for spiritual worshipers (iv, 23), who loves the Son (v, 19, x, 17, xvii, 24, 26) with a supreme affection which yet passes over and through the Son to those who have entered into living harmony with himself (xvi, 27; xvii, 26). The connection between God as Father and God as Spirit is strenuously preserved (iv, 22–24), the later term expounding the method in which the Fatherhood energizes and reveals itself in its fullness of power. The Father is *Almighty*, and this is especially enforced in his power to quicken the dead (v, 21). He is greater than all (x, 29)—greater than the Son (xiv, 28). He is *eternal* (xvii, 5, 24), *holy* (xvii, 11), and *righteous* (xvii, 25).

This writer builds his entire conception on this as its fundamental basis. It differs profoundly from that of the Alexandrine or Oriental metaphysic, and though abundant preparation had been made for it in the Old Testament, and though all its essential features are found in the Synoptists, it is the distinguishing element of the teaching of Christ in the fourth gospel, and had verily saturated the mind of the author of the gospel and epistles. In a sense, and to a degree never before realized on earth or expressed in literature, do we come face to face with One whose God-consciousness was veritably expressed by the epithet "the Father"—"my Father." Christ is not merely the expression of the ineffable One, and "the image of the invisible God" (Col. i, 15), but the Son of the Father. The relation of *Logos* to *Theos* is warmed into and expounded by the relation of a *Son* to a *Father*. The idea is not peculiar to John, for St. Paul declared that "it pleased the Father that in him should all fullness dwell," and that "through

Christ we have access to the Father." The writer to the Hebrews had laid it down in words suggested by the author of "Wisdom of Solomon" that Christ the Son was the effluence of the Father's glory, the express image of his substance or essence. That essence was a Father's heart, that effluence was the Son of the Blessed.

The Fatherhood of God does not exhaust the concept which St. John formed of the Godhead, for within the bosom of the Father, in his essential divinity, insphered in his eternal glory "before the world was," "with him," and yet "one with him" —was "the Son." The Fatherhood was essential to God, and therefore the Sonship was before all worlds. The gracious self-communication, the infinite benevolence of God, appertains to his Eternal Essence. From before all time, and independently of time and place and earthly service, the evangelist saw love in infinite activity, streaming forth in boundless, inexhaustible fullness, and adequately responded to. This conception of God goes down to the depths of thought, and forms the basis of all the moral perfections of Deity. It also is discriminated from the impersonal abstractions and characterless quiescence and inaccessibility of the supreme monad of the Platonic schools.

The Johannine conception starts with the use of certain expressions which had arisen in the schools of Jewish thought, and confers upon them a meaning and application from which those schools would have shrunk. The θεός [God], whose most fundamental name and whose essential being is set forth as "the Father," is first of all described as before the creation of the world, or of every thing and every force which has come into being, standing in intimate immanent relations with the λόγος [Word] (the expression of his own thought and will), who is, while "with God," also God himself. Distinction from God is twice overcovered by the explicit assertion "the Word was God," and the same idea is subsequently expressed in the prologue (i, 18) by the terms of "Father" and "only-begotten Son." The μονογενής [only begotten] is in the bosom of the Father, and therefore alone competent to reveal him. Equality of essence is predicated alike Father and Son—Theos and Logos —and yet distinction of hypostasis is also asserted. The Godhead therefore involves an internal and reciprocally immanent relation. Reuss strongly maintains that the evangelist simply

leads us back to the beginning of time, and says nothing of an eternal relation. Any such assertion is, according to this criticism, an inference from the text, and not contained in it. We may concede that the earliest creeds, culminating in those of Nicæa, Chalcedon, and the so-called Athanasian, do draw this inference, but it is one which logically and immediately flows out of the text. The converse of the inference, or the Arian assertion, "that there was [time or period] when he was not," and "before he was begotten," does immediately predicate an infinite difference between the Father and Son—a statement entirely incompatible with the equality of nature and essence, and with the true monotheism of the entire biblical revelation. But so far as the self-consciousness of this Son is represented in the consciousness of Jesus, we frankly concede that there is in the divine order a superiority, primacy, and solity ascribed to the Father. He who has independently life in himself *gave* the like self-dependence to the Son (v, 27). The Father sent the Son. The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do (v, 19). The Father and Son are one, but the Father sanctified and sent the Son into the world (x, 31–37). The Father created all things "through (*διά*)" the Logos. "The Father is greater than I," said Christ (xiv, 28). "I live," said he (*διὰ τὸν πατέρα*, vi, 57), "on account of the Father." "The Father gave the Spirit to the Son" (iii, 34). This headship of the Father does not contradict the eternal filiation, but both ideas are necessary to interpret the fullness of meaning which St. John gives to the concept of the "only veritable God."

The characteristics of the λόγος before his manifestation in the humanity of Christ are, that he is the divine Agent in the creation, the Source of life, and the Light of the world, because both the Life and Light of God. He was evermore coming like light into the darkness of humanity, like life into the soul of man. He came in many ways to his own. He gave power (*ἐξουσία*) [possessory right] to those who believed on his name to become sons of God. Although the Father sent him, having commissioned the Son for these lofty purposes, yet it was as "beams" proceed from "light," as "Word" followed "Spirit." He dwells like Wisdom in the midst of the throne and in the bosom of the Almighty. He is one with the

Father, in being, essence, and will. This blending and unity of the Father and Son, of Theos and Logos, was the metaphysic basis of the entire Johannine superstructure. We see that it is not peculiar to John. The Old Testament was built on the same synthetic representation. Jehovah and the Angel of Jehovah co-exist and are yet One. The unapproachable, self-existent, eternal One, yet came into personal and anthropomorphic, visible, and audible relations with men. The true Wisdom in the heart of man, found and cherished by those who love her, is the eternal effulgence of God's glory, and co-possessor of his throne.

This conception interprets the phenomena of both providence and prophecy, of conscience and theophany. The Lord is always coming to his own, and even giving them power to receive him, and authority to become sons of the ever blessed and Almighty Father. Before he came in the flesh, human nature was fashioned in his image and likeness, and his most appropriate manifestation had assumed freely the appearance of an august and divine humanity. The Word or Angel of the Lord was concerned with the fortunes and perils of individuals whose career would affect the whole subsequent history of the people of the covenant. Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Hagar, Joshua, Gideon, Manoah, received these open visions until the rise of the prophetic order, whose function was "to bear witness to the true light which lighteth every man." The Christ of the fourth gospel recognizes those who are "of the truth," and who come to the Light of the world and who "hear his voice." This "light" and this "voice" must have been available *apart from* the special revelation and effulgence of his glory in the Son of man. One peculiarity of the Johannine conception was, that in the Word there was LIFE, and instead of making this life the consequence of the light, the process is reversed, "The life was the light." "Life" is more than *being*, and in its fullness of manifestation could appertain on earth to man only. The reason or the motive of the manifestation of life was communication of blessedness and kinship to the Source of all blessedness to the human race. From the divine *life* produced in man, from the new creation wrought in human nature, *light* has been evermore gleaming. In proportion to the reality and extent of the life is the brill-

iancy of the light. But while he came to his own, even to those best prepared to receive him, they "received him not." The darkness of humanity did not apprehend the light of deity, so that a method of approach for the life and the light, more explicit and efficacious than any which had preceded, became necessary to satisfy the irrepressible and unutterable love for God.

The great proof text, the motto of the Johannine gospel, is, that "the Word became flesh" (i, 14), that is, became man in his weakness and dependence and in his composite and mysterious nature. "Flesh" (*σάρξ*) does not mean the bare physical nature, nor the physical and psychical nature combined. "Flesh" in numerous passages connotes the whole of human nature without grace, and therefore the human *πνευμα* [spirit]. Abundant evidence is forthcoming to show that Jesus possessed both soul and spirit (xi, 33, xii, 27, xiii, 21, xix, 30), and therefore the fourth gospel must be supposed to include under the *σάρξ* [flesh] which the *λόγος ἐγένετο* [Logos became] the whole interior manhood, inclusive of "*will*," "*spirit*," "*soul*;" but the term is used in preference to *ἄνθρωπος* [man] in order to mark especially the visibility, the corporeity, the sensuous and phenomenal aspect of this his last and greatest self-communication to man. Great conflict has prevailed in later years over the nature of the "becoming," which St. John here attributes to the Logos. The Kenotic speculations of Thomasius, Gess, Godet, and others, press the force of St. Paul's statement, that he who was in the form (*μορφή*) of God emptied himself (*ἐκένωσεν αὐτόν*), forewent his glory; and that therefore the expression before us must imply such a depotentiation of the Logos that he was no longer Logos, but that temporarily he was *σάρξ*, and *σάρξ* only, without any of the consciousness of his own divine perfections, not even of *divine* love and righteousness. This theory has insuperable difficulties of its own. The consciousness by Christ of his own pre-existence lifts him above mere *σάρξ*—or any psilanthropical interpretation. The simple fact that he was conscious of "a glory with the Father before the world was," and that he was about to return to it (xvii, 5, 24) and reveal it to his disciples, that he was conscious while on earth of being "in heaven"—having come down thence (iii, 13)—that his earthly life was a "coming down from heaven" as heavenly manna, that he was about

to ascend to where he was before (vi, 33, 51, 62), that before Abraham came into being he could say I AM, furnish abundant proof of his self-conscious pre-existence, and show that the Ego in and of which he spake was more than the *σάρξ*—was nothing short of the *λόγος*. Reuss is very urgent in calling attention to the fact that the human life of the Logos was not (according to the fourth gospel) any humiliation or exinanition, that even death itself was his *δόξα* [glory] and his *ὑψοῦσθαι* [exaltation] (iii, 14; viii, 28; xii, 23, 32; xiii, 31). Yet it must be admitted that the author of the fourth gospel calls more express attention to the humanity, and to the dogma of Christ having come "in the flesh," than any other writer of the New Testament. He was the Son of a human mother, was interested in the domestic affairs of his neighborhood (ii, 1–12), had brothers who were unable frankly to admit his claims to Messiahship (vii, 3–6), was influenced by the movements of different tendencies at work in Judea and Galilee, was weary and thirsty with his wayfaring in the heat of the day (iv, 1–3), "wept" at the grave of a friend (xi, 35), was pierced by the treachery and unsusceptibility of his disciples (vi, 67–70), as well as by the Roman soldier's spear (xix, 34–37), was concerned about his mother even when hanging on the cross (xix, 25–27), and about the physical need of his disciples after he had risen from the dead (xxi, 9). We can accept the position that his essential person was never obliterated, but we consider that the fourth gospel represents the very union of this humanity with the divine nature to be a humbling of himself to human conditions that is altogether unspeakable. The limitation of human knowledge, the consciousness of physical need, the pain and suffering, temptation and resistance experienced throughout his career, were the expression of an infinite love and condescension. The closeness of the union, the perfect blending into one person of the purely human with the Logos who yet was "with God" (and was the Only-begotten of the Father), involved two things, (*a*) the humiliation of the Logos, and (*b*) the glory of the Only-begotten, full of grace and truth. The eyes of the apostles saw and received this fullness, perceived the continuous glorification of the humanity by which they were being attracted, mastered, overwhelmed; but it is perfectly compatible with this conception that the Lord by his

divine nature was actually made participant in the humiliation and weakness of the flesh and the bitter hostility and prejudice of the world. It is abundantly evident that only a few men rose to the full apprehension of his glory. Consequently he must have had the perpetual consciousness of indescribable loneliness and sorrow. The almost feminine inquiry, "Do ye now believe?" (xvi, 31, 32), enforces the opposite of the contention of Reuss. It is often said that *prayer* on the part of Christ is in itself an unmistakable indication of the depotentiation of the Logos, or else it was a meaningless display of what was in no sense genuine prayer. We do not regard it as either the one or the other. John's gospel especially reveals the necessity on the part of our Lord's humanity for the exercise of prayer, and so far indicates the humiliation of the Son of God in the mediatorial work he had undertaken (vi, 15; xi, 41; xii, 27, and xvii). But why should the Logos be supposed in these prayers to have retired into inaccessible depths of Deity? It is the Logos now made flesh of whom the apostle is speaking, and therefore experiencing in his mediatorial work the need of prayer, and giving, moreover, the true conception and embodying the fundamental ideal of prayer, namely, of the human in perfect harmony with the divine, knowing that God hears him always, anticipating the conscious acts of God. Prayer, like death, is a divine act of the Son of God, only capable of enaction through the humanity that he assumed.

The "Logos made flesh" corresponds with "water which became (was made) wine" in this, that as water was not transubstantiated into something essentially different from itself, but rather took up into itself elements not previously in the water, so the Logos took human nature up into itself, and the Ego of the Incarnate Word could henceforth feel and declare that though the Father was greater than he, the Father and he were essentially one (xiv, 29). The Father and the Son were one in so deep a sense (x, 30) that all men were to honor the Son even as they honor the Father (v, 23, 24). In the question, "Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip?" (xiv, 9), Jesus felt that He had not been recognized by his disciples if they had not perceived the Father in him. They must have formed an entirely

inadequate notion of himself, if they had found nothing more than his human perfections. Even the outline of the man must have been blurred, and the impression of the humanity imperfect. Notably so, for the very tone of his prayers, the quality of his assumptions, the greatness of his human claims, the declaration that he would quicken the dead and judge the world, would be sure to have led those who heard these words into wrong notions of his humanity, unless they could have also penetrated to the amazing truth that he was in the Father, and the Father in him.

These relations between the God-man and the Father justify the two great names by which the Lord designated himself. (1) He called himself "Son of God." He did not reprove Nathanael (i, 50, 51) when he attributed this title to him in a theocratic sense, but he took much higher ground when he spoke of himself as "the Son of God," or "the Son" sent by the Father to save the world (iii, 16, 17), to give eternal life (xvii, 2), to judge (v, 27) and exercise authority over all flesh (xvii, 2) as the agent of the Father, the messenger of the Father, and as "sent into the world" to "do the Father's will" and "to finish his work." The "Son of God" is the eternal companion and co-operator with the Father; he knows the Father, and is the object of the Father's love. The Father is the potency, the Son is the reality of all creative and redemptive operations; the Father is the eternal ground, the Son is the means and organ and executor of all the divine activity in nature and grace. In all these respects the divine aspect of his personality comes into view, almost separated from the humanity, or overshadowing it with glory, the Word made flesh tabernacled among us, took up his habitation among us as in the temple of his body, and the glory which flashed from the adytum of his temple was the grace and truth of the Only-begotten of the Father (i, 14).

The identity of the Logos made flesh with the Christ receives the greatest prominence in this gospel (i, 17), "Grace and truth (which is said, i, 14, to have streamed forth from the Logos made flesh) came by Jesus Christ." Comp. 1 John v, 20, "We are in the true, (even) in his Son Jesus Christ." In the intercessory prayer (xvii, 3), "This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only veritable God, and Jesus Christ

whom thou hast sent." While the Baptist repudiates the assumption of being the Christ (i, 20), it is clear that some of the mighty things done by him (whom as yet they knew not) were associated with the Christ of whom Moses and the prophets had spoken (i, 41, 45). The "King of Israel" is but another name to express Nathanael's conviction. The following chapters reveal the purifying process passing over the conception (iii, 28, 29). The Samaritans hail him as the Christ (iv, 25, 26, 30). The effect produced by his great sign (vi, 14) involves the confession, "This is the prophet coming into the world." He refuses the temporal kingship, but he raises their conception to the transcendent gift of his divine person. The text of many MSS. makes the confession of Peter (vi, 70) an acknowledgment of Messiahship. The whole argument of vii, 25–43, shows that Jesus is accepting, and that the author is assigning, the idea of the Christ to the Lord. Comp. ix, 22–35. Martha without rebuke ascribes the same function to him (xi, 27), and all that follows refines, matures, illumines the mighty name. The public assumption of Messianic glory (xii, 1–19) suffers further exposition in xii, 34–36. All the revelations of chaps. xiii–xvii, 3, proceed on the assumption. The conversation with Pilate, the title of the cross, but above all the declaration of the evangelist (xx, 31), show the full identification of the Christ, the Logos made flesh, and the Son of God.

It is equally remarkable that our Lord in the fourth gospel quite as frequently designated himself as "Son of Man"—a term probably derived from the Old Testament usage, which though occasionally denoting the bare idea of "Man" (in Ezekiel), in Daniel is associated with the highest manifestation of God. Chap. vii. The phrase there seems to mean the ideal of man, the perfect image of God, the heavenly man, realizing the conception of what St. Paul calls the Second Adam. Christ, in the Synoptists, adopts the name, though his disciples never attribute it to him (except in the solitary cases of the dying Stephen, who beheld him in his glory, and of St. John in the Apocalypse). The occasions on which our Lord thus names himself by no means lay special emphasis thereby on the humiliation of the Christ. Then it is as "Son of man" that he "forgives sin," a function which none can discharge but God only. Matt. ix, 6–11. The Son of man is

"Lord of the Sabbath" (Matt. xii, 8–11), is "the Sower" of the seed of the kingdom (Matt. xiii, 37); the Son of man seeks and saves the lost (Matt. xviii, 11; xx, 28; Mark x, 45); the Son of man will rise from the dead and judge the world. Mark viii, 38; Luke ix, 26; xii, 8, *ff.*; Matt. xix, 28. The fourth gospel corresponds with the Synoptists in the same usage, and John (i, 51, iii, 13) shows that the Lord spoke of himself as "Son of man," when implying that behind the attributes of his humanity, and conferring *upon* that humanity its archetypal character, was his divine nature. He was "Son of man" because he was "Son of God." The heavens are opened round about him, and though on earth, he is in heaven. He is lifted up in the likeness of sinful flesh, that he may heal the deadly poison of that flesh (iii, 14). He will judge all men, because he is Son of man (v, 27)—not a *tertium quid*, neither God nor man, but God in the plenitude of his power. Being man in the sufficiency of his knowledge and sympathy, the consciousness of his pre-existence with God must have intensified the sense of contrast between the "form of God" and "the form of a servant," between the eternal "effulgence of the Father's glory" and "the fashion of man" through which, for certain ends, the glory was veiled for all, and but dimly and slowly perceived by any.

There can be no doubt that the evangelist's conception of the Godhead was not complete by the bare ascription of the name of Father to the deity. Having learned in the school of Christ, he considered and taught that in order to appreciate the Father we must recognize and realize the existence of his only-begotten Son. He held that the fullness of God is not an impersonal unity, but an eternal relationship; that the relation between "God" and "the Word," between "the Father" and "the Son," is necessary to any adequate conception of the Fatherhood of God. Jesus was therefore a revelation of both the Father and the Son.

But the Johannine conception of the Godhead was not consummated in this duality. A mysterious method of speech pervades the Scripture, by which the self-consciousness of both Father and Son is reduced to a personal unity. The Old Testament, as well as the New, is charged with this aid to our imagination and this solace to our faith. There is no place

here for a review of the doctrine or idea of the Holy Spirit as set forth either in the earlier Scriptures or in the Pauline epistles, beyond this, that the Spirit of God is there described as the source and agent of divine activity in the old creation, as effecting and preserving the immanence of God in nature, as itself the source of the human ego, as the element of order and beauty in heaven and earth, as the silent but mighty energy which lifts and develops the intellect of man to its highest flights, and encourages the heart and stimulates the conscience to their noblest exercise. The prophets and psalmists confess the power of the Spirit of God, and anticipate that the highest functions of Messiah will be conferred upon him by the Holy Spirit. Certainly this appellation appears sometimes to denote nothing more than a Hebrew parallelism for *God himself;* but yet in other places it expressly defines the Spirit as the mighty agency by which God himself works in the nature of man. The Synoptists preserve this same phraseology, and attribute to the Holy Spirit the formation of the humanity of Jesus (Matt. i, Luke i, 35), the direction of his purposes (Mark i, 12), the consecration of that humanity to Messianic office (Mark i, 10, 11, and parallels), the order and power by which Jesus met and foiled the tempter. The Spirit of God is the power by or in which Jesus commences his ministry (Luke iv, 1), and performs his miracles on those possessed by demons. Matt. xii, 28. In the Synoptists the Lord contrasts the dispensation of the Son of man with that which is inaugurated by the Holy Spirit. Matt. xii, 29–32, and parallels. Jesus will baptize with the Holy Spirit and fire (Matt. iii, 11), and promises the Spirit as the greatest and best gift of the Father's love. Luke xi, 13. This is the "promise of the Father" for which the early Church waited (Luke xxiv, 49), and which came upon the disciples with strange potency on Pentecost. Acts i and ii. This Spirit, which bound discordant elements into a unity, into a body, and produced in individuals and on the community the most radical changes and conferred the most amazing powers, is reckoned by St. Paul to be the Spirit of Christ and the Spirit of him that raised Christ from the dead. Rom. viii, 9–11. Through the eternal Spirit he offered himself without spot, and he was declared to be Son of God by the Spirit of Holiness by his resurrection from the

dead. Rom. i, 4. This Spirit can be resisted, blasphemed, quenched, obeyed, loved, and adored; and while unquestionably divine, is nevertheless distinct from the Father and the Son. What new teaching does the fourth gospel introduce on this subject? We learn that Jesus will baptize with the Holy Spirit (i, 33), and that the Holy Spirit rested on Christ (ii, 32), and was given to him in immeasurable abundance (iii, 34). When God was said to be Spirit (iv, 24), it would seem that the whole Godhead (whether Father, Son, Logos, or Spirit) was Spirit, and nothing can be gathered hence of any *hypostasis* or *ousia*, but rather a hint is given of the supreme character of the very essence of Deity as antithetic to theories of his impersonality, of his corporeal limitation, of ritual observance, or of idolatrous localization of his energies. Christ had often spoken of the "living water" which he could and would give to quench all human thirst. He promises the great abundance of this gift, and describes it as a kind of blessedness which would make each recipient a perennial supply of it for others (iv, 14). St. John says this was Christ's description of the Holy Spirit, which those who should believe on himself would receive, for the Holy Spirit was not yet (given), because Jesus was not yet glorified" (vii, 37–39). In other words, when Christ should, as the victor over death, have taken his place on the throne of God, then the whole material wherewith the Spirit would deal with men would so immeasurably transcend all that had ever been previously vouchsafed, that in comparison with what had gone before, the Holy Spirit had not yet been (given) at all. The entire "ministration of death" (and of the letter and of the body) had no glory "by reason of the glory that excelleth." When the hour at length drew near that the brief manifestation in the flesh was to be removed from human eyes, our Lord declared more fully the substitute for his own constant care which he was about to send to his disciples, namely, One who should "abide with them forever," "whom the world would not see, or receive (or take away) from them" (xiv, 17). This "*other* Paraclete" is described as the "Holy Spirit" whom the Father would send in his name, whom he too would send from the Father (xiv, 25, 26), whose coming to them for all gracious purposes was identical with the coming of Christ himself. Nay, more; his advent would prove a coming to

them of both the Father and the Son. As he had glorified the Father, the Holy Spirit would glorify him, for he would take of the things of Christ and show these to the disciples (xvi, 13–16). He, like the Son himself, would not speak from himself. He would declare that which he knew of the Father. He would so quicken the understanding of the disciples as to bring all things to their remembrance, and thus perpetuate the primary instruction they had received, but the power of which they might lose sight of. The glorious gift of the Spirit is said to be in answer to his own prayer as the exalted and glorified Christ, and as co-operating with them, not only for their own solace and refreshment, but also as a testimony to himself (xv, 26, 27), and a convicting and convincing power on the outside world (xvi, 7). The exaltation, the departure of Christ, the cessation of the manifestation in the likeness of flesh, was indispensable to the full bestowment of the spiritual gift. Then the world should be convinced of sin, righteousness, and judgment (xvi, 7–11). In anticipation of this new dispensation, he symbolically breathed on his disciples, and said, "Receive the Holy Spirit" (xx, 22), thus preparing the way for the great manifestation of the day of Pentecost.

The teaching of the fourth gospel was in harmony with the biblical idea throughout, and it explains the intensity with which Paul had already dwelt on this sublime theme, and the detail into which he had expanded the fundamental idea. John has not borrowed from Paul, nor from Alexandria, nor from Gnostic notions of Æonic development; but he sets forth positions out of which both revelation and superstition and the speculative tendencies of the age developed much. To suppose these Johannine doctrines to have been the crystallization of Pauline or Gnostic or Montanistic thought is contrary to all probability. If Christ himself had given forth (as John says he did) this idea of the relation of the Holy Spirit to his own person and to his prospective work, and if many hints of this specific teaching were circulating in the Church, the entire Pauline representation and that of the Acts becomes thinkable. As a condensation of St. Paul or a corrective of second century ideas it is incredible and confused.

The fourth gospel thus does much to prepare the Christian Church for the full doctrine of the Godhead. The conscious-

ness of Jesus was so set forth therein as to induce all Christians to believe in God, not in the form of a solitary monad, but as one who from eternity contained in his own being the relations of Father and Son, and whose unity of essence is itself as personal as is the Father or the Son.

To bring together the whole teaching that emerges from the "Word made flesh," from the God-man as the center of the life of a renewed humanity, we are led to posit distinctions in that Deity which stood in such close relations with human nature. "The Spirit" is none other than the Spirit of the Christ energizing in the hearts of believers. The Spirit of the Christ which unites the Logos and the flesh is none other than the Spirit of the Logos, the Spirit of God's Son; and the Spirit of the Son is the Spirit of the Father, for the Father and the Son are ONE. The doctrine of the immanent Trinity seems an inevitable consequence of any admission that the fourth gospel sets forth historically the veritable consciousness of the Lord Christ. The argument moves on from incident to incident, from word to word, from synonym to synonym of the all-blessed One, until he who is hailed as Messiah and sacrificial Lamb and theocratic King appears to be the opener of heaven, endowed with creative power, the Lord of the temple, the Reader of human hearts, the Source of life and healing, the Bridegroom of the true theocracy, greater than He who was the greatest of the sons of men. We follow on in the narrative to find that though the flesh of the Christ provokes endless antagonism, and so moves the "darkness" that it becomes a fearful and felt oppression, yet the idea of the divine humanity becomes more and more intense in each department of this mighty synthesis. The humanity admits the need of water from Jacob's well, but flashes forth there such spiritual truth that he is hailed as the Messiah, Prophet, and Saviour of the world. The bestowment of life on the impotent man, leads Jesus to declare the power that he wields to confer life on dead souls and bodies; and the authority he has received to judge the quick and dead. Chap. v. He assumes to be the life of the world by two great signs on land and sea (chap. vi), and by conferring upon mankind "Himself" as the veritable "bread of God which had come down from heaven." In great variety of form he claims to be not only life, but light.

He calls himself the Shepherd of souls (chap. x), able to give to those who submit to him eternal life, because he and the Father are One. He wrestles with death, and snatches one whom he specially loves from the grave. Chap. xi. At that grave his mysterious personality is displayed as intensely human and unmistakably divine. Throughout the closing scenes he becomes more and more consciously divine, as the heart breaks with human tenderness. He loves to the uttermost when he is most of all alive to the fact that all things are intrusted to him. Chap. xiii, 1–5. So complete is his revelation of the divine love that he dares to say, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father" (xiv, 9). He promises to bestow the divine gift of "the Spirit," and with the Father to come and dwell in human hearts. He takes the whole future into his glance, and offers prayer for those who shall believe on him to the end of time (xvii). He goes forth to meet his doom, to drink the cup of trembling and humiliation to the dregs. He is condemned and submits. He triumphs over death, and receives the unrebuked exclamation, "My Lord and my God!" If this be an historical setting forth of one indubitable series of his highest revelations, then we recognize the consciousness of Jesus as having cast a gleam of surpassing light into "the thick darkness" and profoundest mysteries of the Divine Being. The record of his words and life, as set forth by his most loving and intimate friend, furnishes the largest proportion of those facts which the Christian consciousness has endeavored to bring together, in what is called the doctrine of the Trinity.

Even if it should be ultimately proved [which is an entirely inadmissible hypothesis] that the fourth gospel was the product of the second century, and the biographical romance of a theologian who grasped the conception of "the Word made flesh," and developed it in harmony with his ideas of the Christ, and his knowledge of the then existing Alexandrine Synoptic and Pauline literature, the attempt to measure its actual teaching on the grandest and most august of all themes is not unnecessary.

ART. VI.—CHRISTIANITY AND OUR NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

THE institutions of a people may be described as the concrete expressions of its fundamental ideas. As the leading characteristics of a nation's thought become permanent and marked, they express themselves in certain observances, habits, and systems of action, which are then typical and representative. So the games of Greece, the social orders of Rome, the type of honor in England, each case indicates the central ideas of the life of these nations. They are the products of thought directed for centuries along uniform courses. Their growths were slow, because the national character began with a minimum definiteness of purpose, and they were neither foreshadowed by the first events of the national life, nor did they at the start prophesy the nation's future. But in a nation like ours, that was built rather than developed, and whose destination was determined from the beginning by the character of its constituent elements, its institutions, instead of coming into form as a growth from first principles, appear at once fully determined in kind, so as to determine what will be the national policy. American institutions are determined by their limitations.

Whether, indeed, there are any specifically American institutions is sometimes questioned. It may be said that every nation's history reveals certain factors more or less constant, but the doubt in our case rests on the relation of the things regarded with us as fundamental to the most vital considerations of national welfare and development. It is not so much a question whether or not we have such institutions. The real question is: Are they so interwoven with our growth as a nation's life that its character depends vitally upon them? To the Christian view this dependence is manifest; Christian ideas and practices, the Sabbath, the Church, individual freedom of thought, a system of education essentially republican, a popular sovereignty, and a theory of jurisprudence based upon common-law principles, all molded by Christian sentiments, constitute in that view the foundation work of the republic. But the influx of foreign populations, and the growth of ideas

that are expressed in the claims of a so-called personal liberty, together with marked tendencies of modern thought along scientific lines, have somewhat obscured the great ideas that gave birth to our earlier national policy. Thus our later history shows a deflection from the original direction. Is this, then, essentially an evidence of degeneration? The question must be answered in the affirmative unless we assume that the origin of the nation was itself fundamentally wrong, which no one is yet in a position to do.

The early history of our country is peculiar and unique. The Puritans were the representatives of certain beliefs and habits of thought not common elsewhere. So, also, were our citizens of Holland stock; but the Puritan force became, and for a long period remained, dominant in our early history. England gave the northern portion of the New World much more than settlers and governors. The records of the mother country are replete with the struggles of a determined people toward both civil and religious liberty. The course of English civilization had always been influenced by Christianity, and the spirit which had insured its course came to the New World in the *Mayflower*. Thus the immediate influences which went out to fashion our customs, beliefs, and legislation were the same that had checked King John, beheaded Charles the First, and made a Cromwell. A sturdy spirit of liberty, a devout if hard religious sentiment, and a sense of individuality necessitating vigorous independence, were forces at work in the beginning, and they were logical outgrowths of our English origin. They continued and prevailed every-where. They combined to make the genius of a new civilization. They were the productive sources of a successful experiment before universally believed to be impossible. English Christianity alone affords an adequate explanation of the first hundred years of our national life.

Among the founders of the government religious independence preceded civil liberty. That emphasis upon certain doctrines which produced an attitude of intolerance toward differences led to the declaration of independence. It was profoundly logical. The principles underlying the demand for freedom of worship carried over to civil affairs a faith, a reliance on the right, and an unyielding resolution which already indicated

ultimate success, and in a large measure became the means and methods by which success was achieved. In both the religious and civil spheres, personal responsibility and the requirements of a union of individual thoughts and purposes operated in a uniform direction. Here arises an explanation of much that follows in theology and government. As in the fields of theology and worship individuality attained a growth that led to Emerson, so in those of government it gained an impetus which led to the political doctrines of Jefferson. And there were great values in all this. In the long run both tendencies would meet with the check of a central authority, yet without them central authority would never have become accurately defined and delineated. Individualism in the one case came to acknowledge its superior authority, voiced by a creed made and accepted by the worshipers themselves; in the other case what was at first but a confederation of states naturally crystallized into "a more perfect union." It was individualism realizing its limits.

The structure of society reveals a similar condition. Habits, customs, and police regulations indicate the idea of the person subordinated to the community. At the outset it was conceded that society draws to itself certain rights which cannot be enforced as personal privileges. This is the law of all social development, but in this instance the law had assumed color and significance peculiar to a Christian civilization. It carried with it a reference to principles unknown to Greek or Roman, or, indeed, to any but a Christian state. The surrender had its reasons essentially in religious views; it necessitated concessions which would not have been possible had those religious views not exerted a determining influence. The laws concerning the observance of a seventh-day rest, the marriage relation, the position of children and of women, the maintenance of schools and the studies there pursued, afford striking illustrations of the influence of Christianity upon the law of personal subordination to the general welfare. This influence is visible in the whole superstructure of our common life.

The general laws of the land reveal the same forces constantly at work. The fountain-head of this system was the English Common Law, and during the entire period of its splendid growth is seen the eye of reason illumined with the light, not

of an ancient, not of an atheistic, but of a Christian civilization. The legislation of England, from the beginning of its standing as a nation, is a greater commentary upon Christianity than is its Church or its literature. Every-where that system called the "perfection of reason" earns the right to such a eulogy by the sure instinct, never wholly obscured, which it manifests toward exact justice. All along are visible the principles of natural justice, gaining ground more and more upon the fields of stated law, and building up what is called equity. And we never should have had equity, nor traced its foundation to natural justice, without the Christian consciousness and the Christian conscience. Christianity underlies the Common Law, and therefore the pervading spirit of the great mass of our written legislation is instinct with its spirit. And it is not to the point that the Christian elements in the laws of both England and America are accidental. A coincidence which reveals the influences of the Bible in almost every utterance of those laws is inexplicable, unless we postulate all along the line of the national development a fixed design, operating steadily and forcibly in one direction.

The popular sovereignty declared in the Constitution is perhaps more deeply founded in these considerations than any other factor of our national life. It derived significance and form from such considerations. The progress of the individual toward real liberty was the fruit of educational tendencies, which themselves sprang from a Christian philosophy. The idea of a sovereign people could never occur among those who had not learned the sanctity and value of the individual. That the people could be intrusted to choose their own government and enact their own laws had been left in doubt by all earlier history. Yet while that history raised such a doubt it suggested remedies for possible evils, and placed tremendous emphasis upon the value of enlightened Christian education.

The founders of the republic built the sovereignty of the people upon the domestic relations and the public virtue, because out of such influences alone could come the wise and conservative voter and legislator. So long as the people should continue to nourish the principles of marriage and the system of education which made it possible for all to obtain the benefits of a common learning, that instrument which the people them-

selves had stamped with the authority of perpetual law would continue with no change other than perfecting its details. The only stain left upon it disappeared in three quarters of a century before the awful decree which that peculiar education was certain to declare. Yet only a philosophy of life that had elevated man to the dignity of immortality might be trusted with the task of writing such a decree—of tearing out of the Constitution a provision deemed necessary, in the beginning, with safety to the nation—of endowing the people with absolute sovereignty, and of maintaining their expressed will through all the changes of territorial development, constantly increasing immigration, sectional jealousies, and the strain of social and moral problems, pressed with the weight of a perverted progress.

It is evident, then, that American institutions are more than coincidences. The philosophy of national life cannot regard as accidents those factors which are woven into the deepest fibers of its structure. No nation can spring full armed into the arena of governments, as ours has done, with its institutions clearly defined and logically related, unless it entertain clear conceptions concerning their place and value. To separate such conceptions from the life of the people would be to destroy the life of the nation. The process of determining what those institutions are discovers a relation to every important fact of its history. The ideas they represent constitute the genius of the Republic; and it would be as rational to ignore the social orders and military spirit of Rome in a consideration of that nation's character as to ignore Christianity and its splendid expressions in American life. And the value of any fair search after such elements of the nation as may deserve the title "institutions," consists in the fact that they are discovered to have been, not the results of national developments, but the creators and preservers of all the greatness the nation possesses.

Such a search also reveals clearly the dangers that have arisen. Synthesis is not difficult if analysis is correct. Whatever, it may be assumed, threatens the fundamental ideas that prevailed at the origin of the government threatens the government itself. For we have seen how logically these ideas worked out the several parts of the national structure. Every part that is peculiarly American and republican represents the fundamentals of our philosophy of government. Whatever tends to weaken

or destroy our institutions strikes at that philosophy, and weakens those ideas, and mars the harmony of the whole. It thus becomes something more than a question whether or not the observance of a seventh-day rest, a system of education, a body of laws peculiarly constituted, a theory of individual freedom limited by the just demands of a community—whether or not one or more of these shall be maintained in their original strength, purity, and relative significance. The entire interest of the matter centers in the principles which formed these institutions—that is, the ideas in which the nation had its birth, and upon which, by the laws of its formation, it is founded. In a growing people like ours, constantly interfused with heterogeneous elements, concessions ought to be freely made as far as this can be done with safety. Differences of opinion as to certain customs and systems may wisely be harmonized by yielding favorite points if the process does not touch any of the vital elements of the national life. But it is the province of the whole body of the people to forbid such concessions if attended with danger. And if it becomes apparent that the subject of any required concession is organically a part of the national structure, representative of the organic principles of the national life, such a province becomes an imperative duty which no man can ignore and none should be permitted to oppose.

Any candid review of the thought and action of our early history must discover that individualism required careful adjustments, and that such adjustments must be carefully preserved. A democracy is its own greatest danger. So long as the individuals sustain toward each other the relations of the democratic equality, no danger attends the union of subject and sovereign. But such a union suggests the evils of a disturbance; and from no cause may such evils be more justly apprehended than from an overgrowth of personal demands upon the community itself. There could be no better refutation of the doctrine of State Rights than the war of the Rebellion. Similarly, that loose collection of false notions known as the philosophy of personal liberty, suggests its own evils and refutes its own pretensions. Perhaps those who make its demands do not ostensibly seek to overthrow the government as it exists; but that spirit which attacks institutions born of fundamental ideas in our government is not distinguishable otherwise from the

spirit which enabled the women of Paris to witness the death of the nobility of France without losing a stitch in their knitting, or the spirit which so disturbs the tenure of the Russian throne. The difference in degree is not vital nor hopeful. The doctrine of personal liberty, as it is sometimes proclaimed among us, is essentially pagan, both in its characteristics and the results it seeks. It practically denies the fundamental law of modern society; and its tendencies are backward, away from social organizations toward pagan personalism. It borrows a detested word from the annals of despotism, and arbitrarily constructs definitions out of false conclusions. The odious character of sumptuary laws is made the shibboleth of antagonisms toward ideas and customs that constitute the foundations of all that is best and most permanent in society. Personal liberty is so defined that the definition is an assumption and a perversion—an assumption that the liberty of the individual can be a constant quantity, and that in a complex society the license of egotistical desire can be dignified as liberty. For the demands which the nature of society and government, be their character what they may, must make upon the individual and the citizen for their preservation and development can never be justly termed sumptuary. The justice or injustice of any given laws depends upon the character of the state; and in a Christian government no laws can be accounted oppressive which seek simply the furtherance of the underlying Christian principles. In a Christian republic no needful provisions can be called sumptuary. Sumptuary provisions are the unwarranted regulation by law of personal actions or habits which are not essential to the national welfare. But if the people impose regulations that appear to touch upon matters not essential to the general welfare, while these may be unjustifiable and mischievous, they are not despotic, because not imposed by a lawmaker separate from the people themselves. And if the objection goes to the rule of the majority, the danger to the nation stands confessed. Not a little confusion of thought in respect to this subject arises from wrong definitions. Practically, personal liberty in every department of life is qualified and conditioned by civilization and the application of law. Members of a Christian society are fenced about by innumerable unseen, largely unfelt, restraints. In the fact that all are equally surrounded

lies the frictionless character of our legal bonds. And the very demands which the doctrine of personal liberty makes, if conceded, must necessarily be a violation of its own principles. For a single disturbance of the network of law affecting the essential principles of the social and state life necessitates a readjustment throughout, or an infringement of the rights of others. In either case there is danger: on the one hand to personal liberty, on the other to public order.

What is the character of such liberty need not be further examined. And if the reason for its assertion is specious and the definitions incorrect, the claims themselves are worthless. But the spirit of such demands betrays itself more fully in the object sought. The real trouble does not consist in sumptuary laws nor in personal restraint. The dead-letters of the statute books are singular comments on the force of declamations against the observance of the Sabbath, or the violation of individualisms anywhere, or Christian institutions in any sense. Practically there is little restraint upon those who desire to ignore laws inspired by Christian ideas. It is obvious enough that the philosophy of personal liberty springs either from hatred for Christian beliefs and practices or indifference toward their preservation and continuance. Christianity has, for innumerable reasons, always been opposed; but now, as during all its history, the paramount cause of antagonism is not its accidents but its essential nature.

Two causes may be assigned for these tendencies in our national life:

First, the influx of foreign populations presents a problem which will require the best of our statesmanship for its solution. No greater principle attended the settlement of our institutions than that which welcomed to the new republic the oppressed of the world. The courage with which it was announced was not rashness, but was born of a deep conviction of its justice. But it may be assumed that it was based upon the expectation that those who should become citizens would assimilate with the native population, and adopt in time the ideas and habits of life peculiar to American civilization. The problem rises with the fact that such assimilation takes place too slowly and partially. Immigration brings with it something of the life of the immigrant's home. Too many of our new citizens bring

with them the erroneous political notions received among their local surroundings under Old World governments, and but a partial understanding of our institutions. This, however, meets with a strong corrective in the character and workings of our political systems, and the educational pressure of our society, schools, and industries. The influence of these factors in the direction of a proper assimilation is marked, and to a good degree satisfactory. But the moral aspects of the case are not accompanied by similiar considerations. The Christianity of the Old World is peculiar to itself. Immigration brings to us some of the noblest elements of Protestantism, but much more of opposition to those principles that are most dearly cherished by the descendants of our founders and those having similar beliefs. Yet such a statement is but a partial suggestion of the real danger. The drift of modern thought underlies these differences and incites the gravest evils in our times. Liberty, as understood by the founders of the Constitution, was freedom under right laws, whether in a political or a religious sense, and the same perversion of liberty manifested in the so-called philosophy of personal rights is betrayed in those doctrines of individualism which, in the fields of morals and theology, have passed beyond the limits of accredited authority.

Again, the two wings of modern thought believed to be wrong in reason and dangerous in tendencies are, the individualism of a so-called advanced theology and the materialism of a miscalled science. Both are factors destructive to Christian faith and to those institutions of the Christian religion which have so largely become fundamental in our national life. The lines of demarkation between these two phases of modern thought are not distinctly drawn. Both phases blend together. The preparation for the successes of materialism has been the work of that spirit which, while it is the glory of Protestantism, is also its greatest danger—the claim of the right of individual judgment in matters of belief. This claim is not new, but it has been seized upon with avidity by the partisans of a philosophy of life which derives its chief encouragement from materialistic science. This could make no inroads upon theology were there not the utmost freedom in theological thought, but together with the new interest in physical science, has worked out on the one hand indifference for Christian customs and on

the other disbelief as to Christian doctrines. Both tendencies, unrestrained, antagonize American institutions by feeding the false spirit of personal liberty, by introducing false methods of education, and by lowering the standards of morals, of art, and of literature. For all processes which reduce human action to the plane of either pagan individualism or autocratic despotism strike directly at free institutions. That such is the logical outcome of some doctrines in modern theological discussion seems apparent. The beginning of such a work is seen in a lax regard for the Sabbath, in a fast-and-loose biblical philosophy, in the exclusion of moral and religious teaching from our public schools. But the drift, if continued, will not stop here. The marriage relation cannot escape the ultimate and logical influence of such tendencies. And finally popular sovereignty, based on the capacity for self-government no less than on the theoretic right, must inevitably go down under pressure of moral perversion and general ignorance.

This becomes more clearly apparent on a review of some tendencies of popular thought in scientific fields. It is true that a republican government must depend largely upon a general diffusion of learning and wealth. The formation of dominant classes endangers the central idea of a republic—equality among all—and such an equality needs to be as far as possible practical as well as theoretic. The larger the proportion of its inhabitants who are small property holders the greater the security of the republic. But the formation of classes follows naturally in the line of materialistic principles. Society, losing its finer instincts, centers about wealth. The graces of charity and the might of justice disappear. Personal liberty passes over to the side of the strong. Wealth accumulates in fewer hands, narrowed more and more by its own power. A class grows up with which are influence, power, and unlimited desires; and the class which is the reverse of such a social state becomes the implement merely of the dominant plutocracy. Whatever of learning may be possessed falls to the share of one side alone; the other does not need education, could not use it, and has no opportunity for gaining it. No republic could thrive under such conditions. And such conditions are amply suggested by all undue perversions of individualisms by the materialistic tendencies of modern thought.

Art. VII.—REV. JOSEPH LONGKING, D.D.

"The curiosity of the public seems to demand the history of every man who has by whatever means risen to eminence; and few lives would have more readers among middle-aged Methodists than that of the author of the Scripture *Question Books* and *Notes*, for the use of Sunday-schools, if all who have received instruction and encouragement from his work should retain so much favor for their benefactor as to inquire, not only after his character, but also his personal history." We adopt these words, with only slight changes (as called for by their changed application), from the opening sentence of Johnson's *Life of Edward Cave*, the founder of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and apply them to another case, which is in some respects not unlike to that, though in others widely dissimilar, but in all requisite conditions such as to justify the use we make of them.

Joseph Longking was born in the city of Leeds, Yorkshire, England, September 2, 1806. His father was of the respectable class of working people, and the social standing of his family such as his calling determined. The boy, like others of his social grade, received only the scantiest rudiments of an English education, very much less than is now within the reach of the young people of the corresponding classes in English towns and cities. He learned to read and to write very imperfectly, and also gained a smattering of the simplest elements of arithmetic, while under eleven years old, after which he never attended school.

In the spring of 1819, Joseph being in his thirteenth year, the family migrated to America, and came to reside in New York, then a city of about 120,000 inhabitants, extending northward scarcely up to Houston (then called "North," as before it had been known as "Boundary") Street. His occupation for his first year in New York was that of clerk, "boy of all work," in a grocery, and the next year, being then fourteen years old, he was apprenticed to Abraham Paul, till he should come to his majority, to learn the trade of a printer. Mr. Paul was a Methodist, and frequently did work for the Methodist Book Concern, which then had all its manufacturing done by con-

tract. It may here be remarked, however, that his connection with Mr. Paul was a chief factor in the line of providential arrangements which effectually determined his whole course of life, as well as the shaping of his character and destiny.

Early in 1825 Mr. Paul retired from business, selling out to Vanderpool & Cole, and the apprentice was among the effects so transferred. But, as with Joseph in Egypt, the Lord was with him in his new relations, and because his former master recommended him as worthy he was made foreman in his new place, though only nineteen years old, and an apprentice. Only two or three years later, he having become of age, the house of Vanderpool & Cole was dissolved, when, with the recommendation of his late employers, Mr. Longking entered the service of J. and J. Harper (the older two brothers of the afterward famous quaternion known as "Harper & Brothers") as proof-reader. He had been there but a few months when he was induced, being recommended for the place by the Harpers, to engage in the service of the Protestant Episcopal Church Press, then just established. But that institution was short-lived, and when it was bought out by Mr. David Felt the proof-reader went over with the business, where he remained nearly a year. In 1826 the Methodist Book Concern undertook the work of manufacturing its own books, and in 1836 Mr. Longking became the assistant of the superintendent of the printing department—Mr. James Collord—and with that establishment, with an interruption of about sixteen years, he has ever since been connected. After the death of Mr. Collord, in 1846, he succeeded to the place of superintendent.

A private friendship he had formed with a young man officially connected with a Sunday-school attached to the John Street Church led him to become a regular attendant on its services; and here, when in his twenty-second year, he was made a subject of renewing grace. Of the inward and spiritual facts of that great event it is not our purpose to say any thing in this place; its influences over his whole after-life were no doubt very far-reaching, and finally determinative of his destiny. It was because the lad, while an apprentice, was surrounded by good influences that he escaped the many temptations to which city youths are exposed, and by which so many of them are

seduced into vicious and degrading associations and practices. Among such conditions the better qualities of his young mind and heart had opportunity to assert themselves, and when these had become quickened and enforced by religious convictions and inflamed by spiritual aspirations his upward course was rendered morally certain. His mental and spiritual culture proceeded together; his reading, to which he early became addicted, was chosen for its solid and useful instruction, and especially for its religious enlightenment and impulse. The associations of the house of the Lord, its strictly religious exercises, its social opportunities, and especially its Sunday-school exercises, occupied his time and thoughts, and left no room for other and less wholesome things. The influences wrought by these things into his daily life and manners were observed by the shrewd men of business whom he served, and because of them they were glad to advance him to the most responsible places, and to intrust him with their own interests. Whatever degree of success in life he has achieved, or elevation of character with its resultant personal regard or social respectability he has attained to in all his extended life-time, the turning-point that determined the whole of it was his early conversion and initiation into the fellowship of the Church.

It was here, too, that he formed the one all-important association which has fashioned the character of his domestic life, and rendered his home a perpetual resource for peace of mind and moral force. In 1832 he was married to Miss Ann McDonough, with whom he had been brought into acquaintance in church work; and they have now walked together, led on by the divine providence, and comforted and strengthened by the Spirit, to endure and enjoy the dealings of a Father's hand for considerably more than half a century.

About fifty years ago, when Mr. Longking was engaged during six days in each week in the production of the literature of the Church, including that of the Sunday-schools, and on the Sabbaths in the practical operation of those schools, he became deeply and painfully impressed with the sense of the poverty of the literary provisions for effective Sunday-school instruction. At length, encouraged by some in whose opinions he had confidence, though greatly distrusting his own qualification for such a work, he set about preparing *Questions on*

the Gospels, for the use of Sunday-schools, which were also followed soon after with *Notes*, to aid in finding the right answers to the *Questions*. The work thus taken in hand with great misgiving grew to very large proportions. There were four volumes of *Questions* and *Notes*, severally, on the Gospels; and later appeared also two additional volumes of each sort, one of each on Galatians and Ephesians, and also on Hebrews. Of these the books on the Gospels have been the most used; their sales have gone up into the hundreds of thousands, the whole of them aggregating above three quarters of a million volumes, and during the period extending from the time of their first production, about fifty years ago, for a quarter of a century forward, *Longking's Questions and Notes* were the standard text-books in tens of thousands of Methodist Sunday-schools all over the land, and in many of other denominations as well. A generation of the best workers in Methodism was brought up on these books, and those who know their value by their use may be pardoned for asking whether the substitution of others in their stead has been an unmixed good. However that may be—and it is useless now to discuss that question—there can be no doubt that those unpretending manuals met an imperative demand of their time, and answered to it with eminent success; and their influence for good is by no means exhausted, although they have been largely superseded.

In the place of his principal residence Mr. Longking is remembered and his name cherished for certain forms of Christian activity of which the great public know almost nothing. Nearly fifty years ago, when he had become a member of the Greene Street (N. Y.) Church, he undertook to conduct a Bible class, which at length grew to enormous proportions, having more than a hundred members, chiefly grown-up young men and women. Its highest activity was during the years that he was preparing his Sunday-school books, and for that purpose giving a good deal of attention to biblical learning, and in which he attained to a decidedly respectable proficiency. The matter of his teaching was also first in his thoughts, so that he was full of the subject, and therefore earnest in his instructions and discussions. The enthusiasm of the teacher was shared by his pupils, and the class became a center of very lively interest, and its surviving members, now

well advanced in life's afternoon, still refer to it with a very lively interest. The roll of the class contained an unusually large number of names of persons that have attained to conspicuous places in the Church and in professional life. Here are such names as Dr. J. M. Reid (senior Missionary Secretary), Dr. C. F. Deems (of the Church of the Strangers), Rev. Alexander H. Ferguson (of the New York Conference), Rev. S. A. Seaman (of New York East Conference), Dr. Charles Taylor (of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, late missionary in China), Dr. G. W. Collord (of the Brooklyn Polytechnic); and of well-known men of business and of the secular professions are found the names of C. C. North, J. B. and W. W. Cornell, Drs. D. S. Landon and R. Moffat, Prof. Benjamin Mason, Hon. Richard Busteed, Wm. H. Arthur, Wade Worrall, Wm. C. Freeman, Dr. Joseph Finch. Several of these, which are only specimen names, found wives among the lady members of the class.

Another department of church work in which our subject made himself felt, at various times and in different places, was the planting and upbuilding of Sunday-schools and churches. More than forty years ago, while actively at work in the Greene Street Church, he saw that the city was advancing along the west side beyond Eighteenth Street, which had seemed for a time to form a kind of boundary, into the neighborhood known as Chelsea, and he fixed his eye on it as an available place, first for a Sunday-school, and afterward for a church. A place for the former was obtained, and the Bible class offered the needed working force to make it a success; and from that beginning, by steady stages, the work was carried forward, and the Thirtieth Street Methodist Episcopal Church took its place among the sisterhood of city churches, and for more than thirty years it has been doing a good work. By a somewhat similar process he was also somewhat instrumental in the formation of the Ninth Street Methodist Episcopal Church, and of what is now St. Johns Church in West Fifty-third Street. The growth of Brooklyn also attracted his attention, and a detachment from the Greene Street Bible class undertook to found a Sunday-school in the region to the south of the Wallabout, and this through various changes at length evolved into the DeKalb Avenue Church. But his largest and most successful enterprise in

this line in which he has been at any time engaged was the founding of the St. John's Methodist Episcopal Church of Newburg (N. Y), during his residence in that place, some twenty years ago. Till then there had been but one Methodist church in the city, and that was quite insufficient for the wants of the people. A second church was needed, but the conservative element in the first church opposed the proposition for a second one, and prevented any concerted movement in that direction. There was an unused church edifice in the place, located about where it seemed desirable to commence operations, which could be had at a moderate price and on easy terms of payment. This seemed to offer the desired opportunity. The property was first leased, and ultimately purchased by the religious association which had been formed, and of which Henry Cornell, brother of J. B. and W. W. Cornell, was an active member and officer. The boldness of the movement struck the public mind favorably, the people flocked to the services, money was obtained as needed, a minister procured, a powerful revival ensued, and in less than a year from its inception the new church had a membership of three hundred. From that time onward St. John's, Newburg, has ranked among the best Methodist churches in the valley of the Hudson.

The titular prefix and suffix within which his name appears at the head of this paper, though apparently not in harmony with his calling and manner of life, are nevertheless in accord with the facts. In respect to the first, he is known to have been during most of his life-time a preacher of the Gospel. He was licensed to preach, as a local or lay preacher, according to the rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church, while yet a young man; and for more than fifty years he has exercised himself in that office, though not in the pastoral work. An exception to this last remark should be made in a few instances, when he was for a short time in charge of churches by appointment of the presiding elder. Possibly he may have, in one or more cases, held the same relation to some of the more largely developed Sunday-schools while they were passing into the conditions of organized churches, but if so that was done simply as a temporary arrangement, till something more permanent and complete could be effected. In 1848, having

been elected to that order by the New York Conference, he was ordained a deacon, for the double purpose that he might assist his pastor and others in the administration of the Lord's Supper, at which his services were uniformly acceptable to both the ministrants and communicants, and that he might administer baptism, especially to infants, in the families into connection with which he was often brought in his Sunday-school work. But though frequently solicited to do so, he steadfastly declined to take the vows and receive the ordination of an elder, believing that the diaconate formed the true line of division between the traveling and the local ministry. It appears, however, that he narrowly escaped becoming a traveling preacher. In 1842 he received the requisite recommendation, which was placed in the hands of his presiding elder, to be laid before the New York Conference, and his reception into that body was not at all doubtful; indeed, it was said that a field of labor had already been selected for him. But the Book Agents at New York strenuously opposed the scheme, declaring that he was rendering better service to the Church where he then was than he could possibly do in the regular work of the ministry, and that it was much easier to find men to do ministerial work than to find those who could render the service which he was performing in the publishing house. Accordingly, the application was withheld, by consent of all concerned, a course which probably was on all hands the most desirable.

In respect to his *doctorate* not much need be said, except the statement that the degree was conferred unsought by him, and without his knowledge. He has been a life long student of the Bible, chiefly, but not exclusively, in the English language, and his familiarity with both the letter and the spirit of the sacred volume would not suffer in comparison with that of many who have taken their academic degrees after compassing all the required studies. Nor is he any less a master of theological learning, especially as contained in the recognized Methodist standards; and his latest published work, a theological catechism entitled *Light on the Path*, is a model of its kind—a succinct but comprehensive embodiment of evangelical Arminian theology. Such a treatise presented to a European university would probably avail as a sufficient reason why such a degree should be given.

The only title for which our subject has shown any real affection is the one which his fellow-craftsman, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, set to his own name in the epitaph which he prepared for his tombstone—"Printer." That has, indeed, been his life-long calling, and in its duties he has won his laurels. We have seen that at an early period he was specially detailed as a proof-reader. The generality of readers of printed matter have very faint conceptions of the practical importance of that department of the work of the printing-office, and least of all do they suspect how largely editors and authors are indebted to the "readers" for the presentable shapes in which their compositions appear. A competent proof-reader must be a man of peculiar natural endowments, and those must be quickened to detect, and trained to appreciate, the author's meaning whenever he omits some needed word or clause, or expresses himself out of harmony with his own evident purpose. Just how this is done we do not pretend to explain; we are not an adept in that calling, but large experience on the other side of the matter leaves us no room to doubt either its practicability or its reality as matter of fact. And precisely at that point the subject of this sketch has demonstrated very marked and peculiar adaptations to his calling, of which we will here give a few practical illustrations.

It is among the traditions of the common opinion prevalent in the New York Methodist Book Concern that among all its editors none was ever more scrupulously correct in the make-up of his printed matter, or more exacting in this respect upon those who were called to co-operate with him, than Dr. Whedon. But by long experience even he came at length to a very distinct and lively appreciation of the skill in his own specialty of his chief and final proof-reader. Of all the forms of printed matter very few others require so much skillful painstaking as commentaries on the Scriptures, put up in the usual manner. For a number of years Dr. Whedon was working upon his Commentary on the New Testament, the final reading of the proofs of which, as they came from the compositors, fell to Mr. Longking; and not venturing to make corrections, of either the grammar or the rhetoric of the language, and more especially not of the exegesis, he still ventured now and then to indicate his doubts by query-marks

upon the margins, until these became a marked feature of the proofs when they came to the author for final approval. At first, however, they were hastily brushed aside, but by degrees they received a little more consideration; and at length the author said to his publishers, "Your proof-reader is greatly addicted to making queries, and I have learned to respect them, and I think that now I adopt four out of every five of them." Another, and even more clearly marked indication of Dr. Whedon's appreciation of the value of Mr. Longking's criticisms was given on the occasion of the completion of one of the volumes of his Commentary. As usual with authors in such cases, as soon as the writer had given his last touches to the volume he became impatient of any delay in its publication, and because it did not appear as soon as it was expected the publishers were pressed to hurry the work forward. It was then found that the delay was occasioned by the failure of Mr. Longking to send it forward with his final approval, and that he was so closely occupied by other work, which could not be laid aside, that he would not be able to examine it for some days. Then it was proposed, since the proofs had been very thoroughly examined, to print the matter as it stood; but notwithstanding all his haste the author declined the proposition, preferring to wait longer rather than forego the advantage of that last revision. Another commentator, perhaps a little less exacting, after the labor of putting his work into shape, confessed his obligation to his reader, and pronounced him an altogether admirable "botcher."

The veteran proof-reader, for that is now his specific work, after nearly forty years of connection with the Book Concern, having more than filled up his fourscore years, is still found at his desk six days in each week; and all the more considerable publications of the house (not including *The Christian Advocate* and those of the Sunday-school department) pass under his eye, and receive his thorough examination and careful correction. He celebrated his *golden wedding* a few years since, and still he and his companion, although, like the parents of John the Baptist, "well stricken in years," are "walking in all the commandments and ordinances of God blameless," with a fair prospect of "ganging on thegither"

for an indefinite term of years. On Sundays, when not called away to fill some vacant pulpit, strong in his ruling passion, he meets his Bible class, made up from the second and third generation below those for whom he performed the same service fifty years ago. As he has so compelled those who wait for the opportunity to deliver funeral eulogies and write obituary panegyrics to wait beyond the usual time, we have chosen to anticipate his departure, trusting that that event may be long delayed, and to put in shape what we have written, lest, peradventure, that more complete occasion may not come in our day.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND CHRISTIAN UNITY.

THE Protestant Episcopal Church holds a somewhat unique position among the ecclesiastical bodies of the country. We say this without intending to express either praise or blame, but only to indicate the peculiarities of its relations to other religious bodies, and in reference to the rather remarkable fact, that while it is numerically only the fifth or seventh among the Christian bodies of the nation it is seen posing before the people as THE Church, and gravely proposing to change its name, in harmony with that assumption, and to style itself the *Church of America!* These pretensions, which are not entirely new, have usually been smiled at as the harmless vagaries of self-complacent egotism, and allowed to pass without the rebuke they deserve. They, however, evidently indicate something that calls for more than contempt, since persistent assumptions, though baseless, may, unless disallowed, at length claim respect, and be used as arguments for still larger and more practical demands. For the first half of the century of its history the Protestant Episcopal Church was a quiet and non-aggressive body, apparently satisfied to live and let live; but of late it has spread itself somewhat, and now seems disposed to put on airs that may render it offensive. These things have just now been brought to our notice by re-examining what took place a few weeks ago at the Triennial General Convention of that Church, held in Chicago, of which we propose to say something.

All who are familiar with the utterances of both the religious and

secular press are aware that they contain not a little in the way of reproaches or lamentations because of the "rending of Christ's seamless garment;" and pious people of a certain class appear sometimes to be very much distressed on account of the fancied non-fulfillment of Christ's prayer, that his disciples might be *one*. That prayer has been made to do service for a cause for which it was not at all designed, and it has been parodied into a sense entirely foreign to its obvious purpose, making it a plea, not for the true "communion of saints," but for an ecclesiastical consolidation and crystallization upon a nucleus not prepared by the Head of the Church, but by those who expect to profit by what they teach. The method usually pursued in support of this pretense is to quietly assume with an innocent gravity certain postulates which embody the desired conclusions, and which seem to say that these are indisputable, and then by careful advances to come at length to the sought-for results. It may not be amiss, therefore, to re-examine some of these assumptions in order to see whether the consolidation of all our churches within the fold built for the Protestant Episcopal Church a hundred years ago—then only a few sheep in the wilderness—is indeed identical with the "communion of saints" named in the Apostles' Creed, and whether that little community is the veritable "Holy Catholic Church," so that non-communion with it is a sinful schism. We begin therefore by disallowing this whole system of pretension, as indeed all real Protestants must do; and by that action the whole discussion of the subject is shifted back upon more original and fundamental principles, so holding in abeyance the high claims of THE Church, *soi-disant*.

We are certainly not astray at this time in giving a place to this subject among our "Current Topics," in view of the public attention that has been recently called to it. It is said, that at the late session of the convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Chicago petitions signed by many hundreds—perhaps thousands—of ministers and lay people were presented in favor of "Christian unity," and the reports of the proceedings of that body show that the subject occupied no inconsiderable share of its attention, and elicited some spirited and able debating. It is also said, that these petitions came chiefly from persons recognized as belonging to the Evangelical or Low-Church party, and that in this city, while the movement received very little sympathy from any body connected with the great corporations of the Church—Trinity parish and its affiliated bodies, and some others of that ilk—it was much more favored at St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, Grace, and Holy Trinity. The logic of all this is not, however, altogether plain. The High-Church people might logically be concerned for those who are casting their souls' interests on "un-covenanted mercy;" but do the Evangelicals share in that sentiment? The former party simply says to the adherents of the "sects," that the door of the "Church" is open to them, and, consistently with its principles, it can do no more. Has the latter party any thing else to offer? High-Churchmen favor Church unity very much in the way by which the whale and Jonah became one, or as, after a successful

foray on the flock, the lion and the lamb lay down together—they are ready to unite with the "sects," provided the "sects" are prepared to be swallowed, and not otherwise. On what other terms do the Low-Church people propose to bring about Christian unity? It is well-known that the Episcopal Church has never offered—and according to its principles it never can—to be united with any other ecclesiastical body, and as such it consistently holds that it can receive members from such bodies only as they would be received had they never been so associated. So believing, they have the right to act accordingly; but why then should the subject of Christian unity be spoken of unless it is clearly understood that it means the extinction of any other Christian body with which it may unite? That such a proposition should be made by courteous Christian people, without any sense of insolence on their part, shows to what a degree excessive self-appreciation may blunt the soul's best sentiments.

We have been not a little interested in reading the speeches made by Dr. Phillips Brooks, which have been praised by some non-Churchmen for their breadth and liberality of views; but we fail to find the place where he says any thing to justify the statement that he gave "the full weight of his influence and eloquence to the recognition of other Protestant bodies as essentially Churches." He no doubt recognizes such bodies as Christian associations, since he concedes that they are made up of Christian people and are doing Christian work; but he cannot, without abandoning the fundamental principles of his own Church, confess them to be true and veritable Churches, integral parts of the one and indivisible Catholic Church. If Dr. Brooks fails to see the faulty logic of the views attributed to him (which we do not suppose are his), others do see it, and very consistently, as has also been said, they are strongly opposed to those views, notwithstanding the desire felt by all for the promotion of "Christian unity." No one at all well informed on the subject can be ignorant of the fact, that no administrator of the laws of the Protestant Episcopal Church would for a moment recognize any of the (by them) so-called "sects" as valid ecclesiastical bodies. Dr. Brooks, and others who feel and speak as he does, point out no way by which the end they seem so much to desire can be reached except by the unconditional surrender of the "sects," with the implied concession that they and their fathers have all been a set of ecclesiastical bummers, teaching without authority and profaning the sacraments, and like Korah and his company desecrating God's ordinances.

We like honest and outspoken frankness, and we prefer an antagonist who fights under his own colors to one of a doubtful complexion. The High-Churchmen tell us what they mean, and we know where to find them. They too, as well as their less elevated brethren, are very solicitous for Christian unity, but they tell us very plainly that we can have it only by coming to them. That is honest, and though we do not propose to accept their terms, yet we are glad that they speak out without concealment. Rev. John Henry Hopkins, D.D., in a brief address made by him

at the Congress of Churches, in Cleveland, last May, on the subject "The True Church," used this language:

I will speak not only for myself, but for a very large number of Churchmen. They may not yet be the majority, but I think they will be in a few years. We are willing to give up, as barriers in the way of unity, any and every thing that is peculiar to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America! [Applause.] I must explain to you what I mean by that, and perhaps you will not clap so loudly. I mean exactly what I say,—that what is peculiar to us as the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America, we are willing to give up. In the first place, there is our name. "Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America!" We are ready to give it up at once. You may search the New Testament, and search all Christian antiquity, and you will not find any thing about a "Protestant Episcopal Church." We are willing to give that up. And so I might specify a number of other things.

But you may say, "What about the Apostolic Succession?" O, my dear friends, that is not *ours*. *We* did not invent that; we have not the peculiar possession of that. That belongs to the great body of Christendom, and has belonged to it from the beginning. It does not belong to *us*. We cannot give it up. We *dare not give it up*. I will tell you why. We are trustees of that great gift of the Church from the beginning. We are trustees of that great gift, for the benefit of all the rest of you, and that is the reason we hold on to it.

Then you will say, "But what about Confirmation?" Well, we did not start that. That is not peculiar to us. You will find out about it in the New Testament, and you will find it in *every part of the Apostolic Church* from the beginning down to the present day. It is nothing peculiar to us. And so I might go on. And how is it possible that we should have the right to give away any thing that belongs to the heritage of the grand old Church from the beginning?

Now that confession is an honest one, if in no otherwise admirable. But what do they for whom Dr. Brooks speaks say about it? Will they abate a single jot or tittle of what Dr. Hopkins insists upon? Certainly they have never intimated, with intelligible definiteness, what their terms and conditions of union would be, nor do we see how they can surrender any thing without giving up the fundamental principles of their system.

Dr. Hopkins is ready to give up the name of his denomination, not, however, in order to bring it into closer relations to the "sects," but for just the contrary reason. As it now stands, that name may imply that there are in the country other Churches from which it is sought to distinguish that one by the double descriptive epithet, Protestant Episcopal. Those for whom he spoke at Cleveland were also represented at Chicago by at least two fifths of the Convention, and they formally attempted to get rid of the offensive prefixes to their ecclesiastical titles in order that it might be called, what they claim that it is, "THE Church of America," or the "American *Catholic* Church," either of which titles would effectually exclude all other associations from any proper claim to Churchhood. And although the attempt did not succeed in form, yet its promoters expressed themselves more than satisfied with the result, as the largeness of the vote for it indicated an encouraging increase of favor for the scheme, and seemed to promise, what Dr. Hopkins prophesied, that they will soon be the majority.

Dr. Brooks, who represents the Broad-Church element of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country, as Dean Stanley represented the same element in the Church of England, would recognize the Christian

bodies outside of his own as *quasi*-ecclesiastical, by virtue of the character of their individual constituents, who are confessed to be the stuff out of which THE Church is built up, but are now in a chaotic or unorganized condition. Such bodies, say they, answer to the first part of their own Church's designation of the "visible Church of Christ," to wit, that it is "a congregation of faithful (believing) men," but the further designation that the sacraments are *duly* administered among them could not be conceded, and so they are not really and truly Churches. The "sects," therefore, even in the estimation of Broad-Church liberality, are only non-ecclesiastical companies, composed of elements out of which churches might be constituted, but still lacking as to some of the essential conditions of Church life; for in the estimation of all good Churchmen, the only legitimate form of a "true Church" is what they assume to be the scriptural and historical one, having an apostolically descended episcopacy at its head. The sacraments are essential to the completeness of the Church, and these, say they, were by Christ himself given to the Christian "priesthood" for the benefit of the Church, and there can be valuable, or indeed at all *real* sacraments, only when they are administered by duly constituted "priests." Any other pretended use of these mysteries must, therefore, be only a shocking desecration of holy things.

But 'Broad"-Churchmen and "Low"-Churchmen are disposed to deal leniently with the "sects." They would receive their ministers and give them positions in THE Church corresponding to those they held in their own bodies, but only on condition of their receiving "orders" at the hands of the genuine successors of the apostles, which simply means that they must repudiate the orders under which they have been operating, and in which some of them have given long years of active and successful ministerial service, and confess, at least by necessary implication, that they have been all along pretending to serve in the sacred office as Christian ministers without any proper authority—have, in short, usurped the "priesthood" and profaned the "sacred mysteries."

But these long-suffering ones are willing to extend to those erring ones, if they will now show the sincerity of their repentance by returning to the fold, the advantages of the plea of "invincible ignorance." Possibly re-baptism would not be absolutely required, for even the Church of Rome accepts lay baptism in extreme cases. But, as indicated by Dr. Hopkins, the requirements of confirmation and of the apostolical ordination cannot be waived in any case. Dr. John Hall, and Dr. Storrs, and Bishop Harris, and Dr. Armitage must each and all of them come as penitent prodigals kneeling at the threshold, to be admitted to the lowest place in the Church, and then, if found worthy, they may, after due probation, be admitted by apostolic manipulations to the office and work of the ministry. That intimations respecting Church unity, to be reached by such processes of self-stultification and humiliation could be made, is to be accounted for only as it is recollected that egotistical self-appreciation always tends toward supercilious insolence.

In the discussion of the proposition to change the name of their Church

by expunging the words "Protestant Episcopal," and substituting something else, Dr. Brooks indicated some particulars as to which he dissented from the views of his brethren the High-Churchmen; but he failed to state, with even a moderate degree of definiteness, what are his own views, or how far he would go toward recognizing any thing as properly Churchly in any of the outlying religious bodies. He spoke bravely against the proposed change of name, but took care not to commit himself to any recognition of any of the sects as Churches. His remarks, as reported by an admiring listener for one of our city papers, were to this effect:

> Now, that there were people who believed in the so-called transmission of the apostolic powers was true, but it was equally true that there were people who did not, even in this convention. He did not believe in the doctrine of apostolic succession to any such length as to give it entirely to this Church. They were told that it was going to extend its arms and bring in and convert all the infidelity in America, which was not the case, it was a hopeless contraction of it —it drowned the Church. It did not make the Church the universal Church of America. It confined its membership to men who were wedded to a theory. The passage of such a resolution to fasten on it the name of the American Catholic Church, and admit within those whose faith was on a purely ingenious theory —was that the Church which was going to call in every body? The question was not whether that theory was true or not, but whether the Church would accept that theory or not, and make it incumbent on every one. Was the Church prepared to accept this fantastical theory? He trusted in God she was not.

The theory may or may not be correct, according to Dr. Brooks, but since some people hesitate to receive it, and insistence upon it might become a hinderance to "unity," it ought not to be insisted upon in any formal and definite pre-announcement; but the administration of the Church must nevertheless proceed upon its assumed correctness and binding force. This may satisfy those who are determined to be pleased, but some old birds are not to be taken with such chaff.

The convention also tried its hand in an attempt toward practical Church unity; the attempt, however, was of the mildest kind, and only tentative and inchoate, but even that failed. The Congregational Council was at the same time in session in Chicago, and it was proposed to send to it a message of Christian salutation. The motion having been made in a body to which the public had free access, it became an awkward matter to reject or oppose it, and so it was adopted in the "Lower House" with virtual unanimity, but not until the language had been so changed that it should not express any recognition of the Churchly character of the body to be addressed, which might have formed a valid objection to its reception had it been sent, and had the receivers chosen to insist on the rights of common courtesy in the case. But that possible difficulty was obviated by the nonconcurrence of the bishops, who constitute the Upper House, and sit with closed doors, so that they are less liable to be influenced by what is in the air. The whole thing, however, demonstrated the real character and intent of all the honeyed words that are heard about Christian unity and the Saviour's prayer. The Church of Rome offers as liberal terms to all men—

heathens, Jews, and Protestants – as the would-be American Church offers to their confessed fellow-Christians, and yet it seems to be expected that the "dissenting" dogs will be thankful for such crumbs.

We have no quarrel with our brethren of the Protestant Episcopal Church so long as they will keep themselves to their own proper calling and leave others to theirs. It may be that our American society needs such a Church, in which the vigorous spiritual elements of Church life shall not be made inconveniently aggressive, where the worship shall be distinctively æsthetical rather than spiritual, where the utterances of the pulpit shall not jar harshly upon sensitive nerves, nor come into unnecessary conflict with the practices of respectable sinners and with the usages of society. Happily, church-going is still a respectable practice in good society, and churches for the use of that class may be a necessity, such as will make the least possible demand upon its "worshipers" in either intellectual or spiritual faith, or in either the minor or major moralities. A church may be required also into which the rich families from less fashionable churches may gravitate, and in which their young people, having been raised to social positions of which their parents knew nothing at their time of life, may find a home. It may be thought desirable that in a community in which are a full share of *snobs* there should be churches adapted to their requirements. We say, then, to our friends of THE Church, there is room enough in the world for both yourselves and those who do not wish to be members of your household, and in behalf of those others we pray, do not come to us, and we will not ask you to make room for our overgrown families.

WHY SHOULD WE SEEK TO CHRISTIANIZE THE HEATHEN?

The present is sometimes described as the missionary age of the Church; and though not exclusively, nor perhaps pre-eminently, such, yet the zeal of Protestant Christendom for the evangelization of non-Christian peoples will at least in part justify the claim to that designation. But as in all great popular movements the general enthusiasm nearly always outruns the well-settled convictions of the public mind, so in this case it may be suspected that many who are zealously affected in behalf of the work of foreign missions would find it difficult to assign reasons for their zeal that could at all stand the test of a careful re-examination. Epidemics of religious zeal for some great enterprise appear all along in the history of the Church. Such were the crusades and the persecutions of the French Huguenots; and during the Dark Ages the conversion or else the extermination of the Jews was a subject for the periodical awakening of persecuting fanaticism, and three hundred years ago the religious quickening in Spain (such as it was) found expression in the ravages of the Inquisition under Ximenes, and in the missionary activities of Loyola. That there have also been seasons of special religious awakenings and

activities of a better kind than these is also well known to every student of the Church's history, for it must be recognized as a fact, that the growth of Christianity, especially in its outward expressions, has not been a uniform forward movement, but rather a series of impulsive and unequal, not to say spasmodic, awakenings and temporary activities.

Just now a zeal for Christian propagandism is rife in the evangelical Churches, in which all should rejoice, because it is in harmony with the spirit of Christ and of the apostles, and of the Church in all of its most devoted and successful eras. It is, however, quite certain that many persons, not excluding a large share of those most active in this work, have only partial and inadequate conceptions of the conditions involved in this problem of missions to the heathen. Their impulses, as is usually the case in all enterprises, outrun their reason, and their awakened zeal so much exceeds their intelligent convictions that there is danger that their action will be unsteady and transitory. But such gusts of enthusiasm are naturally temporary, and are sure to be followed by a season of criticism, often with a disposition toward skepticism. The question will arise, and will demand an answer, whether this zeal is legitimate. That question is indeed asked already, and always, in the latent or active unbelief of the world, and an unspiritual economy of means and agencies, is ever caviling and protesting against "this waste." And this spirit of opposition, though less impulsive, is terribly persistent, and will compel a hearing for itself. The objections, too, that are urged are sufficiently plausible to demand attention, and unless clearly responded to they will become formidable obstacles in the way of the missionary work of the Church. Many others, besides blatant infidels and openly profane persons, have been in doubt as to some things involved in this matter; and not a few who are in full sympathy with the cause of missions have had these misgivings, and have found themselves unable to answer questions that have been propounded to them, and more especially such as have risen unasked in their own minds. Such doubts must be respected and properly responded to by those who would defend the cause in which they are engaged, and toward which they are, for good reasons, so zealously affected. In order that the cause of Christian missions shall survive the influences of a merely temporary impulse, it must be commended to men's best judgment, and fortified by intelligent reasons against the assaults of its adversaries and the more formidable doubtings of errorists in religion and of an unspiritual secularism. We will now notice some of these classes and kinds of objections in detail.

1. There are those who say, that while religion is good and needful for all men, the claim made in behalf of Christianity that it alone, of all the religions of mankind, is capable of answering to the felt wants of the soul, must not be conceded. Modern literature is full of this idea, and in support of it we are told of the excellence of Confucianism, and its salutary influence over the morals of nearly half of the world, and of the profound and comfortable mysticism of the Buddhists, a form of faith that is cherished by, and which cherishes in return, the best people of India and

China and Japan. One western scholar goes into raptures over "The Light of Asia," clearly preferring it to the "Light" that proposes to lighten all men; and another tells us of the "Ten Great Religions," among which Christianity is allowed a place, but only as one of a class, and without any well-sustained claim to exclusive preference. Mr. Lecky exalts the stoicism of the old Romans as the highest type of virtue, and Dr. Draper celebrates the Saracenic civilization, with its underlying spiritual code, as worthy of the highest admiration. The conclusion to which all this tends, and which is urged by these teachers, is, that while Christianity (could it be separated from both dogmas and ecclesiasticism) may be a good thing, it possesses no such special excellence as to be raised above all other religions, and therefore there is no good reason why we should seek to extend it to the peoples who are already sufficiently provided for in their own ethnic faiths and forms of worship. The self-styled "liberal" Churches of our own land, as the Unitarians and Universalists, seem to be dominated by this conception of the character and the place of Christianity among the religions of the world, and accordingly they are not concerned to give the Gospel to the heathen; and there is cause to suspect that this kind of unevangelical non-faith is also pretty widely disseminated among the members of our evangelical Churches, operating as a spiritual marasmus, and (to change the figure) extending as a dry-rot through the frame-work of the Christian household. Against this ever-present obstruction, the most formidable of all, whether patent or latent, the cause of Christian missions must be prosecuted; and only as men believe that Christianity is not simply the best, but the *only*, soul-saving religion, will they be constrained to make haste to send it to those who are not now blessed with its salvation.

2. Formerly, much more than at present, our Protestant Churches were cursed with a form of theology which, wherever it operated, effectually suppressed the very beginnings of their missionary zeal. This theological monstrosity disclosed its character in the case stated by the Rev. Dr. Withrow, in his sermon before the American Board at its recent annual meeting. We quote his words:

> We observe the revival of an idea which dominated the minds of some good men at the time when modern Christian missions had their rise. The same idea that President Wayland writes of as arising out of "a spurious system of Calvinism," and the same that confronted the zealous Carey when he began to call on our mother country to give the Gospel to the Gentiles: and that is, that if we but let the heathen alone, the Lord will convert them by and by, if he shall see best. When William Carey's enthusiasm had kindled enough interest in the subject of missions to the heathen to draw together that memorable conference in Northampton, and when the eloquence of the young shoemaker rose to a very passionate pitch, as he pleaded "for the perishing pagans," you may recall how this idea of which I speak found voice in that assembly. Affronted at the earnestness of the young man, if not at his ignorance, an eminent minister cried, "Young man, sit down! When God pleases to convert the heathen, he will do it without your aid or mine." Is it the ghost of that "spurious system of Calvinism?" Is it the lost and wandering echoes of that thundering rebuke by Dr. Ryland in the Northampton Conference which have re-shaped themselves into the

belief that whatever heathen we do not reach as Paul did a pagan in the prison at Philippi, Jesus Christ himself will reach, when he is pleased to, in the prison of the pit? If so, we may well obey the voice which bids us "sit down."

Perhaps that "spurious system of Calvinism" is less openly active just now than formerly, but its spirit survives, and it often becomes effective where least suspected, even by its subject. There is often an unconscious feeling that does not take the form of a conviction, and yet is powerfully operative, which refuses to believe that we have any special concern with the heathen, and says, in effect, they are in God's hands, he has appointed their destiny, and it is well to leave them to his will and power. Practically that is the attitude of a large proportion of what is called evangelical Christendom toward the heathen world. True, such objectors do not usually formulate their cavils, but they are all the time in effect asking, "Why should we give the Gospel to the heathen?" and holding the question to be unanswered, they do nothing.

3. Another class of theological specialists assume, that after all that has been said about it the heathen are not in a very desperate condition; that probably as large a proportion of the inhabitants of heathen as of nominally Christian lands will "somehow" find salvation. This tenet of belief, like most of its class, is seldom definitely formulated. We have, however, recently seen it set forth very distinctly by a high authority of our denomination, in terms sufficiently startling. That notion—it can scarcely be called an opinion—is very wide-spread and effectively operative. We occasionally notice the recognition of distinctions in the forms of faith, with the inference that there may be a real saving faith exercised by those who have never heard of the "historical" Christ. But if this supposed possibility should be granted as a bare possibility, the further question remains, whether, saying nothing about the form, any appreciable number of the ungospeled heathen show in their lives and characters that they have the *substance* of the faith, which, if it is unto salvation, must also "work by love and purify the heart?" This question can be settled only by the testimony of competent witnesses respecting heathen morality. What is the testimony of the historians, the poets, and moralists of heathen antiquity? What are the indications of those incidental statements by which, without design, the inner life of the people is revealed? What may we learn from the signs of their material civilization as disclosed by the relics and mementos of ruined cities? All these unite to confirm in horrible details, and with accompanying material witnesses, the instruments of their abomination, the worst things that St. Paul wrote of them in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans. Again, if we call our witnesses to testify concerning the moral condition of the heathen of our own time, the record they give is in nowise better than that of heathen antiquity. Travelers, merchants, and missionaries from heathen lands agree in presenting the most fearful pictures of the depravity of life and manners universally prevalent among all the grades of society and all conditions of men, whether in savage or civilized heathen countries. And these things are met with not only as

occasional outbursts of passion and lust; they are embodied in their civil and social, and even their religious institutions, their laws, their customs, their pleasures, and their worship: all declare the prevalence of deep-seated and abominable wickedness. We are, therefore, less concerned to ask whether any of these *can* be saved, according to the provisions of the Gospel, than we are to ascertain whether any appreciable number of them appear to have been saved, and are showing forth to any hopeful extent the fruits of righteousness? And if it should be found that a very few, one of a million, or even of a thousand, give some little ground for hope, what must be said of the almost absolutely unbroken multitude that is sweeping onward, with the volume of a Niagara, to the certain destiny of the wicked and abominable? May it not be that a preached Gospel would rescue some of these? and if so, we have the answer to the question at the head of this paper.

We have room for only very brief references to the teachings of the Scriptures on this subject; but a few cases may be cited. Our Lord's commission to St. Paul, first given at the time of his awakening, speaks of the Gentiles to whom he was then sent as being in "darkness," under "the power of Satan," and needing to "receive forgiveness of sin," and from this evil condition they were to be rescued through Paul's ministry—all of which implies that the heathen, held in the bondage of sin, need to be forgiven, and that God's method for their deliverance is by the preaching of the Gospel. But why that method if they might be saved without having heard of the *historical* Christ? St. Paul himself (Rom. x, 14, 15) indicates the necessity for the preached Gospel, in order to men's salvation, by a very simple array of gospel axioms: Salvation is by faith, faith comes by hearing (the word), and the word can be heard only where there is a preacher. This is God's usual method for saving men. Perhaps it does not absolutely exclude every other way in any possible case; but if there be any other way it is not hinted at, nor are we at liberty to trust any other, either for ourselves or others. On this important passage Olshausen remarks:

> Preaching is the only way by which the Gospel is propagated among mankind. It cannot be produced by some immediate operation of the Spirit, scattered as seeds here and there, but in order to its propagation there is constantly required an imparting from the central point of the Church. . . . This is to be accounted for, first from the *historical* (continuous) character of Christianity, which essentially rests on the *facts* of the history of Jesus; and next, from the Spirit, which is the power that operates in preaching.

The action of the Holy Spirit in the world, according to Christ's promise (John xiv, 26), is of the nature of a prompter of the memory as to what Christ himself had spoken and men had heard. He will "guide them into all the truth" (Rev. Ver., xvi, 13), but "he shall not speak from himself; but what things he shall hear, these shall he speak." The lesson here taught seems to be that the efficiency of the Spirit is conditioned on, and only follows after, the preaching of the Gospel; and both the promises of the Scriptures and the facts of experience agree to show, that if there is a

universal diffusion of the power of the Holy Ghost among men it almost never germinates into spiritual life, except as stimulated and made fruitful by the word of God, and that, also, with very few exceptions, by the word delivered by the living preacher. It is true that the Scriptures do not very definitely inform us what will be the destiny of those who die in their sins without having heard of Christ and his salvation; but every intimation given implies for them the most horrible ruin and hopelessness. Saved by faith they cannot be, for "how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard?" and if a salvation through moral fitness might be thought available for those so situated, which, and how many of them, could claim eternal blessedness on that condition?

4. There are, scattered among the churches, a class of persons who make but little account of the agencies of the Gospel now in use, and who expect no great successes in saving men to result from their employment. They tell us the world is growing worse and worse, and will continue to do so until Christ appears in his material body to set up a political state on earth, and then go forth as a man of war to subdue the nations to himself, by his word and Spirit, or, failing with those, by the sword of his power. These persons, quite consistently with their views, set very little value on any missionary efforts; the preaching of the Gospel is to them, most emphatically, "foolishness," since it can accomplish very little; while Christ coming into his earthly kingdom will make very short work of the conquest of the world. They may ask, with special consistency, Why should the waiting Church, while earnestly expecting the coming of the Lord to accomplish his own work, distress itself about a work which he has reserved for his own right hand? But with these we have no other controversy than an unconditional rejection of their whole theory and scheme of Christ's kingdom among men, as opposed alike to the letter and the spirit of the Gospel, and to the import of the "promise of his coming." It must be manifest, however, that the acceptance of their views will, as has been said of another form of belief, "cut the missionary nerve;" and so far as those who hold these views carry them into their practices, the cause of missions can receive no help at their hands.

5. Last of all we have to glance at the "New Orthodoxy" (of Andover) in its relations to the question we are considering. The distinguishing features of that phase of Christian beliefs of which the public has heard most are, that the period of man's probation is not necessarily terminated at death, and that no one can be finally lost except those who consciously and of purpose reject Christ and the salvation which he offers. And since to do this is clearly impossible to those who have never heard of Christ, and to whom the Gospel has not come offering life, it is held that the whole heathen world, including those of the past ages, must have their probation extended into the *under world*, where Christ preached to the spirits in prison, and where it is earnestly hoped (though just why it is expected we are not told) that the Gospel will prove more effective than it usually shows itself to be among "men in the flesh." These articles of belief challenge our respect for the reason that they are sustained

by many very great names of the past as well as the present, including a large share of the most eminent living or recently deceased scholars in all the Protestant world, and also because they are a portion of a well-built structure, which is itself well fitted to its position. True, it has only the most meager scriptural support, and the few texts used to sustain it have the appearance of having been misconstrued for the purpose, while the whole drift and trend of the Bible is in another direction. It is claimed by its opposers, and scarcely denied by its supporters, that it necessarily very largely modifies all the great doctrines of the Gospel; that its God is quite another than the God of the old Orthodoxy; that sin and redemption are not what they have seemed to be; and that the salvation which it promises is not quite the same with that to which, through the ages, the Church has looked forward, and which faithful men have expected through Christ. One of its corollaries, of which not much has been said but which is involved in its very substance is, that while all infants are embraced in the purposes of the Gospel, all of them must also personally accept Christ, voluntarily and with the possibility of refusing, in order to be really saved; and since such as die in infancy have not so deliberated and decided, their future state must be involved in the outcome of a future-world probation which may issue in eternal death.

The relation of this opinion to the cause of missions is quite obvious, though, while perhaps its opponents have overestimated its paralyzing influences, its supporters very strongly endeavor to minify its manifest tendency to abate any special earnestness of efforts to "rescue the perishing." A warm and earnest Christian heart might persist in efforts to persuade men to accept Christ *now*, without the stimulus of the assurance that it must be *now or never*; but for most Christian workers that stimulus might not be uncalled for; and as the apostles were impelled to persuade men by the "terrors of the Lord," probably the best men of our times may need the same impulse to hold them earnestly and persistently to their work. A remote day of judgment is a much less effective detriment from wrong-doing than one near at hand, and a time for repentance indefinitely extended would offer large opportunities for indefinite delays. And in respect to the unsaved of the world, if they are persuaded that to die in one's sins may not be to die eternally, very naturally that conviction would somewhat relax the zeal for instantly ceasing from sin; and if the heathen may repent and be saved in the next world, then the sluggish Church may consent to wait for that future state, with the thought that the Gospel will then be more effectively preached, and that possibly men will then be less unpersuadable than they now are.

All of these several phases of faith or un-faith, and the states of mind in which they find an abiding place, seem to be unfavorable to any adequate development of the missionary spirit. It is also quite certain that the development and growth of that spirit in our day have been chiefly among those least affected by them. In nearly every case—we know of no exception—the men who have gone into the work of missions in the spirit of earnest self-sacrifice, and with an all-consuming

zeal, have either known nothing of the doctrinal peculiarities of which we have spoken or they have known them only to earnestly repudiate them. They have all believed that Christianity alone, of all the world's systems of philosophy or religion, is sufficient to save lost men; they have been persuaded that although God only is sufficient to save lost men, and that "the residue of the Spirit is with him," he also would *now*, and at once, have "all men to be saved," and therefore he is earnestly intent to have them brought within the range of influences by which they may "come to the knowledge of the truth," and without which they find no promise of salvation; they have believed that although the millions of the heathen nations have all been redeemed by the death of Christ, and perhaps in some faint degree taught by the Holy Spirit, yet in fact very few of them so improve their opportunities as not to fall under the condemnation of those to whom the "Light" came, but they chose darkness rather than light; they have learned to contemplate Christ's kingdom as already actually set up in the world, and the Church as a militant host sent forth to subdue the world to its rightful owner, with marching orders to "go . . . make disciples of all the nations, . . . teaching them," and with the comforting assurance that the enthroned Christ himself will lead them on to successive victories until the work shall be accomplished; and they have learned from God's own word that *now* is the acceptable time and day of salvation; and as they do not find any promise of another day of grace, or that there shall be any saving work or device in the future state, they therefore, in proportion as they care for men's souls, are in earnest that they shall, with the least possible delay, hear the words of the Gospel by which they may be saved. Possessed by these convictions they have gone forth, not counting their lives dear unto themselves, and they have been sustained in their labors and sacrifices by what they have learned through their own observations. They have seen the abomination of desolation that rests, like the plagues of Egypt, upon the heathen world, while whole generations of men and women are going down to death, "without God and without hope:" and on the other hand, they have seen living demonstrations of the power to save some of these—plucked "as brands from the burning;" and they are impelled by these things to patiently and joyfully labor and suffer, if by so doing the perishing may be saved. And as the great enterprise of modern missions was born of such convictions, and has been cherished by their confirmation in the facts of the work itself, so must it be perpetuated by the same beliefs, maintained in the integrity of their substance, and rendered practically effective by the power of the Spirit, which is displayed in its fullness only as it is responded to by "the belief of the truth."

The Christian believer, however wise and learned in man's wisdom, is aware that his knowledge of the things of God in creation and in his dispensations is almost incomparably narrow and incomplete, and therefore that it is no part of his business "to justify the ways of God to man." He has come to know that sin is the one great curse of mankind, as a whole and in its individual members, and he has been taught by the

Bible that it is God's good pleasure and earnest purpose to save men by Christ Jesus his Son, and for that purpose he has provided that the glad tidings shall be proclaimed among all nations. He has himself realized the plague of his own heart, and also found a balm for his wounded spirit through faith in Christ, and he is accordingly prepared to commend to all men the salvation in which he rejoices. Beyond this knowledge he finds no need to inquire; for he has found that the effectiveness of his faith is proportioned to its simplicity. To speculate about things that cannot be known may be unavoidable, especially for thoughtful minds; but only arrant pride will on such a subject seek to be wise above what is written in the book of God.

The foundation-principles of the missionary enterprise are few and very simple: Man is a lost sinner; Christ is the Saviour of all men; salvation is to be realized in personal experience through the preaching of the Gospel; Christ has commanded his disciples to see that the Gospel is every-where proclaimed: the present life is the only period designated for hearing and accepting the grace that brings salvation. Upon these foundation stones the missionary edifice must be erected. Here it will stand secure and immovable; but "all other ground is sinking sand."

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

"A MAN AND A BROTHER."—At a recent German Congress for the advancement of their national interests in Africa, there were discussed a good many practical and significant questions concerning the Negro. A certain titled gentleman took the position that the Negro should be taught to work, because that further than this he is not of much import. According to this authority, "the Negro is inclined to chatter about many things that he does not understand, and especially those that are under the special influence of the missionaries."

This wholesale attack on the German mission work in Africa started up a crowd of champions for the black man and his white teachers, who in substance said: The German missionaries in South-western Africa have had remarkable success in their work of forty years, and very especially in the line of teaching them to work, as well as to understand Christian truths. And this has been done not by the severity recommended by the noble count above alluded to, but by humane and kind treatment, and to this latter mode the Negro shows himself very susceptible and yielding. The Negro does not need the whip; he answers easily to peaceful Christian measures. And they who would teach him the peaceful art of agriculture rather than that of war are ever made welcome. The main problem for the German nation to settle is, how to get skillful and vigorous tillers of the soil to go there and try their fortunes. The first important problem to settle is, that of quick and safe transportation from the mother-country

to the new colonial territory. To this end several speakers moved that the Imperial Government be petitioned to establish a line of rapid and strong steamers to the new colonies.

To this motion there was added another, on the second day of the session. to the intent that there be established by the Home Government, on African soil, an Oriental seminary for the study of the African tongues—a school in which men could be trained to take the native tongues and reduce them to form and characters, so that in a short time they would be able to have intelligent intercourse with the natives, and be able to impart to them important truths by the eye as well as by the ear. The founder and head of the Lutheran Missionary Union for East Africa had much to say that was encouraging for the work of that body. He justified the establishing and encouraging of these evangelical means for the elevation of the heathen, and gave some pretty hard blows to the commercial and political emissaries who would use the Negro for their own selfish purposes. Amid tumultuous applause one of the speakers declared that their motto for Africa was, "Pray and work!" believing that prayer was necessary for success to all work among the heathen, and that the apostles of good works should lead the van. To this end two Christian women are preparing to go as deaconesses to establish a hospital to heal the ills of the Negro, and thus teach him practical Christianity. This famous Congress adjourned without leaving a stone for its opponents to stand upon. Never before were so many kind and practical suggestions made to advance the welfare of the Negro in Africa, and insure his treatment as "a man and a brother."

A CALL TO THE FRIENDS OF ISRAEL has just appeared in Leipsic which shows that there is now much activity among those who believe that the Jew can be reclaimed for Christ. The fervent hope of the apostle to the heathen, that Israel might be saved, is becoming more and more rife among the Christians of all lands, and interceding prayer for the people of Israel is rising mightily to Heaven. An anxiety in this direction seems to be taking possession of the Jews of eastern Europe. After forty years of labor Professor Delitzsch, of Leipsic, issued in 1877 the translation of the New Testament into Hebrew, and with wonderful speed it was scattered among that people in the whole earth. A missionary in this cause lately reported that he was surprised to find this book in Galicia, Bukowina, Roumania, and Bessarabia, casting light where the Jews are in the greatest darkness. Jewish hands circulate it secretly. Whole families and circles of friends gather secretly in order to read and study the Gospel.

This awakening in Israel corresponds to a like awakening of the love for mission work to Israel among the young theologians of Germany. In 1880 there was founded in Leipsic, among the theological students of the University, a mission band, *Institutum Judaicum*, in imitation of the older one of Halle. This was called into life by an enthusiastic description of the work to be done among the Jews, which seemed to animate the dormant spirits and set them all aglow. At present there are nine of

these institutes at respective universities. These contain a fraternity of three hundred young theologians, who pass through the work of these *Instituta*, each endeavoring to seek the special preparation needed for efficient work. But even these are not now thought to be enough; there is a growing demand for special institutions for preparation in this line independent of the theological schools, and the establishment of such a school is now declared to be an urgent necessity. Three young theologians have just presented themselves for this special office, and Professor Delitzsch is ready to undertake the lead of the instruction, and in some particular line also to teach himself. And a remarkable providence appears in the fact that a very learned Judaist is now in Leipsic, and ready to aid Delitzsch in the establishment of a seminary of this kind.

But, as usual, money is needed for this purpose, as the government schools cannot, of course, undertake the work. A call is therefore being made for means for the aid or support of the men who are willing to devote themselves to this calling. All who are thus aided bind themselves to labor at least three years among the Jews. The missionary societies for the conversion of the Jews see in these trained workers a long-felt need supplied, and are enthusiastic in the desire to encourage and support the effort. One of the leading German ministers is therefore now making a call for money, confident, as he says, that where the kingdom of God needs means these cannot fail. And great haste is also urged in this work that the services of Delitzsch may be enjoyed before it is too late. This venerable worker and friend of Israel, who for fifty years has been the principal support of the "Jewish Mission" in Germany, cannot live much longer on earth, and they all, as well as himself, desire that before he goes hence his eyes may see the glory of the Lord in the establishment of institutions to prepare men for intelligent work among those Jews who would hear of the true Christ.

BABYLONIA as a field for colonization is the startling cry now raised by a German savant who was for some time a professor in Calcutta, and is the author of a life of Mohammed. This gentleman claims that it was the richest land of antiquity, and now offers the most remunerative field for profitable colonization. In the olden time there was no such complaint of the fatal climate as we now hear, and nowhere was land more fertile. It is highly probable that the present unfavorable condition is the result of neglect of drainage and culture of the soil, which once brought forth in abundance the most valuable of the cereals and other necessities for the human race in great fullness.

Once all this region was the favorite home of the date-palm, now it produces mainly the swamp-reeds; once it was the granary of the caliphates, now it is the scene of shapeless ruins or the beds of ancient canals. Its present poverty proceeds clearly from neglect, and its ancient value might be restored were some European Power to undertake the task. This work would redound also greatly to the interests of the antiquarians, for excavations would immediately be commenced which would afford a rich

fund of antiquarian wealth. This work itself would improve the climatic conditions by the proper guidance of the irrigating canals and the use of the reclaimed soil for healthy vegetation. In the olden time, during the caliphate of Bagdad, the climate was wholesome in spite of the greatest summer heat. The roving Bedouin races that now virtually rule the land might be influenced by the proximity of a civilized power to learn the industrial arts and turn these wastes into pasture grounds for flocks.

These, some may say, are dreams, but the more frequently and impressively they are presented the more practical seems their execution and the more positive their importance. Schemes of this kind are now passing from the brain of the scholar to that of the statesman, and there is clearly a growing inclination to listen to them as capable of practical development. Large sums are now being turned toward Africa, and working capacities are being directed thither; but here, according to the author of this project, men are offered much greater rewards than in the Dark Continent, if for no other reason, because of its proximity and comparative ease of access. A way might be found without violence to induce Turkey to yield a province which is of no practical value to her, and whose worth she does not appreciate. England has for years talked of a railroad down the valley of the Euphrates as a safe and convenient way to India, and were this realized the approach to it would be speedy. The Orient is now the only territory on the earth which enterprising nations are not endeavoring to possess, and if Germany does not soon secure this opportunity some other nation will, for the Turk will certainly do nothing but curse it. Even the Russians may soon place their greedy hands upon it and colonize it with the Cossacks. The German emperor might easily send thither a few hundred thousand colonists with weapons for defense and implements to cultivate the neglected soil, and thus become the shepherd of peace and plenty in all Asia. Why not, therefore, form a company for the colonization of Babylonia?

THE THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY for the poor pastor is now the practical question under discussion by a coterie of German theologians. The booksellers of the Fatherland know full well that commercially such a line of books secures them the best venture, because these must be possessed by a large class of scholars in the country. But German pastors, especially in the rural districts, are proverbially poor, and need to make the best selections for the means they can command. On an average they are said to own about thirty to forty volumes, nearly always exclusively theological works, except those of Schiller and the cook-book of the pastor's wife. But the choice of books is so unwise often that half of these are of no practical good, or they are virtually duplicates, thus wasting much of the meagre substance of the needy preacher. Now it is clear that there are books which every pastor must possess and study. But what are they? Under the guidance of thoughtful teachers the student may lay the first foundation of his library without much danger of going astray; but the upper story will be difficult to complete without systematic guidance.

What is needed, then, is a reliable guide to those works which every theologian ought to possess, according to his country or his creed. German biblical scholars are pretty well agreed that there are two works that are indispensable to all Christian teachers, namely, Zöckler's *Manual of Theological Sciences* and the most recent commentary of the sacred books of the Old and New Testament by Strack and Zöckler. But among the mass of others, what is the third and what shall be fourth to recommend to the poor pastor whose dollars are so rare? The answer given by certain scholars is: The third might well be a not less important though simple work, produced by the harmonious co-operation of distinguished and like-gifted men, entitled "Catalogue of those works that ought to be known and possessed by every theological student."

But in the multitude of advisers there is a difficult problem to be solved. Ought this book to be a mere register of the titles of works, or should it give a few pages of short allusion to their contents and characteristics? Should not scientific and practical men have a part in the production of such an adviser, as well as theoretical theologians? A worthy and respected preacher, and faithful and tried adviser, declared, in one of these discussions, that after the Bible he had found his best assistants in Shakespeare and the works of the historian Von Ranke. Such a canon of indispensable literature for theologians would be of incalculable worth. It would be the first and truest guide of the young student into the labyrinth of his needed knowledge, and in it he would find as counselors the best and truest biblical scholars of the land, each acting toward him as a personal teacher, and all giving virtually the same advice. Certainly such a common basis of general theological culture would be most desirable, though no man need be confined to it as within a vise. But how bring such a work into existence? This is the German scholar's reply: "Let some man of large personal acquaintance in this line of study, himself an acknowledged expert and enthusiastic in the cause, undertake the editorship. Let him choose prominent theologians both in science and practice, and present to them this question: 'What are the ten works to which you are most indebted for your knowledge and vocation? Or, if you to-day were to be sent to prison for life, what ten works would you choose to take with you?' and the answers compared and revised would form the basis of the work desired."

ULTRAMONTANISM is receiving some pretty hard blows from several sources at present. Professor Semmig, an excellent authority, has recently published two works on this subject, one entitled, *The Reforming of Silesia and its Catholization, and its Final Rescue by Frederick the Great.* The other treats of the Catholic aggressions on the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Loire. Both books are very clear in their accusations, and sharp in their outlines.

The author was forced to flee from Germany after the revolution of 1848, and remained for several decades in France, whence he returned at the period of the new life of United Germany, full of enthusiasm for the

new cause, and well stocked with experience of Ultramontanism gained in France, which he declares to be the greatest enemy of progress, and one that should be known and studied by all the patriots of Europe.

The picture which he draws of the persecutions and oppressions of the Protestants in Silesia is appalling; but it is cast into the shade by some of the sections of the second volume of the book. Semmig was for some time a teacher in Orleans, in France, where he enjoyed peculiar opportunities to study original documents of the Bartholomew massacre in that town, so that from Catholic sources he gives the minutest details. The individual victims of fanaticism and the modes of their death are brought out in a very tragic manner.

The life of Bishop Dupanloup, of Orleans, a liberal Gallican churchman in reality, but who finally yielded to Ultramontanism, is clear proof of the impossibility of any individual success in holding within the Church opinions opposite to those of the Great Head. Many of the separate essays also tell on the general theme, namely, that the new German Empire has no greater enemy than Romanism. The valuable translation of Lavelaye's monograph on Catholicism, which lately appeared, helps also to show the political retrogression of the Catholic peoples.

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In Rotterdam there is a movement on foot to put the brakes on a vile trade that one scarcely likes to mention, but whose extent and ravages are so fearful that they must be publicly met in the interest of humanity. The Hollanders have been forced to perceive that large numbers of young girls are brought to them from Germany for the vilest of purposes. In short, Holland (and Rotterdam especially) is being overrun with them. The mode of operation is, to send to as many addresses as can be procured, "A Warning to Young Girls," in which, to all women who desire employment in other neighboring countries, they recommend the greatest possible care in respect to advertisements in the papers for governesses, ladies' maids, waitresses, and house-servants. Besides great care in answering these offers, they advise those who do so to arrive at certain stations in Holland, France, or England, where they will find friends of morality and justice ready to counsel and protect them, "because very often they are met by immoral and dishonorable persons who are intent on leading them into false ways."

This warning extends not only to the countries above named, but is also of great use in Belgium, and indeed to all young women who go alone to foreign lands. Urged on by the "Rotterdam Warning," a certain town council in Germany has just issued a proclamation to all whom it may concern. In this document are named no less than sixteen persons, all but two or three Jews from Galicia, Russia, and Roumania, who come at periods from various parts of South America with false papers and large sums of money to induce emigration to that region. Many young women listen to the flattering pictures drawn for them, and end by finding themselves in public brothels in these lands. These villains carry on their trade in souls in nearly all the principal parts of the continent—Marseilles,

Bordeaux, and Havre, Antwerp, Hamburg, and Bremen, and in Liverpool and London. They bring their victims from Austria, Hungary, Germany, and Switzerland. One may well say God speed to the Rotterdam Council in the good work.

JERUSALEM has quite a treasure in the Germans who have gathered in different fields of Christian work. Their last annual report gave one hundred and twenty members to their congregation; among these, twenty Arabs. The Sunday services and the weekly Bible meetings are well attended. Twelve children were confirmed during the year. The congregation is under the guidance of Dr. Lepsius; and besides himself there are two male teachers and two female. There is a school of four grades, in which are taught English, French, Latin, and Greek. In the Retreat for Lepers there are seventeen of these poor creatures cared for by a director and his wife and a deaconess. In the Deaconess Hospital four hundred and fifty-seven patients were cared for by four deaconesses; and during the year the enormous number of seven thousand six hundred and seventy-five received medical aid and advice: among these patients were two hundred and three Mohammedans, one hundred and four Greeks, ninety-four Protestant Christians, and twenty-seven Roman Catholics.

The Orphanage of Talitha Kumi educates one hundred and ten girls, seven deaconesses being the teachers. The Syrian Orphanage contains one hundred and twenty boys under a director and his son, both from the Prussian Church; in addition to these there are nine European teachers and three Arabian assistants. The Children's Hospital cares for about one hundred and fifty children, varying in age from one day to fifteen years. Of these one hundred and seven are Mohammedans, fifteen Roman Catholics, twelve Greeks, ten Jews, and nine Protestants. The Germans have just sent there a traveling evangelist who visits all these establishments as inspector.

Some of the members of this mission are working at other points; one in Ramleh married an English Darbyite, and now works with the Plymouth Brethren in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. A Pastor Schneller is laboring in Bethlehem, notwithstanding the increasing antagonism of the Turkish Government and the mosques. In the ancient Giloh there is the largest Arabic-Protestant congregation in the land, and they are now building a small chapel there as a part of the contemplated mission-house. Twelve thousand francs are already collected for a church in Bethlehem near David's Well, and in sight of the ancient Church of the Nativity.

"THE GERMAN TEMPLE," so-called, is making steady progress in Palestine. It has now four settlements in the Holy Land. The Temple community in Jerusalem has now over three hundred souls, and since the death of its founder and director, Rev. Christian Hoffmann, is under the central control, with his senior son at the head. The Temple congregation or community, in Jaffa, has increased its membership during the

year, numbering now over two hundred souls. This community has four steam grist mills (in Palestine!) to which have been lately added several steam saw-mills. The children have so increased in number that a new school-house is to be built. The community in Sharon has about two hundred and fifty souls. A new street has been added to the village, on which stand already five new houses. One of its very active members was lately made, by the Turkish Government, engineer of roads and bridges. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Carmelite monks, this community made last summer a good carriage-road to the terrace on the side of Mount Carmel, which will be very acceptable to tourists. And these agricultural communities are all making large quantities of "Carmel soap" from the pure oil of the olive.

Pope Leo XIII. is showing a great affection for the many believers in Germany, and has just announced to them that he has gladly taken notice of their "many good works." He is also gratified to know that in these things they are one, according to the pattern of our Lord Jesus Christ, who before his death prayed fervently to his heavenly Father that all who believed on him might be one as he and the Father are one. He bids them to pray daily that all who believe in Christ may soon be able to discard all sects and schisms, and be united in the true faith and the true Church. The pontiff now feels so comfortable at the status of the Church in Germany that he offers to all true believers of both sexes who pray for grace and pardon, and repeat at least once a week the Paternoster and Ave Maria, an *indulgence of two hundred days*, if the prayers are specially offered in the sense above stated—the unity of all Christians. It is indeed no wonder that his Holiness is greatly gratified that his cohorts in Germany are moving to the front in all the demands of Ultramontanism.

His Holiness, in spite of all his manifold duties and cares, seems also to find time to cultivate the poetic art. The *Unita Cattolica* has just published two Latin poems by the pope. They appear as hymns to the Blessed Virgin Mary by Leo XIII. High Pontiff, etc. The first, being translated, runs about thus: "The battle rages terribly; Lucifer's hellish realm spews out monsters of horrible kind from its depths. Holy Mother, O come, hasten to help me! Grant me the shield of bravery and renewed and strengthened courage. May thy virgin feet trample down the brood of enemies. If thou wilt be my leader, I will venture boldly into the conflict and will conquer the enemy in the fight, thou being the captain." His Holiness also remains so fond of the *humanities* that he bids the directors of the priestly seminaries founded by his predecessor pay special attention to Italian, Latin, and Greek literature, and thinks it well, indeed, to lengthen the course by a year, that ample time may be given to classical linguistic studies.

The Jubilee Year of the foundation of the establishment on the Lower Rhine for deaconesses was recently celebrated with great éclat. Within the last fifty years this great institution has grown to immense

proportions, and has done a noble work. The early workers have gone to their reward, and scarcely any remain who saw the first-fruits of the work. On this occasion there were present, however, three deaconesses who have been twenty-five years in the field. The first evangelical men of the country were present, and many interesting ceremonies graced the event. A famous little house that was the cradle of the enterprise was given to the "Mother" of the institution, who had been raised from an almost fatal sickness and was able to be present. The story of all the labor done since the first move in the direction of its benevolent work was a marvelously interesting one, and almost authorized the narrators to declare that something was indeed made out of nothing. Now from zone to zone, and from sea to sea, these noble women of God are engaged in charitable works.

SCANDINAVIAN lands are catching the infection of the labor troubles, from which they have hitherto been free. The Danish workingmen's associations are now almost exclusively in the hands of the socialists. Those of Sweden are largely imbued with socialistic tendencies, and in Norway the workmen's unions are under the pressure of the social democrats of Christiania. A recent convention of the working classes in Gottenburg adopted resolutions with strong socialistic leanings. This convention was composed largely of delegates from all Scandinavia, who came together with the intent to form a Scandinavian League, whose political and industrial programme was completely in the hands of socialism. The time, therefore, seems not far distant when the laboring forces of all Scandinavian lands will be imbued with doctrines tending to the overthrow of civil and social order. Good-bye, then, to the proverbial peace of these northern climes, that have so long been the envy of their nearest neighbors.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

A MASSACRE IN UGANDA.—We have been quite prepared for months past to hear shocking news from Uganda, at the north end of the Victoria Nyanza, Central Africa, where the Church Missionary Society and the French Roman Catholics have large mission interests. King Mtesa's successor, Mwanga, who came into power on the death of his father in 1884, gave promise as a prince of becoming a protector of the missions. He used to visit the Protestant mission, express interest in the work of the missionaries, and declare his purpose, if he should ever become king, of proving a benefactor to it. Mtesa was not a bad sort of man for a savage. He was covetous, he was vacillating, becoming in turn a Protestant, a Catholic, a Mohammedan, and a heathen, but he was not more cruel and bloodthirsty than the average African monarch. His son, Mwanga, was not long in power before the missionaries saw that they

had to deal with a crafty and cruel enemy, who would show favor to the Arab slavers, but not to the missionaries, either Protestant or Catholic. The chiefs had been made to believe that the missionaries were in Uganda to seize the country and break up the slave-trade. The Arabs, seeing that their craft is in danger, have lost no opportunity to poison the minds of the chiefs against the missionaries, and these chiefs have influenced the king.

The first overt act against the missionaries was committed in January, 1885, when they were suddenly arrested by the order of the king on the charge of bringing large numbers of white men into Uganda, and secreting them somewhere on the shores of the Nyanza. After being compelled to march with their captors ten miles, and receiving many indignities, they were released and told to go their own way. Some of the young blacks connected with the mission were, however, carried away by the troops. The missionaries went to the chief judge and complained, but he gave them no redress. On the contrary, they heard him give orders to have them seized next day and bundled out of the country. A mob had gathered, and when the judge's order was known they seized the missionaries and hustled them off, stripping them of their clothing. The judge, however, sent an executioner to protect them, and they reached the mission house in safety. They immediately prepared a very costly present and sent it to the king to secure the release of the mission children. The present was accepted, but the boys were not given up; they were reserved for a horrible fate. Shortly after, they, with a man who was suspected of being a Christian, were burned to death in a slow fire, after having their hands cut off. They bore the taunts and jibes of their executioners, and the awful tortures to which they were subjected with the firmness and fortitude of the martyrs of the primitive Church. And not less remarkable than this heroic endurance of converts who but yesterday were heathen is the fact that though they were burned alive to deter others from becoming Christians, and an order was issued directing the people to keep away from the mission, inquirers and learners increased. In a short time the king's attitude toward the missionaries underwent a change, at least externally. He professed great friendliness, and expressed a desire to have more Englishmen as well as French Catholics in Uganda.

Subsequently the approach of Bishop Hannington was announced, and the king, after counsel with his chiefs, promised to send messengers to meet the bishop, and, if their reports were favorable, to receive him. The bishop, however, did not come by the usual route, *via* Kagei, at the south of the lake, but from the east coast to the north-eastern boundary of Uganda—what is known among the people as the "back door" of the kingdom. The result was the massacre of the bishop and nearly all of his party. The Rev. R. P. Ashe, of the Church Missionary Society, who has been sent out of the kingdom by Mwanga, and was at latest accounts at Uyui, south of the Victoria Nyanza, has sent to the *New York Herald* a copy of the diary of the martyred bishop

from October 21 to October 29, 1885, the day he was killed. We give the entries for the last two days:

Wednesday, 28th (seventh day in prison).—A terrible night—first with noisy, drunken guards, and secondly with vermin, which have found out my tent and swarm. I don't think I got one sound hour's sleep, and woke with fever fast developing. O Lord, do have mercy upon me and release me. I am quite broken down and brought low, but comforted by reading the twenty-seventh Psalm. In an hour or two's time fever developing rapidly. My tent was so stifling that I was obliged to go inside the filthy hut, and soon was delirious. In the evening the fever passed away. News comes that Mwanga has sent three soldiers; but what news they bring they will not yet let me know. Much comforted by the twenty-eighth Psalm.

Thursday, 29th (eighth day in prison).—I can hear no news: but was held up by the thirtieth Psalm, which came with great power. A hyena howled near me last night, smelling a sick man; but I hope it is not to have me yet.

These were the last words written by the bishop. On the same day three Buganda soldiers entered his tent and told him the king had sent for him. His bed and bedding and the few things left him were hastily packed and he left the tent with the soldiers, full of joy at being set free, as he supposed. The rest is thus told by Mr. Ashe:

At last he is free. How fervently he pours out his heart to God for bringing him so near the end of his journey! And yes, there are his porters; they, too, are rejoicing in their new found liberty, though there appears to be less than a hundred of them. By a close scrutiny of the journal the number seems to have been 53, the full number being 200, 150 of whom he had left behind in Kumrondo. Strongly guarded he is marched away. A great mob of people has collected, possibly to see the strange white man. Has he any misgiving that all is not right, or is his heart too full of joy and thankfulness to note how his guard hang their heads and whisper together? At last they leave the shadow of the plantain trees and emerge into the open. Suddenly he sees a movement among the mob in front. "O God, what is that?" Their long spears are suddenly brandished and plunged into his unresisting porters, who fall without being able to make any resistance. They approach him with uplifted spears. He is quiet now. "Do not spear me," he cries, pointing to a gun, "shoot me." The spears are lowered and the gun raised. "Tell them," he says, "that this road is bought with my life, and that I am dying for those who kill me." The fatal shot is fired, and another brave life is laid down for Africa.

Nobody dared to remonstrate with the king, except one of the young pages, and he was sentenced to be burned. The sentence was executed, though the executioner in mercy first decapitated him. The missionaries wrote an account of the affair to the British Consul at Zanzibar, and warned their brethren, who had arrived at the south end of the lake, on no account to come on. But things gradually began to assume a more cheerful aspect; and the French priests, adopting a diametrically opposite policy to that of the English missionaries, allowed both a bishop and a priest to join them. They arrived in May, 1886, to find that the lull had been succeeded by a fearful storm, and to be the witnesses of a bitter and bloody persecution which the presents they brought to the king were utterly ineffectual to avert. Soon after the arrival of the French vicar-apostolic twenty or thirty Catholic converts were seized by order of the king, and were burned alive in company with the principal Protestants. This took place last June. The immediate occasion of it

was the refusal of one of the king's pages to do a vile act. The king complained that his Christian subjects lacked in obedience, and he formed the determination of exterminating them. In all, fifty of his own pages have suffered death. How many others have fallen it is not possible to say. All seem to have met their death with Christian resignation Mr. Ashe well says:

> The splendid devotion with which these poor people have died for righteousness gives them an indisputable, irrefutable claim, not merely upon the verbal sympathy but upon the material help of every man who loves rightcousness, be he of whatsoever creed or nationality he may.

Mr. Ashe gives the following incident as illustrating the horror of the situation:

> The mission cook lately came complaining that he had no firewood. On being told to go and buy some at the market, close at hand, he remarked, with the air of a man who had received a personal injury, that the king's executioners had taken every stick to burn a batch of Christians with. This took place at the beginning of June, 1886, when thirty-two Christian men and boys were burned alive on one great funeral pyre by the orders of Mwanga, the son and successor of Mtesa, King of Uganda. All this is sober fact. God alone knows how vast is the multitude which is yearly done to death in these dark lands.

At latest accounts Mr. Ashe, as already stated, had been sent out of Uganda, and had arrived at Uyui. Mr. Mackay was, however, retained by the king. The authorities of the Church Missionary Society do not believe that personal violence will be offered him.

Mr. Ashe, in his appeal to Americans for sympathy, says:

> The wholesale killing of his people by an African chief is nothing new in Buganda or elsewhere. But in the case of Mwanga the fact that his victims have been murdered for being Christians will give the circumstance a deeper interest for Christian America. The nameless wrongs of these unhappy people—their homes ravaged, themselves slain, their wives dragged away to degrading slavery, their young children devoted ofttimes to the vilest shame—the sufferings, too, of these persecuted Christians in Buganda—victims of the stake, the knife, of cruel and shameful mutilations—their wrongs, of which death is the least cruel, should stir the wholesome heart of America to some prompt and active interference on their behalf. This famous young King Mwanga (and it is doubtful whether any other native king would be much better) has made a furious onslaught upon the very pick of his people; and their teachers, who have in one sense been the cause of all their misery, have to look on and see them burned and butchered before their eyes without being able to render them any assistance. In fact, the situation of Europeans now in Mwanga's power is little better than that of the native Christians. The Europeans number eight persons: a French bishop and three French priests and a lay brother; Dr. Junker, the Russian traveler, at present staying at the Church Missionary Society's station, and two English missionaries belonging to that society—namely, Mr. Mackay, mentioned in Bishop Hannington's journal—and the present writer. Let America, Germany, and England join hands and say that such wrongs as are here related shall not be; that Africa shall no longer be given up to be the prey of wolfish native chiefs and vile Asiatic traders. With reference to the vast equatorial regions between the great lakes and Zanzibar, the Sultan of Zanzibar no more owns or controls these interior districts than does the government of America, England, Germany, or Russia, and the only claim which he can urge could be quite as justly urged by them—namely, that his subjects have penetrated into the interior. Because some wretched Arab or Swaheli trader puts up a red flag a thousand miles inland after having had to pay toll or "hongo" to a hundred native chiefs on his journey, does all that region

then become the possession of the Sultan of Zanzibar? It is perfectly monstrous that a power, or, more accurately speaking, a weakness, so miserable and incapable as that of Zanzibar or Portugal should be allowed to possess vast reaches of the coast of Africa, and thus bar all access to the interior, and hinder those who have both the will and power to do so from opening up the country and developing its resources. It only requires that the American people be informed of the facts, and a very different policy with regard to Africa may soon be inaugurated. The object of the writer of this is more especially to endeavor to arouse an interest in this equatorial lake region, which is without exception the finest piece of Africa; and its inhabitants, at least some of the tribes round the Victoria Nyanza, compare not unfavorably in form and feature with the white races. It is to save these from the fate of shame and slavery which too surely awaits them unless help from without is given to them that the present appeal to the American people is made, and with the hope that some earnest and persevering advocates of the rights of humanity may espouse the cause of these peoples, and never rest till Africa is delivered from the cruel bondage under which she has labored for so many years.

America, we fear, can do little in the line suggested by Mr. Ashe. Our government can hardly interfere on behalf of humanity and civilization; but we can, at least, give our sympathy, and, what is much better, do our share in evangelizing the Dark Continent.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD.—Not for many years has the annual meeting of the representative foreign missionary society of the Congregationalists attracted so much attention as has that of October last in Des Moines, Iowa. A question of vital importance had arisen in the administration of the Prudential Committee. The committee had found among the applicants for missionary service two or three young men, graduates of Andover or Yale Theological Seminary, who held views respecting a future probation for infants, idiots, heathen, and others who have no opportunity to accept or reject Christ in the present life. One returned missionary, Mr. Hume, also announced similar views. The committee, while not absolutely rejecting all the applicants, declined for the present to appoint them. The Andover professors, and some others holding with them to what is called the New Theology, questioned the right of the Prudential Committee, and a considerable controversy was the result. After a full discussion at the annual meeting, resolutions were adopted: 1. Approving the principle upon which the Prudential Committee has acted in making appointments for missionary service; 2. Viewing with apprehension certain tendencies of the doctrine of probation after death, and approving the action of the Prudential Committee in guarding against any committal of the Board to that doctrine, and advising similar caution in the future; 3. Recommending the Board to consider, in difficult cases turning upon the doctrinal views of candidates, the expediency of calling a council of churches to pass upon the theological soundness of the candidates; 4. And recommending, in the case of Mr. Hume, that the Prudential Committee take it up again and seek to the utmost of its power an adjustment of the difficulties. The Annual Meeting also declined to reelect Professor Egbert G. Smythe, of Andover Seminary, the leader of the "New Theology" party, as a member of the Prudential Committee.

The receipts of the Board for the year were $500,683, of which $235,985

came from churches, individuals, and Sunday-schools. The expenditures were $658,285, part of which was drawn from the Swett and Otis bequests. There was a balance in the treasury of $1,381. The annual survey has little that is extraordinary to present, the year having been one of quiet growth. A good deal of space is given to the missions in the Turkish empire, which now report 102 churches, with 8,811 members, of whom 600 were added the past year on confession of faith; 47 educational institutions of the higher order, with 2,000 pupils, and contributions of $47,933. Much persecution is suffered at the hands of Turkish officials; and agents supported by a few Baptists in this country have denuded churches and drawn away young men educated by mission funds for evangelical work. In Japan self support is gaining, 26 of the 31 churches being reported as self-sustaining. The general summary indicates 22 missions, 85 stations, 810 out-stations, 434 laborers sent from this country, 151 native pastors, 412 native preachers and catechists, 310 churches, 26,065 church members, of whom 3,481 were added during the year, 56 high schools and seminaries, with 2,352 pupils, 41 boarding-schools for girls, 856 common schools, with 32,577 pupils. Whole number of pupils, 39,877. Concerning the mission at Bihé, West Central Africa, the report says:

> The West Central African Mission has recovered ground lost two years ago and reports healthful progress in schools. The missionaries compelled for a time to leave their work are again at their posts, and the mission has been further strengthened by the coming of Mr. and Mrs. Currie from Canada, whose support is generously provided by the Foreign Missionary Society of the Congregational Churches of Canada. A number of native youth give evidence of genuine interest in the Gospel. There is room and there is demand at once for double the number of men now in the field. No hinderance but rather protection, is now anticipated from the Portuguese authorities on the coast, and the way seems open for a thousand miles into the heart of the continent.

THE METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—The earnest effort to bring the income of the Missionary Society up to the million dollar point the past year was so far successful that at the close of the financial year the treasurers were enabled to report receipts of $992.128 47, a truly princely sum, lacking only $7,871 53 of the amount aimed at. This leaves the actual reaching and crossing of the million dollar line to the present year, and we see no reason for doubting that every cent that is asked for —$1,092,000—will be obtained. The increase over the previous year was $165,300, and the increase in collections alone was $184,821 over the largest sum received in any previous year from that source. The sources of the receipts are: Conferences, $836,592; legacies, $133,958; sundry receipts, $21,577. Of the disbursements of the year $407,232 went to foreign missions, $367,706 to domestic missions, $17,977 to office expenses, $7,666 to publication fund, and $26,416 to incidental expenses, including $10,078 for interest. The General Committee met on Wednesday, November 8, and finished its work on Wednesday, November 10. After resolving to ask for a million dollars from the churches alone in 1887 the committee took up, one by one, the various foreign missions and the

missions in the United States, and appropriated in all $1,089,808. Following are the appropriations:

I. Foreign Missions:		II. Missions in United States.	$73,700
Africa	$11,000	III. Domestic Missions:	
South America	43,000	Welsh Missions	400
China	106,272	Scandinavian	36,450
Germany	35,160	German	51,400
Switzerland	11,440	French	3,200
Scandinavia	75,385	Chinese	11,150
India	108,202	Japanese	5,000
Bulgaria and Turkey	16,729	American Indian	4,950
Italy	46,435	Bohemian and Hungarian	2,500
Mexico	49,477	English speaking	245,100
Japan	50,836	IV. Miscellaneous	85,000
Corea	17,022		

Bishop Taylor's Missions in Africa.—The Annual Conference of Bishop Taylor's Self-supporting Missions in South Central Africa was held at Nhangue-a-pepo, beginning August 13. Five members were present, of whom one, C. W. Gordon, was chosen secretary. The usual Conference committees were appointed. Mr. Mead gave an account of his trip to the Ambaca country, and Mr. Dodson spoke of his experiences in the Libolo country. Messrs. Ratcliffe, McLean, W. H. Mead, Dodson, and Gordon were recommended to the Liberia Conference for election to orders. The following appointments were made:

Loanda, Chas. A. Ratcliffe, Heli Chatelain; Dondo, Clarence L. Davenport, Mary R. Myers Davenport, Andrew Myers and wife, Chas. M. McLean, with the privilege of remaining at Pungo Andongo until Jan., 1887. Nhangue-a-pepo, A. E. Withey and family, W. H. Mead and family, W. P. Dodson, C. W. Gordon; Pungo Andongo, Joseph Wilkes and family; Malange, S. J. Mead and wife, Bertha Mead, J. H. Cooper and family, C. G. Rudolph, Dr. Clark Smith and family.

The latest published letter from Bishop Taylor is dated at Kimpoko, August 24. Kimpoko is on the east bank of Stanley Pool. The bishop says it is a beautiful and healthy spot, and he has been working with ax and spade and hoe from seven to ten hours a day and six days a week. He writes:

During my ministry of 44 years I had no time nor occasion for any such work, but never wrought harder nor with less fatigue in my youthful days. God gives me strength of muscle and of mind according to my need. The soil here is light sand loam, and with a good ditch for irrigation, having an eighteen foot water fall about seventy yards from our door, coming direct from the mountains, we are independent of drought, and can grow food enough for a dozen mission stations if need be.

The bishop's desire was to press on up the Kassai River as soon as he could secure transportation. Meantime he was busying himself with developing the agricultural resources of the country and learning the language of the Upper Kassai. The great need of the mission is, he says, a transport for the Lower Congo and a steamer for the Upper Congo. The latter should be about eighty feet long, twelve feet wide, with a hold five feet deep, and drawing two feet of water. It should be a stern-wheeler. The bishop hopes the friends of the mission will pro-

vide such a steamer and have her ready at Banana by the first of May, 1887, with eight or ten single men or half a dozen men with wives who would do missionary work. Charles Peters was taken sick in Mataddie and died there July 8. The bishop is accompanied by Messrs. Walker, Cameron, and Shoreland.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

THE recent English Reviews continue to discuss the defeat of Mr. Gladstone, which, at this present writing, seems to take on the character of a final overthrow. His advanced age, and the more than suspected decadence of his powers, promise to leave the Liberals without any masterful leadership. The supreme authority which Mr. Gladstone has so long wielded, while capable of producing large results in subordinating the will of others to his own, thus securing great definiteness in action, has yet brought about its inevitable result—the independence of minor leaders who could not, with self-respect, yield all their convictions to the domination of their chief. This law has notable illustration in the defection of Lord Hartington, Joseph Chamberlain, and John Bright, the two first named being those from whom, in all human probability, the next leadership of the liberal party will come. In the *Nineteenth Century* for September, Professor Goldwin Smith discusses the moral of the late crisis. The writer believes that the recent vote against an Irish Parliament finally settles the question; and that it was thus settled because the nation was against disunion; but he holds also that the late events call upon British statesmen to undertake, before it is too late, a rational and comprehensive revision of British institutions. It is certainly a remarkable event that a man of Professor Smith's eminence should make the statement, in an English periodical, "that the country has no longer any thing worthy of the name of government." Although the writer has given occasion to be regarded in some directions as a political scold, yet he is more than this; he is a man who has certainly admirably set forth the prophecies of history as well as the principles. But when Professor Smith suggests the alternative of restoring the old constitution, reviving the political power of the crown, encouraging the political intervention of the sovereign, infusing new vigor into the House of Lords, and reinstating the national Privy Council in the place which has been gradually usurped by the party cabinet, he forgets the great fact that revolutions do not move backward. To Christians the admission is exceedingly interesting, made as it is by a man of Goldwin Smith's opinions, that "the action of Christianity on society and politics must be reckoned among the chief causes of the advent of democracy, and with this are to be reckoned industry and popular education." In the latter sentence of this able article the writer seems to see the folly of expecting a re-invigor-

ation of the old English political methods. "There are those who desire simply universal suffrage, and a popular assembly with uncontrolled power, and elected by a purely demagogic method as an organ of indefinite revolution. It is in this direction that the nation in its present condition moves." It is certainly significant to find also in this same number, remembering the apparent uniformity with which English writers have defended free trade, a paper by the Right Honorable Lord Penzance, entitled "Collapse of the Free Trade Argument." There is also a very remarkable discussion of "Ante-natal Existence," by Norman Pierson, in which these three questions are discussed: First, Does the soul spring into being for the first time with the birth of our physical body? Second, Has it existed before such birth, either from eternity or as an ante-natal creation? Third, Assuming its pre-existence, under what conditions did it so exist? The following statements, extracted from an article on "The Nature of Things-in-Themselves," by the late Professor Clifford, represent the latest teachings which, in the view of the writer of this paper, throw light upon the question in hand: First, Feeling can exist by itself without forming a part of consciousness. Second, The elements of which even the simple feeling is composed he calls mind-stuffs, and these elemental feelings, which correspond to motions of matter, are connected together in their sequence, and co-exist by counterparts of the physical laws of matter. Third, A moving molecule of organic matter does not possess mind-consciousness, but it does possess a smaller piece of mind-stuff. When molecules are so combined together as to form the film on the under side of a jelly-fish, the elements of mind-stuff which go along with them are so combined as to form the faint beginnings of sentience. When the molecules are so combined as to form the brain and nervous system of a vertebrate, the corresponding elements of mind-stuff are so combined as to form some kind of consciousness. When matter takes the complex form of a living human brain, corresponding mind-stuff takes the form of human consciousness, having intelligence and volition. The final conclusion of the writer is, that the present state of knowledge makes it not unreasonable to suppose that, as life in all its diverse forms can be traced back to a single source so the mind which accompanies it has had a similar history, and the pedigree of the soul itself may reach back to a simple mind unit. The germ of mind, according to Romanes, lies scientifically in the discrimination between stimuli, and this is found in a rudimentary form, even in protoplasmic and unicellular organisms. Those who wish to see the last analysis and result of materialistic philosophy will find it in this article.

There is also here a very interesting discussion by Lord Bramwell of the question which annually attracts so much attention in England, whether a man may marry his deceased wife's sister. It is strongly in favor of the removal of the English prohibition. As the writer is a member of the English House of Lords, which has long been the chief obstacle to the passage of a new law, the paper is all the more significant.

The *Contemporary Review* for September has few articles of American interest, yet one or two are noteworthy. A paper by the Rev. J. M. Wilson, on "Fundamental Church Principles," has interest as showing how an English Churchman's mind is pre-occupied and limited by his own theories. While the paper breathes a very broad spirit of Christian love, and indicates the penetration of the Anglican mind by the spirit of fraternity, it also indicates the feeling, which is so common among those of his order, that the only hope of visible unity is in the Church, from which the larger part of the English population have passed out by reason of strong convictions that it is not doing the work of Christ and is not true to the teaching of Christ. There is much in this article worthy of attention as illustrating the almost universal trend of Christian thought at this time, that the limit of what the Church is to teach is the spirit and faith of Christ, and that the faith of Christ is not identical with the body of inferential theology, which is the growth of later ages and the outcome and expression of their piety and reverence:

> The faith of Christ is, the belief that he is the standard of perfect manhood, the goal of the human race, the divine ideal of humanity; that he is himself divine, and that by the self-sacrifice of his life and death he has truly redeemed man from the death of sin; that its promise is being now fulfilled; that he is ever spiritually present in his Church, and will be so to the end of the world. It is the belief in what he taught us of the fatherhood of God. It is not a system of philosophy, it is a disposition of mind and heart; it is goodness and brotherhood that it is the aim of the Church of Christ to propagate in the world; to spread and deepen in our own selves and in our society, by word and by example and by prayer, the spirit and faith of Christ, the consciousness of God's presence, and love to our brethren; to subdue the sins of the flesh and of the spirit—these are the aims of the Church of Christ.

The *Forum* for October well sustains the reputation for ability which this periodical gained by its first issue. W. H. Mallock, an English writer of deserved fame, writes with great clearness on "The Convalescence of Faith." He sees, as do many others who have given recent expression to their opinion, that while science may have caused the decay of theological belief, it has not caused any decay of moral science. That so far as moral science may regard the doctrine of a personal God and of a soul as superfluities, it is certain that that antagonism is to come to an end, and that moral science is now being forced to invoke theology as at once its starting-point and its completion. The doctrine of unreligious moral science, that the social organism is to take the place in obligation of duty to God, is to give way, because the idea of the social organism will be absorbed in the idea of God. The material welfare of humanity, the prolongation and prosperity of its career on this planet, will be seen as a new analysis of God's will with which we are each one of us called on to co-operate. Thus the effort of humanity to improve itself is coming to be seen, as it exhibits itself in every direction, as an effort to be assimilated to the divine character as expressed by the divine will. Theistic religion, which we may readily admit has been too contemplative and too individual, is to be invigorated by the new pabulum of

moral science, and is to recover a greater authority as it is seen that the morality of Christianity, both in its obligations and in its inspiration, is the morality of science.

The "Confessions of a Unitarian," in this number, admit all the defects which have been charged against Unitariansism by those orthodox critics who have not been moved by bigotry. The paper is evidently the work of a radical Unitarian. He declares that there is no radical foothold for the Unitarians except as they abandon all pretense that Christ was more than a man, and the Bible more than human literature, or the Christian religion more than goodness of heart and life, with faith and worship and hope for whatever may grow out of the essential goodness of a pure mind and a loving heart.

Professor C. A. Young, in writing of "College Athletic Sports," takes a conservative but not wholly sympathetic ground. He admits that too much time and attention are now absorbed by sports; that the scholarly tone of our colleges is lowered by the prevalence of athletics. It is not a normal and satisfactory condition of things when athletic distinction outranks scholastic. The breaking up of college work by the exodus of students, with or without leave, to attend a match in a neighboring city or at a sister college, is a great evil. The almost invariable accompaniment of college games, betting and gambling upon the results, and the spirit of sporting which springs up, are some of the worst evils connected with the whole matter. The expensiveness of these games has also become an evil. It is easier for smaller institutions to put a limit upon athletic exercises than for those that are under the university system, where exercises are in progress all day long. Yet the special evils which attach to the inter-collegiate games Professor Young believes can be removed, or greatly diminished, by firm and decided action on the part of the college authorities. He believes that the rules or the recommendations of the college officers appointed to consider the subject are sound and effective where adopted, but have failed of being uniformly effective because they have not received the adhesion of all the colleges. These rules embrace the following ideas: that professional trainers should no longer be employed; that college organizations should play only with each other, and not with outsiders and professionals; and that all inter-collegiate games, except boat races, should take place on the grounds of one of the contesting parties. That these rules would be unpopular among the students the professor sees, but holds that they must be adopted at whatever risk, and the risk would be much less if they were universally adopted.

The November number of the *Forum* has an article by the veteran David Dudley Field, on "Our Political Methods," taking as a text the infamous letter of Squire to Flynn. He holds the letter to be illustrative of our political methods in cities, and shows the disastrous result of the fact that, while the whole number of voters in the city of New York at the election of 1885 was, in round numbers, 266,000, of whom 216,000

were registered and 201,000 voted, the nominations in the primary meetings were practically made by about 25,000 persons, and these 25,000 dictated the choice of their servants to the 1,500,000 people in that city. The vastness of this evil is further shown by the fact that the larger proportion of these 25,000 persons were office-holders, there being 25,000 persons in the city occupying official positions and receiving compensation in salary or fees; so that the active primary electorate consists of the office-holders or their auxiliaries. It is evident that there can be no real reform which does not bring about the participation of the body of the people in the selection of candidates, and as things now are that seems scarcely practicable.

Dr. Leonard W. Bacon, writing of Prohibition, so-called, takes the ground that there is a fallacy in the title of the prohibitory law. He holds that all liquor laws prohibit the general and indiscriminate sale of intoxicating liquors; that the business in question, though dangerous, is necessary; though often mischievous, is sometimes indispensably useful; and that prohibitionists are aware that a law which would make no provision for the useful and necessary sales of liquor would be a dead letter from the hour of its enactment. His conclusions are from a study of temperance work in Bangor; that the results of thirty years of prohibition in a representative town in the interior of Maine prove that the inoperativeness of this law is mischievous, its argument fallacious, its title fraudulent. He holds that the true remedy is not merely to punish the accessory and let the principal go free, but to punish drunkards with increasing severity for repeated offenses, and, secondly, to punish the accessories of drunkenness in whatever way the law can most effectively be made to reach their secondary but most heinous guilt.

It is President Dwight's turn in this number to tell how he was educated. It is one of the most interesting of the series, and seems to indicate afresh the well known truth, that the best source of education is a good mother. The article is valuable for its reminiscences of Thacher and Hadley, and of Nathaniel W. Taylor.

The skeptic writes the Confessions this time. The writer says that the trend of later belief has been toward a kind of dogmatic materialism, between which and supernaturalism the philosophic skeptic has little to choose. The writer is candid enough to admit that the Church is not always the aggressor in intolerance. The most rancorous unbeliever is the believer turned apostate, and self-love has as much to do with the rancor of the unbeliever as with any other rancor. Alluding to the common denunciation of Christian ministers by those who are skeptical, the writer says that the offices of advocate, of healer, and of consoler have ever been recognized as legitimate occupations, and if the minister is in any way a physician to the soul the skeptic ought to have no more issue with him than with physicians of the body. He admits, also, that the hostility of many skeptics toward the clergy is to a greater or less degree inspired by envy. They desire to prove their capacity for intellectual leadership. They make their appeals to men and find that the public, as

a whole, refuses to listen to them. The man who teaches certainties will always have the advantage, in reaching the popular ear, of the man who teaches uncertainties. He also says, that one great hold of religious teaching upon the popular mind lies in the fact that religion deals with the nobler sentiments, love, pity, wonder, awe, and perception of beauty. These cannot be destroyed, and will find, in the bulk of the human race, their chief outlet in religious devotion. The only portion of religious sentiment which is capable of destruction is slavish fear. This writer must be a man of great candor, for he frankly admits that skepticism is an outcome of a peculiar temperament—erratic, impatient of authority, sometimes irresolute. In his thought, the skeptic must be willing to accept whatever mental unrest or material disadvantage is the outcome of his lack of faith.

The *Presbyterian Review* for October has a very valuable article on "Hosea's Testimony to the Pentateuch." The prophecy of Hosea implies just such a law as the law of the Pentateuch, with its commandments, spiritual, moral, and ritual. The fact that it was disobeyed is not to be taken as a proof of its non-existence. Hosea refers to this fact as well as to its divine origin and authority.

One of the most interesting and valuable papers, from every point of view, which we have read of late, is that in this number on "Instinct," by Professor T. S. Doolittle, D.D. Instinct is defined as an innate, blind impulse derived from a nervous organism and corresponding disposition, and directing all the individuals of the same species to the same ends by use of the same means. Considering the relations of instinct and reason it is to be said that the threads of both are ever interlacing each other in the actions of the smallest creatures, some of which outrank the anthropoid apes in intelligence, and stand next to man himself. The writer very ingeniously points out some of the difficulties with regard to the theory of evolution which are suggested by some well known instincts. Thus, it is a well known fact that the larva of the female stag-beetle excavates for itself, as preparatory to passing into the chrysalis state, a hole exactly its own length, while the male larva fashions for itself a hole double its own length, so as to provide room for the growth, during its unconscious condition, of horns equal to its own length. How does the female larva know that it would require no horns? how does the male larva know that it would have horns? Experience may modify instinct, but can hardly account for its origination. It would appear that the assumption of a Creator is here indispensable, if only to cut the knot that nobody can untie.

The Rev. Dr. E. N. White in writing of the pecuniary support of churches, rediscusses the advantages of the free church and pew church systems, and reasserts the fact that there is ground for believing that neglect of church privileges and resulting skepticism is greatly fomented among certain classes by a broad line of demarkation drawn between the rich and the poor by pew rentals in the house of God. There is fearful satire

in the article quoted from a religious journal by an Episcopal minister, in which, speaking of Fifth Avenue religion in New York, he says:

> The Gospel is triumphant all along this middle ridge where the brown-stone fronts are, and the palatial residences of the rich; and even the Law in the shape of an enormous Saracenic synagogue of Reformed Jews plants itself on Fifth Avenue and Forty-third Street. We are not behind our neighbors in taking care of the heathen on Fifth and Madison Avenues. In fact, we are all after them, and if any body from either of those avenues or the streets between is lost, it shall not be our fault or that of our fellow-Christians. From Bishop McCloskey to Brother Frothingham, we are pledged to do our best to save the souls from the foot of Murray Hill to the Park.

The wrong of the pew system is evinced by the results which follow any one of three methods. Place the pew rentals where, if all the pews are rented, the income will be sufficient for the support of the church, and only a portion of the pews are commonly taken; place the pew rentals at a uniformly low figure, the pecuniary return is lamentably insufficient; grade the results from a high rate down to mere nominal prices, very frequently all the low price pews are taken and the high priced are left vacant. The plan which the author presents of a free church system is singularly like that which has been adopted successfully in a great many Methodist churches. It embraces the taking of the whole Church into confidence by a statement of the necessary expenses, and that the help of all is needed; persistent emphasis upon giving as an act of worship; confidential reception of the responses to appeal; the preference of the giver as to quarterly, monthly, or weekly payments to be respected; after the hour for the commencement of service all sittings open without the intervention of ushers. It is evident from this paper that our Presbyterian brethren have something to learn from the Methodists.

There is little of general interest in the October number of the *New Englander and Yale Review*, except an article by the Rev. Edward Hungerford on "The Eucharistic Service." This is noticeable to Methodists as showing the reaction in Congregational bodies from the baldness of the past. The paper contains a suggestion of a service for the non-liturgical bodies. It is impossible for one familiar with the service of the Methodist Episcopal Church to read this article without being thankful that from the beginning we have inherited a service that embraces every feature here proposed, and which, in its history, dignity, solemnity, and joyfulness leaves nothing to be desired. We recommend our brethren to compare the service here given in full with that which we have inherited; it will be readily seen that we have nothing to gain by a change.

While our neighbor of the *Church Review* has a sharp eye for papers of value to the Protestant Episcopal denomination, it yet occasionally has an article of interest to the general Church. In the October number there is a review of Proudhon's book, entitled "De la Celebration du Dimanche," which sets forth "A Socialist's plea for the Observance of Sunday." It is a very remarkable fact, that the man whose motto has

become a war-cry of the extreme Socialists, namely, "Property is robbery," has written one of the strongest arguments in existence for the observance of Sunday, and pleads with his countrymen in terms of impassioned earnestness to restore the day to the place of honor which is its due. He believes that an eternal truth underlies the Fourth Commandment; he observes that the object of the Jewish legislator in hallowing one day out of seven was civil, domestic, moral, and hygienic. Those who are familiar with this argument of Proudhon will give it a high place among the rational arguments for the preservation of the Sabbath. Its sagacity in anticipating the issues of our own day is remarkable. There is a Frenchy ingenuity and sentimentalism about it that is not pleasing to practical minds, but as a work to be condensed and so improved, and then abundantly set forth among the Sabbath-breaking population, there is no superior in any tongue, because it comes with the claims of reason, and appeals to a class not reached by religious authority. There is also an article on divorce and the marriage relations in recent fiction, which is an indignant protest against the ghastly use made of these matters in some novels.

In the *Southern Methodist Review* for September, one of the most thoughtful articles is that on "The Immanence of God." In fact, the entire list of articles is one relating to subjects of dignity and importance, and while some of the writers have not yet reached the strength which characterizes the contributors to older periodicals, they indicate a new and higher intellectual life among the ministry of the Southern Church, and the present number promises increased popular demand.

If the articles which are to be found in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* are to be taken as an indication of the subjects which interest the Roman clergy, the world is to be congratulated upon a steady advance; for it is not possible that such questions should be discussed in the free atmosphere of American life without broadening and liberalizing the Church which discusses them. For instance, in the October number there is an article on "Nature Worship as the New Religion," which has much in it which would command the acceptance of an ultra Protestant Christian. There is evidence, also, that the true historical spirit is penetrating the relations of the Roman Church, for they do not attempt to defend their Church blindly, but with a larger discrimination than has been common in the writers of Catholic Europe.

All students of the Indian question will do well to read the paper in this number on "What Will Become of the Indians?" which is altogether one of the most intelligent of recent studies on that subject. In the paper on "The Public School System and Protestantism," the writer claims that the English system shows that the denominational schools keep fully abreast and frequently in advance of the undenominational or secular schools. If the system which obtains abroad were adopted in this country, the writer thinks that there would be no real difficulty in every

Protestant sect of every kind having its own distinctive school, each receiving from the public school fund *pro rata* allotments according to the number of pupils that on examination were found to have obtained an average scholarship in certain specified studies. The article is fair-spoken, but fails to answer the objection that in the case of the smaller denominations great injustice would be wrought.

An examination of the *Universalist Quarterly* for October does not impress us strongly with the intellectual life of the denomination. The subjects discussed are Inspiration, Prayer, the Theology of the Episcopal Prayer Book, Evolution, Morals and Religion, Notes on Giants, The Ideal in Religion. But the treatment does not give this periodical a place by the side of those which represent the scholarship of those orthodox denominations which are related to the Universalist in the number of their adherents.

The *Baptist Quarterly Review* steadily improves under its new editorship. It is not only attractive in appearance but varied and interesting in contents. It exhibits true editorial tact in its presentation of studies in Bible lands, theologic and artistic discussion, literature, and pastoral relations. Its editorial departments are excellent. It pronounces against the new theology, and it makes a very strong point against the new theologians by stating what is apparent to every fair-minded man, that if probation after death be demonstrably a religious truth, it is a great mistake to fail to preach it to the heathen and not to preach it in this country.

We have found little among the monthly magazines of recent issue which calls for special attention from the readers of the *Methodist Review*. Written chiefly for entertainment, our readers may well be referred to the daily press for synopses of their contents. Yet occasionally there are weighty articles that cannot be disregarded by those who would make studies of the freshest discussions of subjects of great interest. Thus, we commend to the attention of our readers a paper by John Fiske, on the "Germs of National Sovereignty in the United States," to be found in the November number of the *Atlantic Monthly;* the paper in the November Harper's by George Parsons Lathrop, on the "Literary Movement in New York," accompanied with a notable series of portraits; as also to one by A. H. D. Ackland in the same number, on "Co-operation among English Working-men."

Classical teachers in our universities will do well to read, in the October number of the *Century*, F. H. Bacon's account of the work done by American explorers in Assos. Those who are contemplating a trip to Europe will find much that is helpful in Miss Weatherbee's paper on Europe, entitled "Nothing Certain a Year."

Scientific students will find in the November *Lippincott* much information, attractively given, by Dr. Felix L. Oswald, on "Our Earthquake."

Those interested in our reformatory institutions will find, in the *Catholic World* for October, much profit in reading Mr. Marshall's view of "Prison Life."

Those who are interested in the scientific phases of religion will be repaid by the attentive study of President Bascom's article on the "Gains and Losses of Faith from Science," in the October number of *Christian Thought.*

Social students will find something to interest them in the article in the November *Magazine of American History* on the "First American Anarchist."

Passing as we do over the whole field of American and European periodical literature, it is made more and more evident that the great questions upon which the leading men of the world are thinking are those which are related to religion. Whether we take up a skeptical review, an advocate of the unorthodox creeds, a magazine of art, or one devoted to the interests of science, religion is seen at once to be the question of supreme interest. The world is asking what is true, and is passing constantly under review every thing which has made any claim in the history of the world to be true from any stand-point, or to offer any thing of value to the race; and it is becoming certain as one studies the intellectual movement of the world that there is a resurrection of faith; that the thoughtful have made up their minds that the ideas of God, of God manifest, and of humanity as related to God, cannot be dispensed with in philosophy, in science, or in conduct. It is also made evident that the position which was taken by Bishop Foster in his notable sermon at the opening of the Centennial Conference of Methodism, that Christianity is responsible for the stimulus to the re-examination of all the old foundations, is the position of truth, and that his other conclusion, that the essentials of the Christian religion remain undisturbed in their influence upon humanity for good, is also to be accepted.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Miraculous Element in the Gospels. A Course of Lectures on the "Ely Foundation," delivered in Union Theological Seminary. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Apologetics, etc., in Free Church College, Glasgow; Author of *The Parabolic Teaching of Christ*, etc. 8vo, pp. 391. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

THIS volume has a pedigree of some little interest. It is the beginning of a series which it may be hoped will, after sufficient time, rival some of the great series of lectures of Great Britain. A few years since a gentleman lodged with the trustees of the Union Theological Seminary of this city (Presbyterian) a sum of money, designating that its proceeds should

be devoted to sustain a "lectureship" whose intent should be "to establish the proposition that Christianity is a religion from God, or that it is the perfect and final religion for man." With this general designation to direct them, the trustees very properly presumed that the required lectures should be not only generally apologetical, but also that they should especially aim to bring into view the internal and incidental evidences that with the lapse of time are gathering about Christianity in the form of facts in history and phenomena in men's experiences.

For their first lecturer the trustees selected Professor Bruce of Glasgow, who had already achieved a reputation as a learned and able apologist and as a man eminently qualified to meet and combat the skeptical objection to the supernatural in religion which characterizes the unbelief of the times, and of which fitness he had especially given proof in his work on "The Parabolic Teaching of Christ." The lectures, ten in number, were delivered last winter, and were well received by those who heard them, and now they appear in a decidedly favorable dress in this handsome volume.

In selecting "The Miraculous Element in the Gospels" for discussion, the lecturer moved directly upon the most severely contested point in the pending controversy, since the miraculous and the supernatural in religion mutually imply each the other, and are, perhaps, in fact identical. To properly conduct the proposed argument, it was judged to be needful, first, to consider the theistic conception of the universe, or the cosmos. Then the two realms of nature and the supernatural, lying side by side, and mutually interpenetrating each other, seemed to require to be considered. Having thus prepared the way, the lecturer found the next question to be considered was one of facts: Are there any well authenticated accounts of miracles that have actually been wrought? That question brings with it the whole subject of the gospel miracles, the examination of which, with the consideration and disposition of opposing arguments, occupies the next six lectures—third to eighth inclusive. Next, we have a lecture devoted to "The Great Moral Miracle," the historical Christ. And last of all, a general negative argument, but of great force, based upon the supposition of a "Christianity without a miracle." The lecturer, instructed by the fate of some who have attempted to sustain what cannot be proved, and to use as proofs merely traditional suppositions, proceeds very cautiously, but the more securely, and by abandoning the indefensible all the more successfully maintains his positions within the sure fortress of spiritual truth.

The style of the writing is good, plain, and nervous English, just such as might be expected from an educated Scotchman. The method of argumentation is calm and conciliatory, though sometimes aggressive, and the conclusions reached are announced, not so much as the trophies of victories as the findings of honest and diligent searching for the truth respecting matters of the most momentous importance. It is therefore a book to be prized by thoughtful students of the fundamental evidences of Christianity.

Commentary on the Epistle to Romans. By CHARLES HODGE, D.D., LL.D., late Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton. A New Edition. Revised, and in a Great Measure Re-written. 8vo, pp. 716. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Dr. Charles Hodge was no doubt the ablest theologian of his own school since the death of Dr. Chalmers, both as a thinker and a writer. His *Systematic Theology*, in three plethoric volumes, will no doubt stand as his monument, and serve as the interpreter of his mind and thoughts in all the future; and yet for a ready apprehension of certain of the finer points of his doctrinal conceptions his commentary on Romans presents some decided advantages. Men often utter their best thoughts, and especially do they put their thinkings in the best forms, when not bound to a definite train of ideas and expressions; and the methods of the running commentary have probably more advantages than almost any others for the free utterance of one's spontaneous conceptions, which are also usually the best. This remark, we think, applies very fully to Dr. Hodge as a teacher of Christian doctrines. His *Systematic Theology* is complete in itself, and its several parts are so built into the structure that they largely lose their individuality, and not infrequently they are somewhat modified by the adjustments required to fit them to their places. In the Commentary, however, they stand apart, and are seen as simple truths which God has revealed in his word. There is, no doubt, in this case substantial agreement between the systematic theologian and the commentator, but the student of these works will more frequently find occasion to seek help from the latter to explain the former than *vice versa*. And as most men learn what is delivered in fragments more readily than that which they find in whole systems, the study of the commentary will usually prove the more fruitful.

It is quite manifest that in preparing this work Dr. Hodge found the themes of his meditations peculiarly congenial to his own theological and religious sentiments, for while he was himself a Calvinist of Calvinists, so also, despite all anti-Calvinistic interpretations, there is a flavor of the Genevese doctrines in not a few passages in the Epistle to the Romans. If only the traditional sense of words and phrases shall be conceded, then the decided trend of thought in much of St. Paul's writings is clearly toward Calvinism; and if, after conceding certain first principles, theology shall be shaped by cold logic, then the dogmas of predestination, in their boldest aspects, must be accepted. Our objection to this result is, however, twofold; we object to the popularly accepted use of not a few biblical and theological terms, and in framing our theology we disallow the authority of simply logical deductions. Just here we emphasize the distinction between doctrines and dogmas, and object to the latter, except as they are shut up within the clearly defined bounds of explicitly declared doctrinal teachings. The practical application of this rule would no doubt greatly simplify nearly all our systems of theology.

Dr. Hodge's characteristics as a writer—strength of mental grasp, and clearness of statement—are abundantly manifest in this work. It is very

evident, however, that he brought to his task, along with his intellectual acumen and scholarly qualifications, decided and indeed dominating doctrinal prepossessions. He saw the lessons of his text through these, and they became to him both coloring and diffracting media. The same censure may apply to most others, but in his case the misleading influence was intensified in proportion to the fullness of his persuasions, and the strength of the religious affection in which he held all his theological convictions. While we cannot, indeed, agree with much that we find in this Commentary, we are still quite convinced that its excellences vastly exceed its faults; and its faults often lean to the better part. We commend its study as a decidedly wholesome kind of intellectual and spiritual gymnastics.

The Wisdom of the Apocalypse. By J. H. McIlvaine, Author of *The Wisdom of Holy Scripture.* 8vo, pp. 420. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Company.

We have learned through not a little perplexing experience to take up any new work on the Apocalypse with many misgivings, compelled to do so by the failure of all that have been heretofore considered to solve its mysteries; and so we instinctively distrust any further professions in the same line. In most cases a very brief glance at the methods of any new-comer, who thinks he has found the key to the mysteries which have baffled all his predecessors on the same line, suffices to assure us that nothing may be expected from that source. But the book we are now noticing is of a higher type. It is well written, without rant or offensive pretentiousness; the argument proceeds quietly and even cautiously; but, like many others, the writer believes that he has successfully threaded the labyrinth, and solved what has seemed to most biblical students an inextricable tangle of brilliant colored threads. The opening sentence of the author's preface is rather adapted to awaken doubts than to give assurances that he has really succeeded in his undertaking. He concedes that "hitherto it (the Apocalypse) has been almost a sealed book," and yet, "not discouraged by previous failures," he is moved "to render it intelligible, interesting, and edifying." But the reading of his book fails to justify the promise, though perhaps the failure will be charged to the reader's lack of spiritual insight rather than to the author's want of clear conceptions and statements.

His scheme of interpretation is less literalistic, and his conception of the things set forth in the book is not so much "of the earth, earthy," as is usually the case with the books that we have read touching this matter. That fact we found a great relief, and it inclines us to look upon it with favor. But while to leave the gross earth is a good thing, to wander among thin vapors, and rest on bright clouds, and to dwell in an elysium of broken sunbeams is not exactly what intelligent souls call for. We have studied the Apocalypse with a lively interest, and find in it much that is refreshing and edifying; but however humiliating the confession may be, its "beasts" and "trumpets" and "vials" and "seals" are to

our dull sense unknown quantities. Possibly they will be made plain in some future age of the Church; but as yet evidently the seal of the book has not been opened.

A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D., Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, in Connection with a Number of Patristic Scholars of Europe and America. Volume I. *The Confessions and Letters of St. Augustine.* With a Sketch of his Life and Work. Imperial octavo, pp. 619. Buffalo, N. Y.: The Christian Literature Company.

For nearly two years past we have announced, as they have appeared, the successive volumes of Ante-Nicene Fathers—seven in all, with one yet to appear—published by the Christian Literature Company, at Buffalo. Nearly a year ago that company announced the further purpose to follow the first library with still another and much more extensive one, designed to embrace the chief works of the later church Fathers; and of that "library" we give above the title of the first volume, containing the "Confessions" and the "Letters" of the celebrated Bishop of Hippo, Augustine. For future issues, of which the publishers announce four volumes per year, we are promised seven more volumes of the works of Augustine, making eight in all of the productions of that one Father. After these the works of Chrysostom are to follow in five volumes, and beyond these, which will occupy three years, others of chief patristic writers, both Greek and Latin, will be published. A large and remarkably able corps of biblical and theological writers has been organized to push the work forward, and to leave no room for possible failure of the work, in respect to either the thoroughness of the editing or the certainty that each volume will be ready when called for.

The volume in hand, which is a prophecy and a pledge of what is to follow, is an octavo of the largest-sized page, double columns, printed in large and clear letters, and with open lines, on good paper; so making it a pleasant book, easy to be read, and not too large to hold in the hand while reading. The edition thus issued and sold at three dollars per volume brings these valuable books within easy reach of students and ministers of only scanty means, since by the payment of one dollar each month any one can in a few years acquire a most excellent store of the writings of the early Church.

The Jewish and the Christian Messiah: A Study in the Earliest History of Christianity. By VINCENT HENRY STANTON, M.A., Fellow, Tutor, and Divinity Lecturer of Trinity College (Cambridge). 8vo, pp. 399. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

The subject of the Messianic conceptions of the Jews at and just preceding the Advent, and of the early Christians, has received a large share of attention within the past few years. It was first taken in hand by certain German scholars of recognized ability, among them Hilgenfeld, Schürer, and Kennen, and a little later by a number of English writers, who are fully their equals,—Drummond, Westcott, and eminently Edersheim—besides many others who have treated of some of the aspects of the gen-

eral subject in special articles or chapters in more general treatises, so that its literature has become voluminous and unusually excellent. The work now in hand may justly claim recognition in this list, and with only a few superiors if any, or indeed equals. After a brief but comprehensive survey of the field to be traversed, and of its original literature, the author proceeds to consider the evidence of the Messianic expectation of the Jews, the fact and its form, and then its modifications by the early Christians, and the use they made of the Old Testament in the development and codification of Christian doctrine. These discussions constitute Part I. of the treatise, and they occupy more than half of the work. Part II. treats of "The Attitude of Jesus to Messianic Beliefs"—what he taught respecting "the Kingdom of God," the title "Son of man," and his expositions of "the Prophecies concerning Himself." In Part III. the "Messianic Ideas of the Early Church," are considered; his divinity and enthronement, and his threefold relations to his people—prophetic, priestly, and regal—and his headship in the Church. A highly interesting discussion is devoted to a "Comparison of Jewish and Christian Eschatology," in which he clearly places himself among *Restorationists* or *Annihilationists*, with a preponderance toward the latter. The last chapter is devoted to a variety of side thoughts, grouped somewhat loosely under the general heading. "Messianic Prophecy and the Mythical Theory."

The book, in order to be fully appreciated, must be carefully studied, its references verified, and its authorities diligently collocated and compared; and yet a less painstaking reading will prove valuable, as well as agreeable, to any whose habits of thought and study lead them among the subjects to which it is devoted. Its tone and spirit, while free, are reverent and devout, the style is good English, plain, terse, yet not wholly inornate, and the mechanical make-up of the volume is all that could be desired.

A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament. Being Grimm's Wilke's Clavis Novi Testamenti. Translated, Revised, and Enlarged, by JOSEPH HENRY THAYER, D.D., Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation, Harvard University. 4to, pp. 726. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Students of the Greek Testament have been crying out for nearly half a century for a competent lexicon of the New Testament dialect, till now in vain. Dr. Robinson's has good points, and may do for beginners; but it can answer only for a little while. The lexicons of the classical Greek, though valuable and not to be neglected in biblical study, fail just at the point where help is most needed, or they mislead by giving another sense than that intended in the text under notice. Such a work as that now in hand aspires to be is, therefore, very greatly needed, and our examination of it affords strong assurance that what has been so long waited for has at length appeared.

Professor Thayer, with equal fairness and modesty, speaks of his work as a translation, but adds the remark that it is also "revised and enlarged," and these added words are made to cover a very considerable

amount of hard labor with highly valuable results. To the Greek-English scholar the book has all the desirable qualities of a strictly original work. The matter is rendered in plain idiomatic English; the definitions are what they purport to be, clear and easily understood expositions of the sense of the words that are noticed, ever distinguishing the various shades of meaning of the same words in their various relations and applications. Of course, and from the necessities of the case, the lexicon became to a not inconsiderable extent a commentary, with specific doctrinal interpretations; and with these the reader or student is expected to deal according to his estimate of their value, for though they are not at all offensively put forward, still they are so placed that if not correct they are quite certain to be misleading.

Books of this character are largely dependent for their available utility upon the work of the compositors, pressmen, and binders, and to these all who shall use this manual will be all the time indebted. The letters, though not large, are clear and distinct, the lines leaded, the Greek words in black, heavy types, and the English in easily legible form. The catchwords at the heads of the columns are given in full, and in the body of the work not only the first forms are given, but also, when needed, the alternates, and also some of the oblique cases of nouns, and the leading tenses of verbs.

We greatly rejoice that this work has been published, for it will very much facilitate New Testament study and exegesis, and it may be hoped that it will enlarge the number of intelligent and critical readers of the sacred text. A fuller review will appear hereafter.

The Ignatian Epistles Entirely Spurious. A Reply to the Right Rev. Dr. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham. By W.D. KILLEN, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Principal of the Presbyterian Theological Faculty, Ireland. 16mo, pp. 90 Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

Certain professed epistles of Ignatius have been the subject of not a little earnest discussion in respect to their genuineness, in which sides are taken according to men's relations to certain ecclesiastical questions—prelatists incline to accept them as genuine, and non-prelatists reject them as spurious—although the question at issue is a purely critical one. Sometime since Bishop Lightfoot, in his *Apostolic Fathers*, gave the full weight of his name and scholarly reputation to their genuineness, declaring that "no Christian writings of the second century, and very few writings of antiquity, whether Christian or pagan, are so well authenticated." Dr. Killen, on the contrary, as a critical scholar, undertakes to show that large parts of these epistles are "entirely spurious." But as the disputants are not agreed respecting the credibility of their witnesses there can be no tendency in their discussions to a settlement of the case, for the bishop's chief witness—that is, ecclesiastical authority—is summarily dismissed by his antagonist as wholly unworthy of confidence, and the subject declared to be entirely one of critical inquiry. No doubt all real scholars who have escaped from the toils of blind subjection to

authority will be very cautious in respect to accepting the epistles in question as having any evidential authority.

Messianic Prophecy. The Prediction of the Fulfillment of Redemption through the Messiah. A critical Study of the Messianic Passages of the Old Testament in the Order of their Development. By CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS, D.D., Professor of Hebrew, etc., in the Union Theological Seminary, New York City. 8vo, pp. 519. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Nearly half a century ago we read with lively interest Hengstenberg's *Christology of the Old Testament*, and a little later John Pye Smith's celebrated *Four Discourses on the Sacrifices and Priesthood of Christ*, and by these, perhaps more than by any others, our modes of understanding the Scriptures and our notions respecting the office and work of Christ received a permanent bias toward the old-fashioned orthodoxy, in all Christological doctrines. Recently our attention has been called anew to these subjects by a number of able treatises lately published on various parts and features of the general subject, and especially by the two great works of Edersheim, *Prophecy and History in Relation to the Messiah*, and *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*. To find the whole subject reviewed and restated by so competent a Hebrew scholar and able writer as is Dr. Briggs is quite naturally a matter of no ordinary interest, and all that the first appearance of the work inspired by way of hope is more than realized by its further examination. It is an earnest and intelligent presentation of the Christ of the Old Testament, avoiding all overstatements and theorizings about the modes of the existence of the divine Logos from eternity, and concerning the conditions of his manifestation in the incarnation, but grasping firmly the great truth of God revealed in the flesh, and dwelling as man among men.

In his preface the author indicates his purpose to cover the whole subject of the development of the Messianic idea, first in the Old Testament, next in the *Four Centuries of Silence*, from Malachi to John the Baptist, and lastly by the evangelists and the early Church. Only the first of these divisions is treated of in this volume, while we are allowed to expect the others to follow in due time. Such a set of books will constitute a valuable contribution to the best form of sacred learning and purely biblical theology.

Christus Consummator: Some Aspects of the Work and Person of Christ in Relation to Modern Thought. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., Canon of Westminster, etc. 12mo, pp. 176. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

The title of this little book is suggestive of rich thoughts, which the name of the author transforms into promises, and these the book itself changes into accomplished facts. The treatment is along specifically biblical—especially of the New Testament—lines of thought; and Christ in the various forms in which he appears in the Bible—the incarnation, the divine prophet, the priest-victim, the conqueror of death, and the glorified king of Zion—passes before us, not simply as great historical pictures, but

also as living, spiritual verities, calling for our faith and consecration. As the author is a church dignitary, the work witnesses that fact in both its terminology and in its interweaving simply ecclesiastical temporalities with the things spiritual and eternal that belong to the kingdom of God. But all this, if indeed it is a dead fly in the precious ointment, is not necessarily destructive or offensive.

Many Infallible Proofs. A Series of Chapters on the Evidences of Christianity: or, the Written and Living Word of God. By ARTHUR T. PIERSON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 317. Chicago: F. H. Revell.

The author of this volume introduces it with "A Word Preliminary," which is after the form of a confession that he "once found himself getting into the deep darkness of doubt," out of which he found his way by a thorough examination of the Christian Evidences. The notes of his mental processes constitute the materials of his book. They are not widely different from those found in other popular discussions of the same subject, though they may be rendered a little more pointed because of the writer's personal relations to the matters in hand.

The Dragon, Image, and Demon; or, the Three Religions of China: Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism. Giving an account of the Mythology, Idolatry, and Demonolatry of the Chinese. By Rev. HAMPDEN C. DUBOSE, Fourteen Years a Missionary at Soo-Chow. 12mo, pp. 468. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

The author of this volume, after an extended residence as a missionary in China, under the auspices of the Southern Presbyterian Board of Missions, revisited his native land a few years ago, and lectured extensively on the Religions of China, and these lectures, re-written, are now reproduced in the above-named volume. They are valuable as setting in a clear light the various forms of the false religions of China, and as practical illustrations of the sad truth, which it is now the fashion to deny or ignore, that heathenism, in its most cultivated forms, is still a system of abominations.

The People's Bible: Discourses upon Holy Scripture. By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D., Minister of the City Temple, London. Volume IV. Numbers xxvii–Deuteronomy (entire). 8vo, pp. 412. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. $1 50.

Dr. Parker has given himself a great task in setting about the discussion—expository, descriptive, and homiletical—of the whole Bible, in twenty-five volumes, with an aggregate of over ten thousand pages. May he see his work completed! The work, though not absolutely uncritical, is chiefly devoted to what is popularly styled the "practical" use of Scripture, with especial reference to sermonic purposes; with outlines, suggestions, and illustrations of pulpit and lecture-room exercises. It is a compilation for workers rather than scholars, and therefore it has a more numerous constituency, and its fruits will be more immediately available.

PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

Matter, Life, Mind: Their Essence, Phenomena, and Relations, examined with Reference to the Nature of Man, and the Problem of his Destiny. By H. H. MOORE, D.D. 12mo, pp. 460. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati, Cranston & Stowe.

Several years ago a manuscript came into our hands, not for publication, but to be examined. It was found to be no common-place production; in fact, discussions of some of the deepest problems of thought, in a thoroughly original way, by a solitary thinker. These thinkings are now in hand, having experienced the apotheosis of printer's ink. We congratulate the author, and much more the great public in view of the event.

Dr. Moore, whose highest designation is that of a Methodist traveling preacher, has in his thinkings delved among some of the deepest and most abstruse subjects that lie in the range of the mind's free action, and he here presents them in forms so novel and evidently original that they cannot fail to arrest the attention of such as deal in such matters. He gives special prominence to life as a mediary between matter and mind, but not the same with either, though largely conditioning both, and asserts for it a place in the circle of philosophical data. In some things his methods of thought and the conclusions that he reaches seem to indicate his proximity to the modern school which bears the name of Lotze, though he often and earnestly antagonizes some of the fundamental doctrines of that system; and as for the modern materialistic school, which arrogates to itself all wisdom, he has neither respect nor patience.

With a work so entirely original it is not safe either to agree or differ till the whole has been thoroughly mastered. We therefore reserve our verdict, and shall wait with interest to see what the learned world will say of it, for it cannot be ignored.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre. By HENRY M. BAIRD, Author of the *Rise of the Huguenots in France.* With Maps. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 458, 525. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Professor Baird has undertaken, as occupation for his spare hours, outside of the duties of an engrossing college professorship, to study up and put in shape one of the most considerable divisions of the history of the Protestant Reformation. The story of the rise and growth, the struggles and the suppression in blood, of Protestantism in France, constitutes one of the most remarkable chapters in the world's history. It was distinguished as at once a religious awakening of far-reaching influence, and an assertion of civil and religious liberty. The struggles and sacrifices and martyrdoms on the part of the Protestants, and the persecutions inflicted upon them by both the civil and the ecclesiastical powers, together make up an

episode marked alike by heroism and devotion on the one hand, and by violence, treachery, and bloodthirsty cruelty on the other, the whole constituting one of the marked tragedies of history.

Two volumes devoted to the earlier stages of that great movement were issued by our author a few years ago, and the reading public has with unusual unanimity, and very emphatically, commended the work alike for its literary ability, the thoroughness of research that it displays, and the judicial fairness with which every mooted question is approached and determined; yet not so as to hide or excuse the intense wickedness of the persecutors, and the systematic baseness of the whole popish party.

In the same spirit, and certainly with no less painstaking diligence, the author has undertaken and brought to its completion this second portion of his great work. Beginning where the former volumes closed, with the accession of Henry of Valois, 1574, the present volumes carry the history forward thirty-six years to 1610, and to the assassination of Henry IV., ten years after the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes, so giving a view of the condition of France, and more particularly of French Protestantism, under the protection of that famous edict. The grotesque and lurid picture of the mingling of theological discussions, the intrigues of courts, and the conflicts and carnage of war in a common contest, and, stranger still, of earnest spiritual religion and ecclesiastical ambitions and falsehood standing side by side, is painful and perplexing, and may well suggest whether Christian truth and life can be promoted by such agencies. The final catastrophe of the Protestant cause in France may suggest a negative answer. At least two more volumes will be required to complete the work.

A History of the French Revolution. By H. Morse Stephens, Balliol College, Oxford. In Three Volumes. Vol. I. 12mo, pp. 533. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2 50.

The History of the French Revolution, though it has been taken in hand by a number of decidedly able writers, has been only partially and tentatively executed, because the subject has not yet had time to ripen sufficiently for such treatment. But the now nearly completed century since the inception of that strange drama has brought the subject to such maturity that it may be treated with a good degree of philosophical comprehensiveness. That the required discussion of that remarkable series of events should be conducted by some one not a Frenchman, and for Englishmen and Americans by one trained to British and Anglo-American modes of thought, was altogether desirable; and the work of Mr. Stephens, the first installment of which is before us, seems to justify the belief that it has fallen into competent hands, at once able and conscientious.

The details to be examined and considered are so abundant that they occasion embarrassment; and only as the lapse of time removes the scene from its too close proximity is it possible to properly estimate their relative importance and historical value. A chief part of the historian's

business, and not always the least difficult one, is the wise and judicious exclusion of whatever is not historically essential to the matter in hand, and among these are found some of the most dramatic scenes and episodes of those stirring times. In this needful process this author has certainly done some good work, enabling his readers to grasp the subject in its unity, and to consider its chief features apart from its distracting details, which in not a few cases were the most strikingly conspicuous.

The narrative opens with the convening of the Assembly of Notables, in 1787, followed a year later by the suppression of the Parliament, and soon after by the election of the "States General." From these earliest developments of the revolutionary spirit events of the most startling character and of the farthest reaching influences followed each other in rapid succession. These are indicated and briefly annotated, and the whole arranged in philosophical order, so as to bring into view the dependence of each event upon its predecessor, and the drift of the whole to their common end. The extent of time compressed in this first volume is very limited, as it is occupied with the necessary survey of the existing condition of the affairs of the country, both the government and the people. The work is one to be studied, rather than read hastily, and whoever will so study it will find in it abundant recompense.

The Land and the Book; or, Biblical Illustrations drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery, of the Holy Land. By WILLIAM M. THOMSON, D.D., Forty-five Years a Missionary in Syria and Palestine. In Three Volumes. Copiously Illustrated. Volume I. *Southern Palestine and Jerusalem.* (140 Illustrations and Maps.) Volume II. *Central Palestine and Phœnicia.* (130 Illustrations and Maps.) Volume III. *Lebanon, Damascus, and Beyond Jordan.* (147 Illustrations and Maps.) A New and Popular Edition. 8vo, Ornamental Cloth, $9 per set. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Few books have been so helpful to average students and readers of the Holy Scriptures, professional or non-professional, preachers, Sunday-school teachers, and stay-at-home readers, as Dr. Thomson's *The Land and the Book.* Published originally more than a quarter of a century ago, and encountering the rivalry of many later and really valuable works on the same general subject, it has maintained its popularity without serious detriment. A few years since a new and thoroughly revised edition was issued, on large paper and sumptuously illustrated, and the present "new and popular edition" is from the same stereotype plates, and though less ornamental it is equally valuable for practical use with the larger and more costly. This is one of the works which Mr. Spurgeon named as among those to the procuring of which he applied the words of Christ, that if without it a man should, if necessary, sell his garment that he might buy it.

Two Thousand Miles Through the Heart of Mexico. By Rev. J. HENDRICKSON MCCARTY, D.D., Author of *The Black Horse and Carry-all,* etc. 12mo, pp. 288. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

By successive publications in magazines and books, we are becoming informed respecting the land, and the institutions, and the people of our

south-side next-door neighbor, the country of the Aztecs and the Hidalgos, and the book here named makes a valuable contribution to our information. Dr. McCarty is a practiced writer, and this book shows that he is a good observer. His journey of two thousand miles, made very leisurely, enabled him to see the face of the land, and using the history of the country for a guide-book he readily places side by side the present and the past of that strange country. He thus makes an instructive and readable but not especially hopeful book.

The Boy Travelers in the Russian Empire. Adventures of Two Youths in a Journey in European and Asiatic Russia, with Accounts of a Tour Across Siberia, Voyages on the Amoor, Volga, and Other Rivers, a Visit to Central Asia, Travels among the Exiles, and an Historical Sketch of the Empire from its Foundation to the Present Time. By THOMAS W. KNOX. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 505. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Each year as the season of the holidays approaches, people have learned to expect from the press of the Harpers and the pen of Mr. Knox a new volume with adventures of his *Boy Travelers*. This year his subject is the "Russian Empire," which, as is his wont, he introduces and tells about in the form of an itinerary, with two boys and their teachers for the principal characters. The interest of the narrative is well sustained, so much so that the book may be read simply as an entertainment; but it answers a much higher purpose, for it abounds with a great variety of information respecting the geography and history of the country, the objects of interest in the cities and the fields, the manners and modes of living of the people, and, most intensely interesting of all, a vivid account of "life among the exiles" in Siberia. Like all of Mr. Knox's former books, and better than most of them, this one is a stay-at-home traveler's guide to and through "all the Russias," and is admirably adapted to give its young readers a concise and yet pretty full account of those very extensive and comparatively little known regions. It is profusely illustrated with well-executed wood-cuts.

An Arabic Manual. By J. G. LANSING, D.D., Gardner A. Sage Professor of Old Testament Languages and Exegesis in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church at New Brunswick, N. J. Chicago: American Publication Society of Hebrew. 1886 Pp. xviii, 194. Price $2.

Confessing our own inability to form and pass an intelligent judgment upon this work, we reproduce instead what has been written by another. This is the first Arabic grammar printed in America. In treatment it occupies a position midway between the exhaustive grammars of Wright and Palmer on the one hand, and the elementary grammars heretofore published on the other hand. There is a thorough treatment of orthography and etymology, with exercises, followed by full paradigms. Reading selections from the Bible and the Koran are then given, followed by specimen analyses, transliterations, and translations. The *Manual* concludes with a vocabulary of the words employed in the selections,

besides some other. The grammar proper occupies the greater part of the volume, and is, of course, intended to be the leading feature.

The typography is every thing to be desired. The work in this respect also is remarkably clear, finished, and free from errors, and its price places it within the reach of all.

Mexico of To-day. By SOLOMON BULKLEY GRIFFIN. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 267. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Readers of the *Springfield Republican*, of a time not very remote, were treated to a series of letters from Mexico by its "own correspondent." They were lively and even piquant, full of valuable information, the whole seasoned with valuable reflections and discussions of the outlook of the country. These letters are here presented, not very much changed, in a volume. It is a decidedly attractive book, suitable for light reading, and instructive as well as entertaining.

Indian Missionary Directory and Memorial Volume. By Rev. B. H. BADLEY, M.A. Third Edition.) 8vo. pp. 302. Calcutta: Methodist Publishing House. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $1 25.

Protestant missions have become a great power in British India, and their work and influence are large factors in the religious and social, and scarcely less in the political, affairs of that vast empire. Of their extent this volume is the eloquent witness, for though largely made up of statistics, there is a sublimity in their showing.

The book was first issued ten years ago, in 1876, and the second edition in 1881. As now presented it is in fact a new book, so thoroughly has the work of revision been done, and its record is, in all parts, brought down to the latest date. It is a good book from which to draw the very best kind of materials for missionary appeals.

LITERATURE AND FICTION.

She Stoops to Conquer. Illustrated by Edwin A. Abbey. She Stoops to Conquer; or, The Mistakes of a Night. A Comedy. By Dr. GOLDSMITH. With Ten Full-page Photo-gravure Reproductions printed on separate Plates, numerous Process Reproductions and Wood-engravings from Drawings by Edwin A. Abbey, Decorations by Alfred Parsons. Introduction by AUSTIN DOBSON. Folio, illuminated leather, gilt edges, $20 00.

Home Fairies and Heart Flowers: Twenty Studies of Children's Heads. With Floral Embellishments, Head and Tail Pieces, Initial Letters, etc., by Frank French. With Poems by MARGARET E. SANGSTER. 4to, Illuminated Cloth, $6. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The progress of the art of pictorial illustration during the last half century has been equally marvelous and gratifying. The history of wood engraving shows that after attaining to a good degree of excellence three centuries ago, that art again fell away, and became effectively lost as a fine art, till again revived within the last few years, chiefly through the

agency and patronage of the illustrated magazines. Some of our ablest designers are making a specialty of that kind of work, and a class of engravers on wood have been developed whose productions rival in fineness and artistic completeness almost any other class of engravings. The holiday books for several years past have abounded with this kind of pictorial embellishments; and the first fruits of this year's harvest are especially promising respecting the progress of the art. Among these, the two named above are entitled to the highest praise.

The first of these two books, *She Stoops to Conquer*, upon which Mr. Abbey has exercised his skill, and perhaps excelled all that he had before done—though his illustrations of Hood's Poems are not easily outdone—is the well-known comedy of Oliver Goldsmith, *She Stoops to Conquer*, which, with its companion piece, *The Good Natured Man*, is confessedly among the best of modern comedies. The comical element in the text shows itself in a moderate degree in the illustrations, and that fact, while it adds to their piquancy, because it is used sparingly, does not detract from their sober propriety. Of the artist and his work the publishers say, with only a just appreciation:

"Mr. Abbey in this branch of his art stands quite alone; he is the founder of a school of black-and-white drawing, and in his representations of the *dramatis personæ* of this play he appears at his best. The correctness and minuteness of detail in costume and in furniture, for which he is so justly famous, are particularly noticeable in Mr. Abbey's mountings of this play." The text of the first printed edition of the comedy has been followed carefully throughout.

The second of the books named is purely a creation of the artist's fancy, aided, perhaps, by the poetic accompaniments of the drawings, for it would seem that poet and artist have combined their talents to embody harmoniously in verse and picture the beauties of the field and the family. The twenty heads are said to be "typical," and probably their originals would not be hard to find, nor twice as many more; but they are each sufficiently individualized as to both character and attitude, to say nothing about race and color. There is among them the Indian boy, with his feathered head-gear, and the round-headed, happy-faced negro child, with the fullness of animal content in all his features. The heads appear in all attitudes, and without any monotony of expression, and they seem to be all alive. The full-page illustrations, on large and fine paper, with the clear types of the letter-press work, impart to the volume a character of real but unostentatious luxury. "Its baby faces and its head-pieces and tail-pieces of stray blossoms and clinging vines will make a valuable contribution to the universal language of flowers."

It is well that such books should be prepared and published, and that they should find a place in our families. They are more than luxuries, they are educators of some of the best elements of character, and they gratify the taste that they develop; and because of the close relations of the *beautiful* to both the *true* and the *good* they tend toward a symmetrical development of real excellence of character.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. have brought out, in a well printed pamphlet of eighty-six pages, *A Verbatim Report of the Discussion at the Meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, held at Des Moines, Iowa, Thursday, October 7, 1886. It is an exceedingly valuable collection, but we regret not to find Dr. Withrow's most excellent sermon, delivered at the opening of the session.

Walks and Talks in the Geological Field. By ALEXANDER WINCHELL, LL.D., Professor of Geology, etc., in Michigan University. 8vo, pp. 329.

Sketches from English History. Selected and Edited, with an Introduction, (from the Roman Conquest to the Revolution of 1688), by ARTHUR M. WHEELER, Professor of History in Yale College. Two Parts in One Volume. Twenty-fifth Thousand. 8vo, pp. 372. Maps.

An Outline Sketch of English Literature. By HENRY A. BEERS. 16mo, pp. 294.

Classical French Course in English. By WM. CLEAVER WILKINSON. 16mo, pp. 297.

Warren Hastings. By LORD MACAULAY. 16mo, pp. 183.

These five books are some of the more recent issues of the "Chautauqua Press—C. L. S. C. Department"—and, as their titles indicate, they sustain the favorable reputation already gained for that publishing concern, and their further study will advance the good name of the catalogue. The books aim to instruct rather than amuse, and yet they will not fail to give pleasure to the multitude of earnest readers for whom they are designed. That thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, chiefly of young persons, in every part of the land, are pursuing the course of reading of which these books are parts and specimens is certainly an encouraging fact, especially in view of the ruinous prevalence of novel-reading. Of these books, as a whole, we may speak words of emphatic approval, which will be fully sustained by a more particular notice of each volume.

Dr. Winchell's *Walks and Talks* is an informal system of geology, tracing and discussing the facts and phenomena of the dead world, as they lie about us—rocks, gravel, glaciers, springs, lakes, mud flats, and gorges; and next the active forces in the body of the earth—geysers, volcanoes, earthquakes, frozen seas, and imprisoned heat, metals, petroleum, native gases, and coal. After these, looking below the surface, we are introduced to fossils, chalk formations, and organic remains in the rocky strata. Passing beyond the present, we are next conducted through the world's infancy, among fire-mists, and storms, the war of the ocean, with its primeval monsters, and thence through the age of ice, to the spring-time of our era of sunshine and life. Then, by way of retrospect, the natural history of the earth and of animated nature is rapidly passed in review, the abyss of centuries, method of creation, and the human element in the material world. Altogether, the book is a condensed cyclopedia of geological facts and principles, written out in the plainest and most attractive style—a very valuable book.

Professor Wheeler's *Sketches from English History* combine the best feat-

ures of grave history with the sprightly attractiveness of anecdotes, episodes, and monographs of historical persons, events, and periods, so arranged as to constitute a somewhat continuous history of the nation and its affairs.

The *Outline of English Literature* is necessarily concise, and without details, but sufficiently full to give a general and comprehensive view of its great subject, which is a needful preparation for its more exhaustive study.

Dr. Wilkinson's *French Classics* are in that author's best style, brief, of course, but sharp and clear in statement, with a few well-chosen illustrations and judicious general estimates.

Lord Macaulay's celebrated essay on *Warren Hastings*, given here in book form, needs no word of introduction.

All of Grace. An Earnest Word with those who are Seeking Salvation by the Lord Jesus Christ. By C. H. SPURGEON. 18mo, pp. 128. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Few men of any age or country have been better qualified for the work here indicated than the preacher of the Metropolitan Tabernacle. It is an art which only a few preachers, and comparatively few professional revivalists, possess. This little book may in some case supplement their lack of service.

Silent Pete; or, the Stowaways. By JAMES OTIS, Author of *Toby Tyler*, etc. Illustrated. Square 16mo, pp. 192. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The heroes of this story are two boys, who secured passage from New Orleans to New York by the process known among sea-going people as that of "stowaway." The career of the urchins in New York constitutes the pith of the story. It is well written, vivacious, and not immoral.

Americans in Rome; or, Paul Errington and his Struggles. A Novel. By RAY ASTER. 8vo, pp. 308. New York: James R. Barnett & Co.

This is the story of an American scholar and clergyman, who, having become possessed of a drawing Rome-ward, resolved to visit the Eternal City, and to look into its mysteries before entering the sacred inclosure of the Church, and on that turned the whole progress of the drama; for the sight of the papal Church at home quite cured him of the fascination that had allured him thither. The story is told with a lively piquancy, and a good degree of descriptive power.

Democracy and Other Addresses. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. 12mo, pp. 245. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

Mr. Lowell's genius seems to be, emphatically, a late flowering plant, or, at any rate, his latest harvest is especially abundant in quantity and excellent in kind. We have here nine addresses—all dating since 1880, most of them within the last two years—of which the first, "Democracy," delivered before the Midland Institute at Birmingham (England), in October, 1884, is simply a specimen. Of course, they are brilliant and able.

Pen, Pulpit, Platform: Shots at Sundry Targets. By T. DEWITT TALMAGE, D.D., Aimed at Wrongs to be Righted; Errors to be Corrected; Dangers to be Avoided; Burdens to be Lightened; Follies to be Shunned; Sorrows to be Mitigated; Victories to be Won. (Compilation Authorized.) 12mo, pp. 665. New York: E. B. Treat, 771 Broadway.

Selections running in number well on toward two hundred pieces, from Dr. Talmage's sayings and writings, prepared and published with his approval. The selections have been made fairly judiciously, and the pieces are decidedly good, though, like the lees of wine, they smell and taste of the cask, which of course it was desired they should.

A Plain Man's Talk on the Labor Question. By SIMON NEWCOMB, LL.D. Author of "Principles of Political Economy," etc. 16mo, pp. 195. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This little book is a reproduction, with only slight modifications, of a series of articles recently printed in the New York *Independent.* They are sober and earnest, and they tell working people more wholesome truth than most who, nowadays, write for their reading. But will they hear?

Bible Warnings. Sermons to Children. By Rev. RICHARD NEWTON, Author of "The Jewel Case," etc. 12mo, pp. 384. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. $1 25.

The venerable author of this volume is well known as a successful writer of books for children, of the most pronounced religious character, and especially free from the doubtful and doubt-provoking speculations of one of the same name in this city. These fifteen sermons, very informal talks, are devoted each to some one form of danger, with warnings, telling of dangers and how to avoid them. The book is a wholesome one, and will do good.

The Orient. (Boston Monday Lectures.) With Preludes on Current Events. By JOSEPH COOK. 12mo, pp. 340. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1 50.

This is the annual volume of Mr. Cook's Lectures, containing those delivered in the early part of the current year. They relate chiefly to places and persons visited by him during his travels beyond the sea, with discussions of opinions and doctrines with which he met in his visits. As these lectures were very widely reproduced in print, and largely read immediately after their delivery, their character and scope are well known. Many who then read them in their fugitive form will be glad to have them in a shape more easy of preservation.

Chapel of the Infant Jesus; or, What Nobody Ever Told Me. By Mrs. CHAUNCEY I. FILLEY. 12mo, pp. 226. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1.

Stories for children are the reigning form of Sunday-school literature, and these are of all grades of excellence. This one seems to be among the best. Of its history and purpose the brief Preface says:

> The papers were prepared for and read to the infant-class each Sunday, in connection with and explanatory of the lesson. The increased attention developed an interest throughout the whole school, and finally resulted in a demand for its publication, as an incentive to pleasing, instructive, and successful primary Sunday-school work.

Universalism in America: A History. By RICHARD EDDY, D.D., President of the Universalist Historical Society, etc. Vol. II., 1801–1886, Bibliography. 12mo., pp. 634. Boston: Universalist Publishing House.

The first volume of this work, bringing the record down to the end of the last century, was published about two years ago, and noticed in these pages in the issue of March, 1855. The present volume completes the work, bringing the record to the immediate past. As a history, it is less compactly written than its predecessor, being largely made up of unimportant incidents and personal sketches and memoirs. Its exhibit of the attainments and the work of the denomination is not assuring of large successes in respect to either numerical strength or effective Christian work. The bibliography, filling more than a hundred closely printed pages, with nearly two thousand titles, indicates very patient diligence on the part of the compiler, and it professes to furnish with approximate completeness "a list of all that has been published in America either for or against the doctrine of universal salvation." This catalogue, with a few honorable exceptions, represents a class of works of very small literary value, whether their logic or rhetoric is considered. Most of them are controversial, and of only temporary interest, often answering to some local occasion, and not worthy of the few lines that tell of their existence. The book, as to its material make up, is altogether a creditable production; it will also be of value to the future historian of religious thoughts and movements.

The Amber Star, and A Fair Half-Dozen. By MARY LOWE DICKINSON. 12mo, pp. 365. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

When the General Conference directed our Sunday-school editor to issue a volume each week it seemed to us that it became liable to the censure of making hasty legislation. So the editor and publishers seem to think, and they accordingly obey only in part, and that part will, no doubt, abundantly justify the omission of all besides. We are glad, however, to find that one now appears that will somewhat elevate the low level of the series. Mrs. Dickinson may always be trusted to write a good story, in respect to both its literary character and its moral tone and tendencies, and therefore we commend this volume, made up of two pleasant tales, as among the best of its class.

D. L. Moody at Home: His Home and Home Work: embracing a Description of the Educational Institutions there Established, Together with Some Account of the Various Christian Conferences, and the best Thoughts Therein Exchanged. Helpful Hints and Practical Points. Fully Illustrated. 12mo. pp. 288. Chicago and New York: Fleming H. Revell.

Mr. Moody's books are valuable for their positive excellence, in spite of very serious drawbacks in respect to doctrines, logic, and taste. This volume is partly his own writing and partly written by some of his friends concerning his work. Not the least of its worth is the demonstration it affords of what can be accomplished by the union of zeal and persistent efforts.

Ancient Cities—from the Dawn to the Daylight. By WILLIAM BURNETT WRIGHT, Pastor of the Berkeley Street Church, (Boston.) 16mo., pp. 290. $1 25. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

In twenty-five sections our author introduces to his readers twenty-four ancient cities. The New Jerusalem is honored with a double degree of attention. Some may ask whether it is correctly classed among "ancient" cities, seeing we only know it as a subject of prophecy. The author begins with Ur, to which is also given the descriptive title, "The City of Saints," though just why is not very obvious; and to this follows a succession of biblical cities, each duly characterized, with Jerusalem last of all of those of this world, for the New Jerusalem is the heavenly. The writing is vivacious, and therefore readable, and some things are stated that are worth knowing.

Annie Barton's Journal. The Story of a Life. By Mrs. C. E. WILBUR, Author of *The Thread of Gold.* 12mo, pp. 159. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 75 cents.

Mrs. Wilbur was not unknown before she wrote *The Thread of Gold*, and that publication, in many minds and hearts, simply renewed an old acquaintance rather than originated a new one; and those who have read that work will be the better prepared to appreciate this later one, which is, in some sense, a sequel to that, though complete in itself. It is evidently written with a purpose; of which fact the author gives an intimation in her brief Preface, where she says: "In *Annie Barton's Journal* many things must be understood; much must be read between the lines, and young readers may use their imaginations to draw pictures from their own lives upon canvas here only half filled." It is clearly a much better book than the average of its class.

From Meadow-Sweet to Mistletoe. Verses with Pictures. By MARY A. LATHBURY. 4to. New York: Worthington & Co.

Miss Lathbury appears in this unique volume in the double character of poet and artist, in both parts of which she has before proved her capabilities. Her verses heretofore published have fairly earned for her a creditable standing in the company of poets next below the few great names that are probably destined to survive their own generation; and both the wholesomeness of their moral tone and the common-sense excellence of their taste somewhat add to the value of their artistic finish. The "Pictures" are strictly original, having been reproduced from original drawings. As a holiday-book it deserves a place, especially among juvenile publications.

Vagrant Verses. By JOSEPHINE POLLARD. 16mo, pp. 216. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

On the negative side these "verses" are approximately faultless, nor are they wholly without positive excellences, though the whisper of their music is rather too faint for our dull ears. Mr. J. G. Whittier, with characteristic good nature, says of these poems, "I like them," and his appreciation is high praise.

The Lesson Commentary on the International Sunday School Lessons for 1887. By Rev. J. H. VINCENT, D.D., and Rev. J. L. HURLBUT, D.D. 8vo, pp. 301.

The Senior Lesson-Book. (Berean Series, No. 1.) International Lessons for 1887. 18mo, pp. 215.

The Berean Question Book (Berean Series, No. 2,) on the International Lessons for 1887. 18mo, pp. 192.

The Berean Beginner's Book (Berean Series, No. 3,) on the International Lessons for 1887. 18mo, pp. 204. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

These four books constitute the working text-books of our Sunday-schools for the ensuing year. To thus dictate and fashion the studies of nearly two millions of children and young people, is a work of stupendous responsibility. We are happy to believe that it has been done conscientiously, and with a good degree of ability. The commentary is really a valuable production, and altogether deserving of the careful attention of all teachers and Bible class pupils, and, indeed, of all who would learn in the most natural way, and by the plainest expositions, what is the meaning of the Word.

The Revelation of John Made Plain by the Law of Seven. By LOUIS WEPF. 12mo, pp. 426. Cincinnati. Methodist Book Concern Press.

The assurance that at last the Apocalypse is "made plain" would be very great and good news if it could be relied upon, but with the key here named—"the law of seven"—there may be more doubt respecting the method than the problem to be solved. We have looked into very many "keys" to that wonderful book, but none of them could we use for the intended purpose. A few years ago we set about a thorough study of the book itself, and found that it is very rich, but in many things wholly inexplicable. Possibly the future developments of the truth will do for it what none of the commentators have done—render it intelligible.

The Crisis of Missions; or, The Voice out of the Cloud. By Rev. ARTHUR T. PIERSON, D.D., Author of *The Gospel Flooding the World*, etc. 16mo, pp. 370. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

In this little volume are presented thirty-six views, or aspects, of the cause and conditions of the evangelical missionary work of the Church in all the world. It gives a valuable résumé of the whole subject—the field, the agencies, the work already done, and the conditions and possibilities for the future. It is of the character of a trumpet-blast, calling the Church to its opportunities and duties; sound in its theology and hopeful in spirit.

The Clerical Library. Anecdotes Illustrative of Old Testament Texts. 12mo, pp. 332. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

Somebody—no intimation of his identity is given—has selected and set in order a great number of occurrences and anecdotes in each of which a text from the Old Testament is made to do service. The work indicates great diligence and wide reading, and also good judgment and taste.

HARPER'S YOUNG PEOPLE for 1886 (bound) is a volume to delight any boy or girl, and fit to become a Christmas or New Year's present that will abide in its freshness all the year round. The reading matter is varied, combining instruction and amusement, and uniformly unobjectionable and wholesome. They who have seen and read the weekly numbers as they have appeared will appreciate them still more highly in their collected form, while those who have not before seen them will find the book a wilderness of delights. The cuts, of which there are a multitude, are of a high order of excellence.

Select Poems of Robert Browning. Edited with Notes by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M., and HELOISE E. HERSEY. 16mo, pp. 200. New York: Harper & Brothers.

If Browning is the most un-understandable of poets, Rolfe is the prince of annotators, and the two together have made a pleasant and attractive little bijou.

John Conscience of Kingseal. By JOHN M. BAMFORD, Author of *Elias Power*, etc. 12mo, pp. 226.

Left in the Wilderness. By MARY A. ROE, Author of *Forging their own Chains.* 12mo, pp. 235. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Two pleasant volumes, with a not specially high tone, but accomplishing what they attempt. Good books of their class.

Castle Nowhere; Lake-Country Sketches. By CONSTANCE FENIMORE WOOLSON. Author of *East Angels*, etc. 18mo, pp. 386. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The *Lake-Country* of this story is American, not that of the English poets. The story itself is of the regulation pattern, not bad of its kind.

That Quinset House. By Mrs. NATHANIEL CONKLIN (Jennie M. Drinkwater). 12mo, pp. 518. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

A tale or romance with a decidedly moral and religious purpose, fairly well written, a little too "long drawn out."

Out of the Breakers. By EDWARD A. RAND, Author of *Up-the-Ladder-Club Series.* 12mo., pp. 336. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Mr. Rand writes good stories, as the readers of the *Up-the-Ladder-Club Series* know very well, and his reputation will not probably suffer any loss by this latest venture.

Toward the Gulf: A Romance of Louisiana. 16mo, pp. 315. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Rodman the Keeper. Southern Sketches. By CONSTANCE FENIMORE WOOLSON, Author of "East Angels," etc. 16mo, pp. 339. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A Demigod. A Novel. 16mo, pp. 337. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Illustrated Catholic Family Almanac for 1887. 16mo, pp. 120. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Company.

Baptismal Remission; or, the Design of Christian Baptism. By Rev. G. W. HUGHEY, D.D. 16mo, pp. 149. Carthage, Mo.

HARPER'S HANDY SERIES (Latest Issues).—91. *A Wicked Girl.* By MARY CECIL HAY. 92. *The Long Lane.* By ETHEL COXON. 93. *Francis.* A Socialistic Romance. By M. DAL VERO. 94. *Baptized with a Curse.* By EDITH STEWART DREWRY. 95. *Comediettas and Farces.* By JOHN MADDISON MORTON. 96. *Marcella Grace.* By ROSA MULHOLLAND. 97. *The Phantom City.* By WILLIAM WESTALL. 98. *Joan Wentworth.* By K. S. MACQUOID. 99. *A Voyage to the Cape.* By W. CLARK RUSSELL. 100. *In Scorn of Consequences.* By THEODORA CORRIE. 101. *The Chaplain's Craze.* By GEORGE MANVILLE FENN. 102. *Between Two Loves.* By AMELIA E. BARR.

HARPER'S FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY (Latest Issues).—541. *St. Briavels.* By MARY DEANE. 542. *Ottilie.* By VERNON LEE. The Prince of the 100 Soups. Edited by Vernon Lee. 543. *Ancient American Politics.* By HUGH J. HASTINGS. 544. *Both in the Wrong.* By Mrs. J. K. SPENDER. 545. *Autobiography of Leigh Hunt.* 546. *Clare of Claresmede.* By CHARLES GIBBON. 547. *The Touchstone of Peril.* By R. E. FORREST. 548. *This Man's Wife.* By GEORGE MANVILLE FENN. 549. *Paston Carew.* By Mrs. E. LYNN LINTON. 550. *Sir James Appleby, Bart.* By K. S. MACQUOID. 551. *Children of Gibeon.* By WALTER BESANT, 552. *King Solomon's Mines.* By H. RIDER HAGGARD.

PAMPHLETS.

An Illustrated Hand Book on Africa: Giving an Account of its People, its Climate, its Resources, its Discoveries, and some of its Missions. By Rev. EDWARD DAVIES. Author of the *Life of William Taylor*, etc. 12mo, pp. 91. Price 25 cents. Holiness Book Concern, Reading, Mass.

A Defense of the Superstitions of Science. Delivered before Vanderbilt University. June 15, 1886. By CHARLES F. DEEMS, LL.D. 8vo, pp. 24. New York: W. F. Ketchum.

Third Annual Report of the United States Civil Service Commission. January 16, 1885, to January 16, 1886. Third Edition. 8vo, pp. 125. Washington (D. C.) Government Printing Office.

The Great Debate. A Verbatim Report of the Discussion at the Meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, held at Des Moines, Ia., Thursday, October 7, 1886. 8vo, pp. 86. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Communion of Saints. From the Lutheran Quarterly, October, 1886. By Professor J. W. RICHARDS. 8vo, pp. 22. Springfield, O.

Outline Thoughts on Prohibition. By (Bishop) S. M. MERRILL. 16mo, pp. 79. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Amanda Smith; or, the Life and Mission of a Slave Girl. By MARSHALL W. TAYLOR, D.D. 16mo, pp. 63. Printed for the Author. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Yours sincerely

J. M. Sholem

METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1887.

ART. I.—MALAYSIA.

THE Chinese are often ridiculed for their persistent adherence to a system of geography which makes their own country the center of the world; and their grotesque maps afford equal wonder and amusement to every European school-boy who chances to see them. The Chinese, however, are not alone in cherishing hazy notions of the geography of foreign lands. In all lands geography is taught in such a way as to impress the pupils with the notion that their own country is about equal to the rest of the world, and this early impression is very apt to linger all through life. It is a common habit of even intelligent persons to think of all foreign countries as they were accustomed to look at them in the little school atlas in which all maps were of the same size, and the difference in scale but little observed. The average American finds it hard to forgive the European who fails to appreciate the immense extent of territory embraced in the Great Republic; but when he himself passes from Europe over to Asia he forgets in turn how very much larger that vast continent is than his own America. Let us suppose, for instance, that the Philippine Islands are mentioned. He knows that there is such a group to the south-east of Asia, and that Manilla cigars and a valuable kind of hemp are produced there; but he thinks of the islands as he does of the Bahamas, a few little green points rising out of the sea; islets rather than islands, and of little or no importance to the world at large. He is as ignorant as a Chinaman of the fact that one of these islands is as large as the State of

Ohio, that a second is as large as Indiana, and that the whole group contains an area almost exactly equal to that of Italy, and capable of sustaining, without crowding, a population of thirty millions. The Bahamas might be added to, or subtracted from, the Philippines without making any appreciable difference in the extent of the group.

As with the Philippines so with the vast archipelago of which they form a part. Lying between Asia and Australia, and covering a sea area 1,300 miles wide by 4,000 in length, it is the most wonderful island region of the globe. After Australia (itself a continent) the largest and second largest islands in the world are found here—New Guinea and Borneo; the former nearly one and a half times as large as France, and the latter as large as the whole Austrian empire. The land area of the whole group is nearly equal to all Europe except Russia; and this magnificent belt of islands is certainly entitled to take rank as one of the grand divisions of the globe, instead of a collection of barbarous islets in an almost unknown sea. In order to impress his English readers with a true conception of the vast extent of some of these islands, Mr. Wallace, in his work on the Malay Archipelago, published a small map of Borneo, with Great Britain and Ireland, and all their interjacent waters, put down in its center, where they were wholly surrounded by a sea of forests. This island has a coast line of 3,000 miles, omitting the smaller bays and headlands, while New Guinea, which is both larger and more irregular in shape, has a coast line which, though not yet accurately measured, is longer very considerably.

These islands, though constituting one group on the map, are divided ethnographically into two distinct families, the Malayan and the Papuan. The great islands of Sumatra, Java, and Borneo are separated from the Asiatic continent by seas so shallow that ships can anchor almost anywhere in them; and it seems extremely probable that, at a not very remote period of the earth's history, these islands formed a part of the mainland. In like manner the Philippines, at probably an earlier period, were detached from the continent by a depression of the intervening surface. In precisely the same way New Guinea and other islands near the Australian coast were probably separated from the Australian mainland; and thus we

have in the great island group an Asiatic and an Australian section. The productions of the two groups strikingly sustain this theory of the origin of this division. The animals and birds found in Sumatra, Java, and Borneo are the same as those found in the Malay Peninsula, or with differences no more marked than is common in widely separated regions on the mainland. In New Guinea and adjacent islands, on the other hand, the peculiar marks of an Australian origin are found every-where. The marsupial animals for which Australia is famous, the honeysuckers, lories, brush-turkeys, and other birds which have been supposed to belong only to Australia, are found on these islands, and are never found beyond the deep straits which separate them from the Asiatic group, although so near to them. Borneo is not more unlike Australia than Java is unlike New Guinea, although in point of climate and general character the two islands are very much alike.

The inhabitants of these two groups of islands differ no less unmistakably than their animals and birds. On the west we have the Malays, and on the east the Papuans; and although many tribes and subdivisions may be found among both these ethnic families, the general distinction is every-where easily recognizable. The Malay is an Asiatic, and the Papuan is a Polynesian. The Malay is short of stature, with a reddish-brown complexion, beardless face, straight black hair, and broad and rather flat face. The Papuan is taller, with black frizzly hair and beard, dark and sometimes black complexion, with thick lips and broad nostrils, and looks as little like a Malay as an African resembles an American Indian. In natural ability he is probably more than equal to his Malay neighbor; but the latter has had the advantage of a longer contact with civilization, and for the present, at least, stands higher in the estimation of the outside world than the Papuan. The Malays inhabit, or at least are the predominant race in, the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, the Philippines, and part of the Moluccas, and these islands, together with the Peninsula, which is itself, practically, an island, constitute Malaysia proper.

But even when thus restricted the Malay has still a splendid home for his race. The land area embraced within its boundaries amounts to more than 700,000 square miles. The soil is

nearly all productive, while the mineral resources are extremely valuable. The peninsula is the Golden Chersonese of which Milton sings, and from the remotest antiquity it has been famous for its gold and gems. Its mountains are stored with tin enough to supply the whole world. Sumatra is the richest of the islands in minerals; but, like all the large islands except Java, it has been but slightly explored, and the extent of its mineral wealth is imperfectly known. Borneo is known to be rich in minerals, and clothed in forests of valuable timber, while rumors of gold deposits, and of copper and iron, and last, but perhaps most valuable of all, of vast coal beds, are exciting the interest and cupidity of the ever-increasing swarms of adventurers who wander up and down the earth. Throughout the whole region, with the exception of a few small tracts, the land is fertile, and adapted to the growth of all kinds of tropical products. The forests are rich in timber, the gardens in spices, the orchards in fruits, the fields in the many forms of tropical food productions, and the whole region capable if properly cultivated of sustaining a vast population. If peopled as densely as Java is at present, Borneo alone would contain a population of more than 100,000,000 souls, and the whole region of Malaysia would contain not less than 250,000,000. Or, if it be objected that Java is an exceptionally rich island, and hence the estimate an unfair one, let the sleepy old island of Sicily be taken as the standard of comparison, and the result, if not so amazing, is still striking enough. If peopled only as densely as Sicily is at the present day, Borneo would still have a population equal to that of the United States, while the whole Malaysian region would have four times as many inhabitants as France. It is not necessary, however, to make any reduction of the higher estimate. Java, although sustaining a large population, is not half so densely peopled as some portions of the valley of the Ganges; and her 16,000,000 will no doubt become 30,000,000 at a not remote day, while the less favored islands around her will advance to a position at least equal to that which she now occupies.

The capacity of tropical lands for sustaining vast populations of easy-going people is not easily appreciated by those who are familiar only with the highly artificial life of Europe and America. In some of these islands a single sago palm yields

enough food to support a man for a year, and the tree can be purchased and its pulp turned into food for the sum of three dollars. In the immediate vicinity of Singapore tapioca is found growing wild by the roadside, and its roots are so cheap in the market that many planters have abandoned its cultivation as no longer remunerative. Rice is very indifferently cultivated by the partially civilized natives of all the interior regions, but both soil and climate favor its growth, and a rice-producing country can support a much larger population than one producing maize or wheat. But it must not be supposed that the people who are thus bountifully fed get only food enough from the soil to sustain life. They can make all the nations of the world tributary to them; and their spices and their fruits, their sugar, coffee, cocoa, hemp, tobacco, and other products, will give them ample means with which to purchase all the appliances of civilization which an advancing people need. If the poor cultivator can purchase his daily food for a nominal price, he can also find means for surrounding himself with much of the world's luxuries. On the island of Singapore a season's yield of a single durion tree, a favorite fruit, is sold for from fifty to seventy-five dollars, while yet the fruit is half-grown upon the tree.

The fact that nearly all this vast region is but sparsely populated is usually accepted as a proof that there is some serious drawback either in climate or soil, or in liability to pestilence or earthquakes. Gorgeous pictures of these have been painted by occasional voyagers among these islands, but it does not appear that any such have been discovered. A long volcanic belt extends through the middle of the Archipelago, from Sumatra to the Philippines, but the frequent and violent earthquakes which occur in the vicinity of this volcanic region do not seem to perceptibly hinder the growth of the population. People soon learn not to be alarmed about such things, and Java, which is more severely scourged by earthquakes than any other part of the world, is not only the most prosperous of all the islands, but the richest tropical island on the globe, while Borneo, in which volcanoes and earthquakes are unknown, is sparsely settled, and by a people in a low state of civilization. As to climate, this whole region is as healthful as the West Indies, and much more so than Central America.

Here, as every-where else in the tropics, low marshy lands occasion malarial fevers, sometimes of a malignant character, but not worse in any respect than is common in similar regions in both the Old and New Worlds. The temperature is much more equable than in regions farther from the equator, and the heat is never so oppressive as during more than half the year in northern India. In some places Europeans (especially free livers) will be apt to suffer from fevers, but, taking the whole region together, no part of the tropics will be found more friendly to the European constitution.

The true explanation, both of the sparseness of the population and the backwardness of the people in civilization, is found in the fact that the Malays are a race of pirates as were our own forefathers, and for centuries past they have not only been averse to the quiet ways of civilized life themselves, but have hovered around the coasts of their beautiful islands like so many armed blockaders, sealing up every harbor against the entrance of better and more peaceful people. The advent of the Europeans into the Archipelago did not put an end to the depredations of these pirates, partly because at first the Europeans were little more than pirates themselves, and at a later period they did not care to follow the little *prans* of the pirates into regions where they had no interests at stake, and no hopes of opening up a profitable commerce. Only recently have determined and successful efforts been made to put down piracy throughout the Archipelago, and now for the first time this fair region is beginning to have a chance to take the place in the world to which its natural advantages entitle it. Added to the scourge of piracy on the coast has been the curse of interminable strife and misrule in the interior. Rival chiefs have been engaged in interminable tribal wars, and with their jealousies and strife have stood in the way of civilization. Wherever a stable government has been established, with assured protection to all races and all creeds, thither settlers have flocked in vast crowds, and have quickly demonstrated that these rich and beautiful islands only need the protection of a strong government to make them the homes of prosperous and mighty nations. At three points on the Peninsula, and on the little island of Singapore, the English have established settlements, the whole being under the authority of a colonial gov-

ernor with a legislative council. The result is, that within the limits of these four settlements there is already a settled and exceedingly prosperous population, numbering no less than four hundred to the square mile. In the adjacent Malay territory, equally productive and equally attractive in its natural advantages, the population is estimated at but little more than nine to the square mile. The prosperity of Java under the firm but somewhat rough hand of the Dutch has already been referred to, and similar results are very rapidly developing themselves in Sarawak, where the nephew and successor of the famous Rajah Brooke is building up a strong and prosperous Malay state.

If it were certain that the dark days of Malaysia are over, and a bright future assured to her, it would become at once a most interesting question to determine who and what the people are to be who shall possess this rich heritage. Those who know the Malays are not sanguine that as a race they will ever prove worthy of so magnificent an opportunity as would then be set before them, and it is perhaps want of faith in them, rather than want of appreciation of their island home, which leads many thoughtful persons to speak doubtingly of the future of the Archipelago. For the present the Malays are in possession, and in discussing the future of the islands their character becomes a leading and most important factor in the problem.

Not very many years ago our children were taught in their school geographies that the human race was divided into five great families, among whom the Malay and the American Indian occupied the fourth and fifth places. The Chinaman was the typical Mongolian, and no affinity was suspected between him and the Malay. This system of classification was given up years ago, but ethnologists have been slow in assigning a new place to the Malay people. Tradition traces their origin back to a tribe that lived on the north coast of Sumatra, and migrated thence to the mainland near the site of Malacca, and it is generally admitted that the Malay language is spoken in greater purity there than in any other part of the Archipelago. But beyond this slight trace nothing else has been discovered about their origin, and very little is known of their history. They are scattered very widely, and speak many languages and

dialects, and different tribes are often mistaken for members of distinct races; but they are one as the American Indians, while differing as those differ in language and tribal peculiarities. The agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society at Singapore sells Scriptures in thirty-seven different languages, most of which are spoken on the islands of the Archipelago. While these numerous tribes and dialects are found scattered over the islands, the mass of the people may be separated into four great divisions: 1. The typical Malays, who inhabit the Peninsula and the coast regions of Sumatra and Borneo; 2. The Javanese, who inhabit Java and parts of numerous adjacent islands; 3. The Bugis, who inhabit the larger portion of Celebes; and, 4. The Tagalas, who inhabit the Philippine Islands. These four divisions are often spoken of as so many different races, but they are all members of the same ethnic family, and they are themselves marked by lines of separation, more or less distinct, between various subdivisions. The Dyaks of Borneo, and other similar tribes, are often spoken of as aborigines, but they are thought by the best authorities to be but ancient branches of the common Malay family. There has been more or less amalgamation with other races in some places, especially in the neighborhood of the Papuans on the east; and a few members of other, and probably more ancient, races, are found scattered among the Malay masses; but still the population may be correctly said to be distinctly Malay in its character in every island, and up the Peninsula as far as Tenasserim.

Mr. Wallace is inclined to think, and his opinion is supported by very weighty reasons, that the Malays were originally Chinamen, with a later admixture of some foreign blood, and modified by a long residence in an isolated region. A striking, and indeed almost conclusive, evidence in support of this theory was found in the appearance of a party of Chinamen on one of the islands, who had adopted the Malay style of dress, and who in this costume were so much like the real Malays that Mr. Wallace found some difficulty in distinguishing between the two. Future and more careful research will probably show that the leading races in south-eastern Asia are all descended from the same original stock with the Chinese.

It is not easy to write confidently of the Malay character. For centuries they have been represented as treacherous, vin-

dictive, and cruel, and not many apologists have come forward to speak in their favor. It is more than probable, however, that they are a much better people than the outer world has given them credit for. It is not to be expected that a people who have been known to the world chiefly as a race of pirates will be spoken of very highly; and it is easy to understand how their character has been painted in too black colors. As to their treachery, a gentleman in Singapore said to the writer, "I have lived among them in their villages for months, having my family with me, and I assure you I never felt safer in my life." It may generally be taken for granted that indiscriminate denunciations of a whole people are exaggerated, if not groundless; and it may be assumed at once that the Malays have not a monopoly of all the bad and base qualities which are claimed for them. At the same time, it may be freely admitted that they have furnished some grounds for the grievous accusations laid against them; but even when this is conceded it does not follow hopelessly that they are incapable of better things. Man is generally found poised midway between the character of a saint and that of a devil; and the presence of startling evil in a member of the race is no proof that the possibilities of the highest virtues do not co-exist with the evil. The Anglo-Saxon race has inherited enough treachery and cruelty to sink a dozen nations; and we are the last people to take up stones against tribes and nations which have never enjoyed a tithe of our advantages. It is more than probable that the Malays, under a settled government and controlled by a firm hand, will rapidly settle down into a quiet and peaceable people, and quickly forget the bloody practices by which, in darker days, they earned their evil reputation. In many regions they are even now as orderly and peaceable, if not as industrious, as the inoffensive people of North India, who less than a generation ago went armed like so many assassins.

Moral delinquencies, however, are not the only accusations laid to the charge of the Malays. They are averse to hard labor and industrious habits; are improvident and indolent in disposition; fond of cock-fighting and childish sports; are inveterately addicted to gambling; and altogether seem to lack those qualities which are absolutely indispensable to a people who would rise in the scale of civilization to a place of respectability

among the great family of nations. It must be confessed that the Malay does not seem a very hopeful member of the industrial world; but it hardly becomes the descendants of the ancient pirates of the north of Europe to pronounce a hasty judgment upon the modern pirates of the East. The Malays may not rise rapidly as a people, but they are clearly not destined to perish rapidly from the earth. The Javanese are increasing rapidly, and are advancing moderately in civilization; and it is reasonable to expect that other sections of the common family may yet flourish in like manner.

During recent years a new race-factor has been introduced into these islands, and one which is destined not only to be permanent, but to exercise a most important influence upon the future of the country and the race. The Chinaman has made his advent in Malaysia, and has come to stay. He is the Anglo-Saxon of the tropics, and will push his way wherever land awaits cultivation or mines invite exploration. In the whole history of the human race there have been few more curious or more interesting episodes than the modern opening of the gates of China and the outpouring of her millions upon the rest of the world. They are overflowing, and will continue to overflow, East and South; and no hostile legislation, and no opposition, can permanently arrest their course. The world has much to fear, but more to hope, from their irruption. They are the men above all others who are to subdue the jungles of the tropics, and make the wilderness blossom as the rose. They will do for Malaysia what the present inhabitants cannot do, and what no other people can be expected to do. They do not seek these beautiful islands merely to earn wages, and after a brief sojourn to return to their own land, but they make their homes in the new land to which they go, marry the daughters of the people, and identify themselves with all the interests of the country of their adoption.

In both Singapore and Penang the Chinese already constitute a large majority of the population, and are beyond comparison the richest and most prosperous part of the general community. In both cities the second and even third generations of "Straits-born," that is, of Malaysia-born-Chinese, are found, and in both cities these are the leading people of the community. They cherish no dream of returning to the land

of their ancestors, and they not only take pride in the fact that they are British subjects, but speak with unaffected contempt of "those Chinamen," as they designate the China-born portion of the community to which they belong. Owing to the religious prejudices of the Mohammedan Malays, very few of these Chinese settlers have married native wives; but in other parts of Malaysia intermarriages with the natives are very common, as is also the case in Borneo, to which country the Chinese are flocking in large numbers. Thus far, nearly all these settlers retain the peculiar costume of their race; but in other respects they imitate Europeans freely, and manifest a spirit of enterprise which augurs well for their future progress.

What is witnessed in these two cities will probably be repeated, with modifications, all over the islands. The Chinese will penetrate every-where, will take the lead in every form of industrial enterprise; will become, in time, amalgamated with the present inhabitants; and thus there will gradually rise up a new people combining in their character the patient power of application of the Chinaman with the pride and courage of the Malay. In other words, a new race will ultimately, and at no distant day, appear upon the stage, and enter upon a career of progress worthy of the splendid heritage which God in his providence appears to be preparing for it.

In discussing the probable future of these commingling races, the question of language naturally presents itself, and suggests some curious and interesting phenomena. The Malay language, as spoken in northern Sumatra, Malacca, and Singapore, is the *lingua franca* of the whole region from Java to the Philippines, and from Penang to the Moluccas. It is a very simple language, in an elementary stage of development, without any proper inflections, and with but a very limited literature; and yet it seems to possess a wonderful power of making other tongues give way before it. The Chinese born at Singapore use it as their mother tongue, and in that city the singular spectacle is witnessed of a congregation of Christian Chinamen meeting regularly to worship God in a tongue unknown to their ancestors. It is easily learned, and is every-where understood. It had been reduced to writing by the Mohammedans before the advent of the Europeans, the ordinary Persi-Arabic letters being used with slight modifications. A Romanized

alphabet has been introduced since the European era, and will no doubt be the character used by the people generally when they become a reading people. It is not to be supposed that all the other languages, particularly the Javanese and the Tagala, will be discarded quickly, and the Malay be adopted in their stead; but it is extremely probable the latter will prevail more and more as the people become Christianized and civilized, and that the less important dialects will disappear before it in a few generations. In the meantime the Malay language itself will no doubt undergo great changes, and ere it becomes the common tongue of a hundred millions of people will probably assimilate to itself many new elements of strength, and become a polished, and, possibly, even an elegant tongue.

But, all speculation aside, it is an interesting and hopeful fact, interesting alike to the missionary, the merchant, the scientist, and the statesman, that such a language exists, and can be used as a common medium of intercourse through all the vast extent of the Malay Archipelago. It simplifies the task which Christianity and civilization alike have set before them, to enlighten and elevate a mighty people—it might almost be said one of the grand divisions of the globe. If this imperfect Malay tongue is not fitted to be all to the missionary of the present day that Greek was to Paul and his companions, it is nevertheless an invaluable aid to the evangelist who sets out upon voyages longer than any which Paul ever made, and among a people scattered over a sea nearly twice as large as the Mediterranean.

From what has been already said it is sufficiently evident that the future prospects of Malaysia are dependent almost absolutely upon the existence of a strong and permanent government throughout the islands. The people cannot rise in the scale of civilization without the protection of a civilized government, and it becomes a most important question then to determine the probable political destiny of these so long neglected regions.

It may as well be assumed at once that the political power which is to make their development possible must be European. It is useless, absolutely useless, to indulge in abstract theories about national independence, and the rights of uncivilized peoples. The stern and very distressing facts of

a long and gloomy history assure us that such countries can never rise an inch in the social and political scale if left to themselves. Possibly these islands might struggle up in the course of a thousand years of bloody history to a better position, but it is just as possible, and more probable, that they might sink lower. Nor is it to be taken for granted so lightly that the nations of Europe have no right to interfere, and thrust their authority upon people who do not ask for it, and who, it is to be assumed, do not want it. If it is right to drive pirates from the high seas, it is right to repress their violence on the land as well. If slave-traders are to be hunted up and down every coast, surely they should be pursued on land in like manner; and the necessity which justifies the naval cruiser in the one case will justify the military officer who conquers and rules in the other. Our beautiful globe belongs to the human race, and no part of it should be given over to perpetual barbarism and violence. If the inhabitants of any land cannot maintain and protect a peaceful and orderly civilization, it becomes the duty of the civilized nations most interested to step in and undertake the task for them.

The providence of God is manifestly leading the nations of Europe to lay their strong hands upon all the barbarous regions of the globe, and by repressing violence and introducing order to render possible the speedy civilization of all races, and the evangelization of all the nations, kindreds, and tribes that sit in darkness. The nations which do the work may not be prompted by the highest or noblest motives—may not, indeed, know the full meaning of what they are doing, or they may even in some cases aim to accomplish the very opposite of that which God designs—but none the less are they working out his great purposes. The present eagerness—it might almost be called the present craze—on the part of the European powers to acquire territory in all parts of the uncivilized world may not be an evidence of the highest wisdom on the part of European statesmen, but it is certainly one of the signs of our stirring times; civilization and barbarism can no longer share our common earth between them. The whole vast continent of Africa will before many years be subject to Christian law, and the same destiny is beyond doubt in store for the great islands which beautify the wide expanse of the Eastern seas.

When the vast extent as well as the rich resources of these islands is considered, it cannot but excite surprise that they have been so long neglected, and that the early strife for their possession has so long given place to indifference and neglect on the part of all European nations, with the single and very notable exception of Holland. Three centuries ago all Europe was filled with the fame of these islands. Their rich spices, their luscious fruits, their birds of paradise, their gold and gems were found in every land, and for many years no richer East was known than that discovered by the early adventurers who first made their way into these unknown seas. The first to come were the Portuguese, who settled at Malacca as early as 1511, where they fixed the seat of what then bid fair to become a vast dependency of their empire. The Spaniards were the next to follow, and in 1565 they established themselves at Manilla, in the Philippines. The first English expedition, under Drake, reached the islands in 1578, and the first Dutch arrival was in 1594. In those unhappy days all such adventurers were little better than so many pirates. Their respective countries might be at peace in Europe, but it mattered little to the desperate men who sought wealth and fame in these ends of the earth. They not only made war against one another, but robbed and plundered with impunity, and seemed as little as possible like the forerunners of the men who in later years were to teach the islanders the arts of civilization and peace. It would be a thankless task to try to give even a brief sketch of the many struggles which took place among these ancient rivals. Cities were taken and retaken; islands were ceded to one and then to another; change followed change, until after two and a half centuries Holland remains the rich possessor of an empire, Spain holds the Philippines, while England, as is her wont, keeps a firm hand upon the key position of the whole region. Portugal has retired altogether, and little trace of her former glory now remains.

It is not generally known that the great East India Company was originally organized to trade, not with India, but with Malaysia, and but for an untoward event which took place at a critical moment the great Company might have worked out its destiny in another sphere than that of India. The early English adventurers did not set foot in India for twenty-seven

years after their first arrival in Malaysia, and Bantam was the English head-quarters in the East until it was superseded by Madras in 1653. In those bitter days the Dutch and English were in a state of chronic feud, and vigorously opposed each other all through the East. It so happened that an English vessel, with a crew half English and half Japanese, was seized by the Dutch at Amboyna, and captain and crew were alike cruelly put to death. This happened in the year 1623; and although the vessel was small, and the officers and crew few in number, the tragedy made a profound impression, and to this day is uniformly spoken of in the East as the "massacre of Amboyna." Its immediate effect, however, was such as no one could have anticipated. Dreading a similar fate the English traders determined to turn toward India for a time, and in doing so quickly discovered a wider and richer field for their enterprise than that which they had found so perilous. From that day the English trade was diverted in the direction of India, and very soon the foundations began to be laid of the greatest empire which Asia has ever seen. But for this hideous little tragedy happening in one of the most remote corners of the earth, and turning aside the current of what was yet to become a mighty and irresistible stream, England might to-day have been the possessor of the Archipelago, while India would probably have been a French empire.

The immense value of the Dutch East Indies to Holland is little known to the world at large, but is fully appreciated by the Dutch themselves. The amount of territory claimed by them is equal to the whole of Germany in area, and contains a population of 22,000,000.. Among colonial possessions held by European powers it ranks second only to British India. Its trade with Holland is equal to half the trade of India with England, while its ample revenue suffices not only to maintain an efficient army and a vigorous government in the islands, but enriches Holland in a way and to an extent which is unknown in the relations of India with England.

But while the success of the Dutch in administering the affairs of their Eastern possessions challenges our admiration, their policy has not escaped deserved censure, and even now, after many reforms, it is unworthy of so noble a people. The rigid monopoly so long held by the old East India Company,

but which the English people would not permanently tolerate, was assumed by the Dutch government itself, and in some of its features is retained to the present day. This monopoly was not merely commercial, but embraced the produce of the land as well, and was carried to such an extent that when the Dutch assumed a monopoly of the growth of nutmegs they deliberately cut down all the nutmeg-trees on the islands except those which grew in its own reserved lands. The price of the various kinds of field produce was fixed each year by authority, and the patient cultivators were obliged to sell to government not at the price which their products were worth, but at that which would enable their paternal rulers to realize a large profit in the general market. This system has been warmly defended, even by English writers, as admirably suited to the condition of the people at their present stage of civilization; but a single glance will suffice to show that every such system must tend to foster abuses, while it will just as certainly repress enterprise and hinder all healthy progress. There has been a vigorous agitation in Holland upon the subject during recent years, and some of the most odious features of the policy have been relaxed; but even yet restrictions are laid upon settlers in those islands such as are unknown in British India, and such as would not be tolerated for a day if an attempt were made to enforce them.

Another complaint made against the Dutch is, that they have been very slow in reducing wild and barbarous districts to order, and that they do not trouble themselves to extend civilization except in regions where civilization can be made profitable. Thus, while claiming the southern half of the island of Borneo, they have done little or nothing to open up that vast island to the world, or even to explore its interior. In the large island of Celebes they have similar claims which they feebly enforce, while in the western end of Sumatra they have been carrying on a desultory warfare with the Achinese for six or seven years past; a war, too, which unhappily is believed by most persons in the East to be as unjust as it has been unsuccessful.

The Spaniards have succeeded in the Philippines about as well as, but certainly not much better than, they have done with Cuba. They know the value of their possession, and will hold it with a desperate grasp; but they are unfitted in every way

for any responsibility. Their rule is better than the devastation of pirates or the ravages of warring chieftains, but while they know how to make civilization possible they know neither how to root it in the soil nor to stimulate its growth.

The British possessions in Malaysia are not large, but are important and destined to expand widely at no distant day. Content, and more than content, with India, English statesmen have, as a general rule, been averse to further acquisitions of territory in the East, and hence for many years no effort was made to gain a foothold in the south-east except so far as would enable England to command the Straits of Malacca, which was the pathway to China and the Pacific. For this purpose Penang, Malacca, and Singapore answered sufficiently well, and for years it seemed improbable that England would ever make any serious attempt to gain possession of any of the islands in the Archipelago. She had once held Java, but had given it back to Holland; had held a part of Sumatra, and had ceded it to the same power; had held the Philippines, and had given them back to Spain; and there seemed no reason to expect that she would ever again appear upon the scene as a claimant of Malaysian territory.

That, however, which national policy refused to do private enterprise has successfully accomplished. The story of Sir James Brooke, more familiarly known in the East as Rajah Brooke, and his adventures at Sarawak, in north-western Borneo, will always take a leading place in the history of Malaysia. Never since the days of William Penn has any European accomplished a nobler task in bringing a vigorous European civilization in contact with barbarism, and in substituting public order and safety for anarchy and outrage, without at the same time permitting the blight of European vice to destroy the people who were subjects of the change. Without violence or fraud, and with the free consent of his future subjects, he assumed the sovereignty of a large territory, established a stable government, put down piracy, introduced an excellent code of laws, and opened up a new career to all classes of the population. His nephew succeeded to the throne at his death, and is successfully carrying on the government, and extending the boundaries of the new State.

Another important step, fraught with the most momentous

possibilities, was taken a few years ago by the formal incorporation of the North Borneo Trading Company. This vigorous company not only carries on trade, but holds territory, collects public revenue, and administers affairs, very much after the same manner as the old East India Company was wont to do, and its career thus far has been highly prosperous. Chinese and other settlers are flocking to the newly opened territory, and the settlement is already recognized as one of the most important points in the Archipelago. Its future can be predicted almost with certainty. It will acquire more territory, advance inland, as well as lengthen its coast line, and in connection with the protected state of Sarawak eventually make the English the controlling political power of Borneo.

In the Malay Peninsula the early extension of English influence, if not of direct English rule, may be regarded as fully assured. No other European power will compete for the possession of this region, or would be allowed to seize any part of it if disposed to do so. Whether by annexation, or by the policy of making native states "protected" territory, the whole region will probably be brought under direct English influence, and, in such a case, will at once enter upon a career of rapid and steady prosperity. It is the inevitable result of every contact of European civilization with any form of barbarism or low civilization that the lower and weaker gives way before the higher and stronger, and sooner or later submits to its authority. The only way to prevent this result is to keep the two systems from close contact. The English have already gained a foothold at several points on the Peninsula, and it will be nearly impossible for them long to maintain their present position without being compelled to advance still farther.

But, questions of territory aside, the possession of the Straits of Malacca, and the rise of the great city of Singapore at the point which is unquestionably the key to the whole vast region, give the English a position which never can be second to that held by any other power in Malaysia. Batavia is nearly four times as large as Singapore, but to the world at large the smaller city is by far the more important of the two. Manilla is more than twice as large, but in commercial and political importance falls far behind Singapore. The beautiful and thriving city which sits embowered among her gardens at the

farthest point of Asia has one of the finest positions in the world, and must always be the great commercial emporium, not of an island merely, but of all the islands in those Eastern seas. Whatever political changes may occur in the future, this city and the Peninsula behind it will remain in English hands, and from this great center will go out the most powerful influences, commercial, religious, and social, which will be felt among all the people who speak the Malay tongue.

Before dismissing the question of the political future of these islands, it may be well enough to notice briefly the recent entrance of Germany upon this part of the world's wide stage. A few months ago the Eastern world was surprised, if not startled, and the Australians intensely exasperated, by the announcement that the German government had annexed a large portion of New Guinea, together with some large and important islands in the eastern part of the Archipelago. Nothing could have been more unexpected than such an announcement as this; and so contrary was it to all the precedents and traditions of German policy that for a time many well-informed persons refused to believe the story. In a very short time, however, all doubt was dispelled, and the world learned that the great Bismarck had, in the midst of all the vast interests of European politics, found time to turn his attention in the direction of these rich islands, and had committed the empire to the policy which England and Holland had so long found both politically and commercially profitable. Whatever the great German statesman does is sure to attract the attention of all the world; and hence it is not to be wondered at that this most unexpected move has created an endless amount of speculation and discussion. Not a few have been quick to predict an utter failure to this attempt at what they are pleased to call colonization, while many others express surprise that this remote and barbarous region should have been selected for a new experiment of this kind. It is not probable, however, that any serious attempt will be made to plant colonies on these far-off tropical shores, ill-adapted as they are to European colonists; and it is quite possible that the far-seeing Bismarck had other thoughts in his mind when he determined to assume a share in the work of civilizing these islands. If, as is generally believed, he accepts the political doctrine that the union of Hol-

land with Germany is merely a question of time, and if, as is quite possible, he regards this union as probably a not very distant contingency, it may be that he is only beginning to adapt his policy to the theory that Germany will soon have a vast interest in the Malay Archipelago, and that what is now Hollandish India will soon become German India.

Such a thought is startling enough, but as yet it is only a thought. The Eastern dreams of European statesmen have been disappointed too often to make it worth while to devote much attention to the plans of even Prince Bismarck. Should, however, such a contingency ever occur, the change would very possibly be for the better. Whatever the Dutch may be in their own land, abroad they are less liberal than the Germans, and it is by no means certain that any valuable interest would suffer in consequence of the change.

As a field for missionary enterprise Malaysia offers many attractions, and its importance must increase very rapidly in the future. An impression has gone out into all the Protestant world that this is a barren field, and that the Malay people are peculiarly inaccessible to the Christian missionary, but it does not appear that this impression is by any means well founded. The Mohammedan Malays, like all Mohammedans, are actively opposed to the spread of Christianity, but not more so than in North India. It must be remembered, however, that the inhabitants of the islands are not all Mohammedans; and the more primitive tribes, often called aborigines, are much more ready to receive the Gospel than the Hindus.

Among the Mohammedans, too, are found, as in Bengal, many nominal adherents who are not very firmly grounded in the faith of Islam, and who are not specially averse to Christianity. It is estimated that there are at present two hundred and fifty thousand nominal Protestant Christians in the islands. Nearly all of these are found within the limits of Netherlands India, and it is alleged that the Dutch government has used more than indirect influences in inducing its Malay subjects to embrace Christianity. This may be so; but even if the truth of the charge is conceded it only demonstrates the striking fact that the people are not obstinately or blindly attached to any false system of religion.

As might have been expected, the Dutch have been the chief

workers in this great field, although the Germans and a few English and other missionaries have had a share in the work. Reports as to the religious value of the change effected among the people differ widely, but it is probably true that in many places the type of Christianity introduced among the people has not been the purest, and where official influence has been brought to bear the conversions effected may very probably not have been genuine. If we may judge by what was accomplished in Ceylon, when that island was in the possession of the Dutch, we may well regard the state of the Christians in Malaysia with no little misgiving. In Ceylon the withdrawal of the Dutch was the signal for a widespread apostasy to Buddhism, if such a term as apostasy can be applied to men who had never been more than nominal Christians. It must not be assumed, however, that the Christians in Dutch India are all of this insincere character. In many places they bear a fairly good character, and give good promise for the future. They very possibly share the infirmities of all large bodies of recent converts from non-Christian faiths, but it does not appear that they are less hopeful than other Oriental converts placed in similar circumstances.

Whatever the outcome of existing missionary agencies may be, it is evident at a glance that English and American Christians must, sooner or later, enter this wide field and assume a due share of the great work to be done. Malaysia can no more be left to one little European nation than Japan, or even China or India. The tiny little islands of the Pacific have been sought out by the great missionary societies of England and America, while these magnificent islands have been neglected. In all Malaysia proper there is only one American missionary, and he entered the field within the past two years. The London Missionary Society once occupied Penang, Malacca, and Singapore; but while doing so China was the objective point of its missionaries, and when the treaty ports on the Chinese coast were opened the missionaries all moved up into China. The English Baptists made several attempts in former years to gain a foothold in Java and Sumatra, but were ultimately obliged to abandon the field. The American Board also attempted to plant missions in Borneo, but after a long series of discouragements its missionaries were

withdrawn. The most serious obstacle met with by all these societies was the hostility of the Dutch government. The early policy of the British East India Company, under which all missionary efforts were opposed, was also adopted by the Dutch, and even when direct opposition was relaxed in the case of Dutch missionaries it was continued against all other comers.

There is no longer, however, any necessity for coming into collision with the Dutch authorities. A vast field is open to all missionary comers, with Singapore, Penang, and Malacca as central stations. In this region the Malay language is spoken in its greatest purity, and from these cities native evangelists can be sent out in all directions. If it is desired to move on at once into the regions beyond, a wide field is open in Sarawak and northern Borneo; but a wiser policy would be to begin at the open door-way which Singapore affords, and, first of all, organize and drill the forces with which future advances shall be made. Beyond all doubt Singapore is one of the most important key positions in all the East, and the Church which occupies this place in force must, in the nature of the case, exert a powerful influence throughout the whole Malaysian region. The city of Penang, built on a beautiful little island on the western coast of the Peninsula, is within what military men would call "easy touch" of the Malay States on the mainland, and also of Siam. At this point the Roman Catholics maintain a powerful force, consisting of thirty-seven men and a whole host of nuns, and here they train native priests for work, not only in Malaysia, but also in their mission fields in Siam. The practical wisdom and foresight of the Roman Catholics on this coast, as elsewhere, contrasts strangely with the desultory and badly organized operations of Protestant missionary societies. Even though their wisdom may have a large admixture of the spirit which governs the children of this world, it is none the less worthy of imitation by those who use purer methods and eliminate its bad elements. At these very points, where Romanism rallies its forces and plans its coming campaigns, a Protestant work should be established on a broad basis, and plans formed worthy of so vast a work as the conversion of Malaysia, with its coming millions, to Christ.

To the Rev. W. F. Oldham, of the South India Conference, belongs the honor of being the first Methodist missionary to

unfurl the banner of his Church and his King in this land of missionary promise. Born and brought up in India, he was converted to God and united with the Methodist Episcopal Church under the preaching of the Rev. D. O. Fox, about eight years ago. A few years later he went to America, where he was afterward joined by his devoted wife, and both of them pursued a thorough course of training with a view to future service in India. Mr. Oldham achieved honorable distinction as a student, and, having completed a full university course, he returned to India at the close of 1884. He landed at Bombay to meet the astounding intelligence that he had been chosen to lay the first foundation stones of the future Methodist Episcopal Church of Malaysia. He was startled, but not disheartened, and began at once, with the cheerful consent of his heroic wife, to prepare for his unexpected work.

A small beginning has been made, and the first foundation stones are in position. A Methodist Episcopal Church has been organized at Singapore, and the missionary is making rapid progress in the study of Malay, while, at the same time, giving attention to the English-speaking Chinese. At a point far up the Peninsula a member of the Rangoon Methodist Episcopal Church is employed as a teacher by the Siamese government, and has gathered a little company of Chinese Christians around him. He is not able to speak either Malay or Chinese, but by the help of his wife, who speaks the former language, he is able to hold the little flock together, and, if nothing more, his success affords an indication of what might be done under better conditions.

The Methodist Episcopal Church should occupy this promising field at once, and occupy it in force. It cannot permanently be attached to the South India Conference, or to any Conference in India. The field is distinct, and needs its own equipment. Another man, and at least two unmarried women, should be sent to Singapore, and perhaps an equal force stationed at Penang. Then year by year the work can be extended as providential indications may lead, and thus in a short time we may have a mission in Malaysia worthy alike of so magnificent a field and of so powerful a Church as that which is now represented by the two faithful but lonely workers at Singapore.

Art. II. — WESLEY'S VARIATIONS IN BELIEF, AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE SAME ON METHODISM.

Since the apostle Paul ascended to heaven there has not arisen in Christendom a man more abundant in labor, or of more extended and abiding influence, than John Wesley. Sixty-five years of almost incessant toil in the Christian ministry, in which time it is estimated he preached not less than forty thousand sermons, and compiled, revised, or wrote and published three hundred distinct volumes—in science, literature, and theology—make up a life-work probably unparalleled in the history of the Church. That for which Methodism, both in its separate organization and its prevailing influence in the Christianity of the age, is mostly indebted to its founder is such an evergrowing monument to the versatile genius, the patient research, the wisely applied learning, the power of leadership, and the personal devotion of Wesley as is found erected to the memory of but few other men of modern history.

The personal belief of one occupying a position so prominent before the world—a belief known by its fruits in the productions of pulpit and pen—must be both conspicuous and influential. But Wesley's relation to Methodism, including, as it does, a distinct system of doctrine and a well-defined form of Christian experience, was such that any changes of personal beliefs, it would naturally be supposed, would be shadowed forth in after years by the Church bearing his name. It is, however, one of the anomalies of history that one so credulous as was John Wesley, so free from invincible prejudice in his search for truth, so inquisitive for facts of experience, so susceptible to the influence of sound logic, wherever met with —that one so versatile in belief, however well established he became in the end—should be the acknowledged founder of a Church that, in extending into all the lands of Christendom, has preserved its doctrinal positions without any extended schism or radical change. The founder of the Church varied largely in his belief respecting both the distinctive doctrines and the sectarian peculiarities of the Church he founded; the Church itself, for more than a century, has been historically uniform in her beliefs, and in their doctrinal statements.

Recently there has been engraved, and put in print, a tree representative of Methodism in England. Upon that tree are more than a score of different branches, representing as many Church organizations having the common name of Methodist, Only two or three of these branches represent essential variations in doctrine. In this country there have been schisms more or less extensive, in the Church, and separations from it, but none of these have been notably on the ground of changed doctrinal belief. We must look elsewhere than in the formal division in or secession from the Church for the influence of the changed belief of its founder.

The changes of personal belief in Wesley were radical, and they had reference to what is essential to Methodism. Briefly they may be outlined as follows: Wesley began his public ministry an extreme legalist—a legalist so extreme in belief that for twelve years he sought to be saved by works; declaring that his first object in surrendering academic honors and prospects at the university at Oxford, in declining to be his father's successor at the Epworth Rectory, and in coming to the wilderness of North America to spend, perhaps, his life among the Indians, was to save his own soul. He closed that public ministry with such a declaration of belief in the doctrine of salvation by grace alone as has challenged the admiration of the world ever since. Among his last utterances—with the record of sixty-five years of unexampled fidelity in service behind him—was this: "I the chief of sinners am, but Jesus died for me." Then, as to his Christian experience resulting from the faith he had at the time, from that wilderness state of experience while yet a minister of the Church of England—so unsatisfactory that after twelve years of zealous labor and of suffering persecution he declared he was not converted and had not been, was not a Christian and had not been—he passed over in his belief so definitely to the experience and declaration of the condition of entire sanctification that he has set forth, both by teaching and example, the New Testament doctrine of Christian perfection in a way to meet the approval of Christendom. Thus, having been in the beginning an extreme High Churchman, believing stanchly in the doctrine of apostolic succession, in the three divinely ordained orders in the Christian ministry, in baptismal regeneration, in the salvation of baptized

infants only, having such a belief in the efficacy of fasts and the observance of days as led him to observe two days in the week for fasting, and both Saturday and Sunday as holy days, and many other things which one of his biographers has called "popish nonsense," he became in the end the founder of the most catholic Church in the world, defined by himself to be "a company of believers having the form of godliness and seeking the power thereof," the door of entrance to which is as broad as that into the kingdom of God on earth; namely, "a desire to flee from the wrath to come and to be saved from sin." Through all the changes that lie naturally between these extreme points of belief did John Wesley pass in his more than threescore years of public ministry. The faithful record of these changes may be found in the unrestrained declarations of his faith at the different eras of his life.

The immediate influence of Wesley's belief, and that of any essential change that may have taken place therein, we would expect to be made apparent in his own experience and ministry, so far as they are matters of record, and the permanent influence of the same to be manifest in his printed works. It is not, however, the object of this paper to trace out the influence of changed forms of belief either in his personal experience or in the writings which he has left the Church, only so far as that influence is apparent in the Methodism of the present time. And an inquiry as to the influence of that belief on the Church of to-day would have comparatively little interest to us, were it not for the somewhat singular fact that the writings of Wesley, that are the recognized standards in Methodist theology, were the productions of his pen in these different stages of belief; and what is so often called "Wesleyan authority" is authority gotten by different individuals from his utterances and practices while passing through these different stages of Christian experience, each one selecting his 'Wesley says' according to the particular sentiment he wishes to sustain or the doctrine he desires to prove.

For illustration, we have in the writings of Wesley, which are among the acknowledged standards in Methodist theology, the subject of conversion, or the becoming a Christian, presented in different phases, from four distinct stand-points of observation; points of view differing according to Wesley's per-

sonal belief at the time. Thus for twelve years, as an ordained minister of the Church of England, Wesley preached, and went on a mission to the Indians of North America, while yet he was in such a state of questionable religious experience that he himself affirmed he was not converted—that he had not saving faith in God. His words are:

> I went to America to convert the Indians; but O, who shall convert me? . . . Alienated as I am from the life of God, I am a child of wrath, an heir of hell.

True, in after years he looked more hopefully, and, doubtless, with better vision, on this stage of his experience, thinking that even then he had the faith of a servant, though not of a "child of God." During these years he was most zealous in seeking and teaching "salvation by the deeds of the law." At this time and in this state of mind he preached two sermons on the subject of conversion—one on "The One Thing Needful," the other on "The Circumcision of the Heart." These are among Wesley's printed sermons—standards in Methodist theology, containing clear expositions of the theory of conversion. In these sermons the much-needed emphasis is laid on the necessity of being converted, but they are filled with the preaching of John the Baptist, "Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance."

These twelve years of spiritual bondage, and of ardent zeal in the defense of the traditions of the fathers, were ended by what Wesley terms, and what his biographers generally term, his conversion, while under the ministry, and through the influence, of certain pious Moravians. The genuineness of the work of grace then wrought in him he never afterward called in question. The effect of it was manifest in a changed faith and practice. He had until then preached salvation by works, and lived in the hope of—by the means used—attaining thereunto. He now preached the extreme Lutheran doctrine of "salvation by faith alone," a doctrine which, whenever preached without its appropriate and needed safeguards, leads to Antinomianism or Phariseeism. Under this cloud of Moravian doctrine and influence, which was to him like the cloud of the Exodus, that at the passage of the Red Sea, went between the Israelites and their enemies, having its bright side and its dark

side—its bright side of clear, joyous experience, and its dark side of error and fanaticism—Wesley lived and taught for two or more years, being a member of their society in London, and visiting and spending several weeks with the larger parent society in Germany. During this period, while in Christian fellowship with the Moravians, Wesley preached two sermons on conversion—one entitled "Salvation by Faith," the other, "On God's Free Grace." Much evangelical truth—truth in which the general Church glories—adorns these sermons; but the careful reader will not fail to observe the shading of that mingled cloud of Moravian belief and error that now darkened rather than illumined his mind.

This cloud was soon to pass away. The inconsistencies of practice into which the too little guarded sentiments of the Moravians led, and the manifest practical errors which crept into a common belief among them, caused Wesley to withdraw from fellowship with their society, and furnished the occasion for him to re-examine the doctrines he had taught while in that Church communion. This examination convinced him—as like examination had convinced many before and has convinced more since—that the doctrine of "justification by faith alone" carries with it great liability to mislead, and may, in the end, "lead to bewilder and dazzle to blind." The corrective of the errors into which some had fallen, by wresting the Scripture doctrine of "salvation by faith" to their injury, Wesley found in an attempt to harmonize the two Scriptural, but apparently conflicting, doctrines of justification by faith and justification by works. As a result of this "searching the Scriptures to see if these things be so," he brought into his personal belief—and thence it passed into Methodist theology—that larger and now generally accepted doctrine of justification, which is God justifying the ungodly through faith alone and the believer through faith shown by works. From that time ever onward the Bible doctrine of "justification by faith," with its appropriate safeguard, the necessity of works, has furnished the ground from which Methodism, for more than a century, has preached the salvation of men.

Wesley had not yet done with the doctrine of conversion. Added years of experience, enlarged observation of society,

and a more thorough knowledge of human nature, showed him the necessity of harmonizing the doctrine of conversion with the acknowledged facts of human experience. At the same time, the errors into which not the Moravians alone, but many of his own society, had fallen, convinced him of the importance of more fully defining what it was to be a Christian, and what was the work of grace wrought in conversion. This was the occasion of preaching and publishing those sermons that define so clearly, and describe with such fidelity, the work of grace wrought in conversion, and the spiritual state of the believer in Christ. To this period belong that sermon, published in 1741, which has been the subject of such long-continued controversy and severe animadversion, entitled "Christian Perfection," and that equally historic sermon, preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, before the university, Aug. 24, 1744, entitled "Scriptural Christianity," which, because of its fidelity to truth, closed forever the door of that venerable pulpit against him. The former of these sermons is only remotely connected with the Methodist doctrine of entire sanctification, but is, what the state of affairs in Wesley's societies called for, a formal and definite description of the work of conversion, under the two heads, (1) In what sense Christians *are not*, and (2) In what sense they *are, perfect.* In the sermon before the university, scriptural Christianity is so clearly delineated as to appear equally removed from the stately formalism and practiced immoralities of the ritualistic Church of England and the fanatical sentiments and unwarranted indulgences of some in the Wesleyan societies who were yet in the shadows of Moravian belief. These sermons, and other productions of Wesley published at that time, add another and distinct feature to the subject of conversion as it is presented in his writings, and furnish one more stand-point from which, more often and more successfully than any other, this saving doctrine is preached to the world.

Thus are there four clearly defined phases of conversion presented to the world by Wesley—phases differing one from the other according to his personal faith in the different periods of his life. For twelve years a seeker of salvation by works, living in the diligent practice of the most austere rites and ceremonies, he preached the necessity of conversion whereunto

he only hoped to attain. Three years struggling in the meshes of Moravian fanaticism, with an experience of the grace he vainly sought while under the law, he preached conversion as a "justification by faith alone;" a doctrine which, whenever and wherever preached, is ever liable to be as good seed falling on unsubdued soil, of which this is recorded: "Some fell upon stony places, where they had not much earth; and forthwith they sprung up, because they had no deepness of earth. And when the sun was up they were scorched; and because they had no root they withered away." Separation from fellowship with the German brethren, and a more careful examination of the fundamental tenets of that sect, led Wesley to a different method of preaching justification, namely, not an equivalent of conversion only, but a part of Christian experience everywhere, to be obtained by the ungodly through faith alone; to be retained by the believer only by faith and works combined. Thus did Wesley, in the better style of his teaching, as does the Methodist theology of to-day, extend the fact of justification over the entire field of Christian experience, holding that the believer in Christ, at every stage of advancement, is "freely justified" by the blood, and conversion is initiation into that state. This "added element" of justification in the personal faith of Wesley resulted in a fuller definition and more satisfactory statement of the work of grace wrought in conversion than he had before given in his writings. It was, however, only when the teaching of Wesley and his preachers came to be recognized as a doctrinal system that the prominence due was given to this last and most satisfactory view of conversion.

The influence of the variations in the faith of the father of Methodism, already indicated, is seen in the fact that to these four distinct phases of conversion correspond the four leading methods by which, with efficiency and success varying according to the method adopted, this evangelical doctrine has been preached in Methodist pulpits from the beginning, The necessity of conversion, which is the first view of this work of grace presented to one under the law, and to the conviction of which every one who seeks salvation by the deeds of the law will sooner or later be brought, has been, and still is, too much neglected in the teaching of the Christian pulpit. But the preaching of that phase of conversion alone will be found to be like the ministry of John the

Baptist, only the forerunner of the coming of the Messiah, or like the law itself, "a school-master to bring us to Christ." The preaching of conversion as justification by faith alone, though a welcome doctrine, and, like the seed on stony ground, "received gladly," and producing often an experience sought in vain by works without faith, will be found generally to have been accompanied with or followed by some form of fanatical belief as fatal to Christian character as the thorns in the parable: springing up with the seed sown, they were not "fatal." "Let them grow together to the harvest." Too often such preaching has resulted, as it did in the time of Wesley, in a divorce of right living from professed conversion, whereas the preaching of that broader justification, which is a part of and inseparable from personal religion, unites, as mutually necessary, piety or right living and religion, in illustration of the declaration of Holy Scripture, "The just"—not the unjust—"shall live by faith." It is, however, when this doctrine is preached, harmonizing with the general "analogy of faith," as only the door, and the only door, into the kingdom of God on earth—as only the beginning, and the only beginning, of the Christian life—that it becomes most effectually the power of God unto salvation.

Equally varied, and more pronounced at different periods in his life, was Wesley's personal belief respecting the doctrine of Christian perfection, or entire sanctification. While yet at Oxford, and a member of the "Holy Club," he became a close student and an ardent admirer of such books on devotion as Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, Bishop Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying*, William Law's *Christian Perfection*, and *Serious Call to a Holy Life*. These books had a directly formative influence upon his religious life and creed. Of the books of Mr. Law, he says:

> I was convinced by them more than ever of the impossibility of being half a Christian, and determined to be all devoted to God; to give him all my soul, my body, and my substance.

His theory of Bible holiness at this time, as set forth in his Journal and in his written and published Sermons, especially that on "The Circumcision of the Heart" and that on "Salvation by Faith," was essentially the same as that taught in Scripture, and which has been transmitted to the doctrinal sys-

tem of the Methodist Churches, with the omission, however, of all definite statement of the faith and practice necessary to its attainment. Many of the clear and forcible utterances of Wesley at this time may be found in the standard works of the Church of to-day. But his belief, as a practical form of faith, was radically defective. Christian perfection with him was little more than a vision of the imagination, a high and holy estate ultimately to be reached by all believers, but not attainable in this life, or at most not until death. Seldom, and then guardedly, did he give expression to these views; but that he entertained them there can be no doubt.

In a sermon on "The Trouble and Rest of Good Men," preached in Oxford, on September 21, 1735, only one month before he sailed for North America to preach salvation to the heathen, he says:

As perfect holiness is not to be found on earth, so neither is perfect happiness. Some remains of our disease will ever be felt, and some physic will be necessary to heal it. Therefore we must be more or less subject to the pain of cure, as well as the pain of sickness. Who, then, will "deliver us from the body of this death?" Death will deliver us. Death will set those free in a moment who "were all their life-time subject to bondage." Death shall destroy at once the whole body of sin, and therewith its companion, pain. . . . In the moment wherein men shake off the flesh, they are delivered not only from the trouble of the wicked, not only from pain and sickness, from folly and infirmity, but, also, from all sin. A deliverance this in the sight of which all the rest vanish away. This is the triumphal song which every one heareth when he enters the gates of paradise: "Thou, being dead, sinneth no more. Sin has no more dominion over thee."

This is essentially the extreme Calvinistic view of Bible holiness; namely, that death will accomplish for the believer, in the destruction of sin, what the blood of Christ failed to do in this life.

To this remarkable sermon, the first Wesley committed to the press, the American publishers of his "Works" call special attention, because of its un-Methodistic sentiments. They say:

The reader will observe that while the sermon displays great seriousness and zeal it exhibits a very inadequate view of Christianity. The preacher attributes the sanctification of human nature, in a great measure, to personal sufferings; assumes that the body is the seat of moral evil; and that sin exists in the best of Christians till they obtain deliverance by the hand of death.

With what ability and success he afterward opposed these unevangelical principles, and taught the doctrine of present salvation from all sin by faith in Jesus Christ, is well known to all who are conversant with his works, and especially with his Journal and Sermons.

Yet, so far as appears from his earlier writings, or any recorded utterance of his, this was his belief during the first twelve years of his ministry as a priest of the Church of England. This faith bore its legitimate fruits, first in what was to him an entirely unsatisfactory personal experience, and then in a ministry comparatively barren of results, whether in the university town of Oxford or in the wilds of North America.

Fortunately for Wesley and for the general Church, with the passing away of the years of his spiritual bondage passed away also this greatly encumbered faith touching one of the fundamental doctrines of Methodism. That work of grace which he called, and which his biographers generally call, his conversion, whatever the Church of to-day may call it, wrought a great change in his personal experience and practical belief. Yet, however great that change, it left the founder of Methodism with a faith radically un-Methodistic. It was un-Methodistic in three particulars.

1. So far had Wesley come to adopt the mystical doctrines of the "German brethren" respecting the perfected work of grace in all Christians—so great a change had been wrought in his own conversion, and, as he apprehended, was wrought in the conversion of others, excluding, as the Moravians taught, all degrees of a believer's faith—he lost sight of, and thus failed to maintain, a distinction, of which the Church is now so jealous, between the work of God in conversion and in entire sanctification. In the preserved writings of Wesley belonging to this period will be found descriptions of the common Christian state that experience and observation show belong only to those in whom the love of God is perfected. In giving an account of his Societies in 1739, he says:

A Methodist is one who loves the Lord his God with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his mind, and with all his strength. He rejoices evermore, prays without ceasing, and in every thing gives thanks. His heart is full of love to all mankind, and is purified from envy, malice, wrath, and every unkind

or malign affection. He keeps not only some or most of God's commandments, but all, from the least to the greatest.

These words are strikingly similar to those he subsequently used, and which the Church has continued to use to this day, to describe one who has become wholly sanctified to God.

Here is found the most satisfactory explanation that can be given of those conflicting statements he makes in regard to his conversion. On that memorable May 24, 1738, he says:

I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.

On January 4, 1739, seven months after his conversion, he says:

My friends affirm I am mad, because I said I was not a Christian a year ago. I affirm I am not a Christian now. That I am not a Christian at this day I as assuredly know as that Jesus is the Christ. . . . Though I have constantly used all the means of grace for twenty years, I am not a Christian.

A few weeks before this entry in his Journal he writes:

I trust I am accepted in the Beloved; I trust the handwriting that was against me is blotted out, and that I am reconciled to God through his Son.

"This," says one of his biographers, "is exceedingly puzzling." Of his experience respecting the witness of the Spirit, there is like confusion in the record. This witness of the Spirit he afterward defined to be

An inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God directly witnesses to my spirit that I am a child of God; that Jesus Christ hath loved me, and given himself for me, and that all my sins are blotted out, and I, even I, am reconciled to God.

This he at that time confounded with the seal of the Spirit, of which he thus writes:

The seal of the Spirit, the love of God shed abroad in my heart, and producing joy in the Holy Ghost—joy which no man taketh away, joy unspeakable and full of glory—this witness of the Spirit I have not, but I wait patiently for it. . . . I believe every Christian who has not received it should pray for the witness of God's Spirit that he is a child of God. This witness I believe is necessary for my salvation.

Thus confusedly does he speak of conversion, the witness of the Spirit, and entire sanctification.

In this confused state of mind he gave some occasion to his theological opponents to say—what he afterward strenuously denied—that he taught a "sinless perfection;" and furnished a seeming approval of that fanatical belief which sprang up among his followers respecting the perfected work of grace in believers, called by them the "sanctification of the mind, or mental perfection," under which delusion many thought themselves infallible in judgment. Certain it was he confounded the work of conversion and sanctification in teaching, among other things which he afterward refuted, that in two senses or degrees were men born again: in the one sense, re-receiving the pardon of sin; in the other, having the heart filled with the love of God. In his Journal, under date of January 25, 1739, he says: "Of the adults I have known to be baptized lately, only one was at that time born again in the full sense of the word." "That is," says he, "only one found a thorough inward change. More of them were only born again in a lower sense; that is, received the remission of sins." Such confusion the mists of Moravian mysticism wrought in the otherwise sagacious mind of John Wesley.

2. It was a distinct tenet in the faith of Wesley at this time that a state of personal holiness was attainable in this life from which it was impossible to fall; that the sealing of the Spirit then would be unto eternal life. In the proposed platform of agreement with Whitefield, drawn up in 1743, Wesley affirms his belief "that there is a state attainable in this life from which a man cannot finally fall, and that he has attained this state who can say, 'Old things are passed away; all things [in me] have become new;'" and, "that all who are perfected in love (1 John iv) were thus elect." Twenty years after, when he had carefully examined into the declared experience of those professing this state of grace, he said:

> Formerly we thought one saved from sin could not fall. Now we know the contrary. We are surrounded with instances of those who lately experienced all I mean by perfection. They had both the fruit of the Spirit and the witness, but they have now lost both. There is no such height of holiness as it is impossible to fall from.

3. In one respect the faith of Wesley at this time was in advance of that of former years. He had renounced the dogma that at death only was deliverance from all sin to be attained. He still held, however, to the belief that sanctification was necessarily a progressive work, to be sought in the diligent use of all the means of grace; that it was not to be expected much before death, and only in connection with a mature Christian experience. In the Conference of 1745 Wesley and his preachers declare:

> Inward sanctification begins in the moment we are justified. Entire sanctification is not ordinarily given till a little while before death. The general means which God has ordained for our receiving his sanctifying grace are, keeping all his commandments, denying ourselves, and taking up our cross daily. The particular means are prayer, searching the Scriptures, and fasting.

His faith, too, bore its fruits: immediately, in the ministry of Wesley and his preachers; remotely, in the ministry of all those who followed his example, in word and doctrine, at this period of his life. Then followed—as was natural to those entertaining the faith of which we have spoken—on the part of both Wesley and his preachers, years of comparative, well-nigh absolute, silence on this subject. The Conference of 1747 declares, in regard to preaching this doctrine: "It behooves us, in public at least, rarely to speak in full, explicit terms concerning entire sanctification." At the opening of the Conference the next year, "It was agreed," said the historian, "that there would be no time to consider points of doctrine." Thus, by common consent, the theme that had occupied so much of the time and attention of preceding Conferences was put under the ban of silence in their deliberations. So far as history shows, ten Annual Conferences intervened before the subject was again made matter of consultation. In 1758 the subject was brought to the attention of the Conference of that year, because of certain errors which had crept into the teaching of some of the early Methodists. Wesley's individual practice conformed to the advice given his preachers. There is no record, as far as I can find, of his preaching during these years distinctly on Christian perfection. The Rev. A. H. Ames, who has compiled the doctrinal utterances of Wesley on this subject into a manual, entitled "Wesley on Christian

Perfection," found nothing essential to his purpose on record between the years 1745 and 1757.

He took up his pen in the defense of the faith, his biographer says, "only when he saw there was danger of a diversity of sentiment stealing in among the Methodists." In 1759 he published his *Thoughts on Christian Perfection*, which tract, together with the preaching on the subject which the Conference action had occasioned, awakened general inquiry and an abiding interest in many of the young Societies throughout the kingdom. Many in London and elsewhere made profession of this special grace. Thus was Wesley furnished an opportunity, of which he speedily availed himself, of testing his belief by what he regarded as facts of experience. His intercourse with those professing this blessing was most intimate and his examination of the professed experience most thorough, and resulted in dissipating the two radical errors with which his belief, up to this time, had been encumbered; namely, the impossibility of falling away from that state of experience, and that the work must needs be progressive—to be expected only in the mature Christian life. His Journal states, August 6, 1762:

> Many believed that the blood of Christ cleansed them from all sin. I spoke to them (forty in all) one by one. Some of them said they received that blessing ten days, some seven, some four, some three days after they found peace with God, and two of them the next. What marvel, since one day is with God as a thousand years?

In this changed faith of John Wesley the doctrine of entire sanctification from sin, attainable by faith in an instant, became the perpetual inheritance of Methodism. Of this change one of his biographers, Tyerman, says:

> Not until now, 1762, was the doctrine of Christian perfection, attainable in an instant by a simple act of faith, made prominent in Methodist congregations; but, ever after, it was one of the chief topics of Wesley's ministry, and that of his itinerant preachers.

Says another, Dr. Whitehead:

> The doctrine of perfection, or perfect love, was undoubtedly taught among the Methodists from the beginning; but the manner in which it was now preached, pressing the people to expect what was called 'the destruction of the root of sin' in one moment, was most certainly new. I can find no trace of it before the period at which I have fixed its introduction [namely, in 1762].

Another phase of Wesley's belief, not indicating, however, so great a change as some to which reference has already been made, appears in his sermons and writings of later years. Already the preaching of the early Methodists had assumed the form of a system of doctrines. At the same time there was some diversity of sentiment and teaching on this topic. These facts furnished the occasion—as was the case in regard to the subject of conversion or regeneration—for a more formal statement of this doctrine than had hitherto been made. In making this statement Wesley wrote and published two sermons, which have become historic in the literature of the Church; one is entitled, "Sin in Believers," the other, "The Repentance of Believers," in both of which are expressions that cannot be harmonized with sentiments he held and published in earlier years, and when in fellowship with the Moravian brethren. Formerly he held and taught that to be a Christian was to have "old things pass away, and all things to be made new"—to be freed from all sin, and to love God with all the heart. The titles of these sermons imply that sin remains in believers until they are entirely sanctified, and that this remaining sin calls for and occasions repentance. One aim of these sermons is to prove the conformity of the teaching of Wesley to that of the Church of England, which declares in her ninth article:

> Original sin is the corruption of the nature of every man, whereby man is in his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth contrary to the Spirit. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerated. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe, yet this lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

Another contrast of sentiment held by Wesley at this time with that held by him when entertaining semi-Moravian beliefs is seen in certain hymns he published, and in the preface to the same. In 1740 he published a volume of hymns which were chiefly descriptive of Christian character and experience. The preface has a description of the man possessing a clean heart:

> He is freed from pride, self-will, evil thoughts, wandering thoughts. He is so freed from self-will as not to desire ease in pain. In prayer he is so delivered from wanderings that he has no thought of any thing past, or absent, or to come, but of God alone.

His biographer, Tyerman, says:

A quarter of a century afterward he declared that this preface contained the strongest account of Christian perfection he [Wesley] ever gave; and admitted that some of the statements needed correction.

More than twenty years after, in a letter to his brother Charles respecting these and other hymns published at that time, he writes: "I retract several expressions in our hymns which partly express and partly imply the impossibility of falling from it;" that is, from a state of perfect love. The fanaticism accompanying the belief of deliverance from all "wandering thoughts" finds its antidote in a sermon having the title "Wandering Thoughts," preached and published at about the same time as that on "Sin in Believers." The summary of these "thoughts" he states in the following language:

To expect deliverance from wandering thoughts occasioned by evil spirits is to expect that the devil should die or fall asleep. To expect deliverance from those which are occasioned by other men is to expect either that men should cease from the earth, or that we should be absolutely secluded from them. And to pray for deliverance from those which are occasioned by the body is, in effect, to pray that we may leave the body.

With such strong statements did Wesley seek to dissipate that figment of the imagination, "the sanctification of mind," or mental perfection.

More fully are his views on the subject, at this period, defined in his treatise, published the same year, entitled, *Farther Thoughts on Christian Perfection.* In this work will be found a re-statement of the sentiments he claims to have held for more than thirty years, and a successful refutation of many errors with which the expression of those sentiments had often been associated. He says:

In most particulars I think now as I did then, in some I do not. My present thoughts I now offer to your consideration; being willing, I trust, to be taught of God by whatever instrument he shall choose.

Wesley was then about sixty years of age. That was his attitude toward a subject respecting which so many of his followers come easily to a hasty conclusion, and in regard to which they are ever ready to pronounce in the most dogmatic manner.

Having preached "Christian perfection" for forty years, and having passed through the various shades of belief to which reference has been made, he still holds himself open to conviction and is ready to receive light from any source.

In this tract, which contains that last formal expression of his thoughts on this subject from which he did not in after years essentially vary, he says:

> The highest degree of sanctification attainable on earth will not save a man from defects in understanding, and mistakes in many things. For this reason the holiest of men need Christ as their Prophet, Priest, and King.

These sermons and this tract have for us, and for the world, what may be called Wesley's mature thoughts on Christian perfection. They are the exponents of his belief when he became "rooted and grounded" in the faith. They are not only the exponents of personal belief, but contain expositions of the doctrines so clear, and evidently scriptural, as to have maintained the position of standards on this subject to the present time. In them is found, what the Church has ever needed, a statement of the doctrine in harmony with the general analogy of faith.

The fruit of this last-mentioned phase or statement of belief is more apparent in the ministry both of Wesley and his immediate successors, also in the Church of to-day, than that of any other to which reference has been made. So soon as Wesley's personal belief became free from the entanglements of error, and the doctrine had a statement at once consonant with the facts of experience and in harmony with the general analogy of faith, it assumed its rightful position in the theology of the Church, and in the ministry of the same. That was no subordinate position taken and maintained by this doctrine. He who had taken the world as his parish declared the mission of Methodism to be "to spread scriptural holiness over all lands." The practice of Wesley personally and his advice to his preachers were closely defined. From this time on till his death, this was the most prominent theme in preaching. No decade of ominous silence on this subject now; not a year, scarcely a month, intervenes without the record in his Journal of his preaching on Christian perfection, or entire sanctification. Instead of the caution given the members of the Con-

ference in 1747, "to rarely, in public at least, speak in full, explicit terms concerning entire sanctification," he earnestly exhorts his preachers to explicitly and persistently preach this essential doctrine. In 1766 he writes to Mr. Merryweather:

If Jacob Rowell is grown faint, and says but little about Christian perfection, do you supply his lack of service. Speak and spare not. Let not regard for any man induce you to betray the truth of God. Till you press the believers to expect full salvation now, you must not look for any revival.

Samuel Bardsley he counsels:

To exhort all the believers, strongly and explicitly, to go on to perfection; and to expect every blessing God has promised, not to-morrow but to day.

To Freeborn Garrettson he writes:

It will be well, as soon as any find peace with God, to exhort them to go on to perfection.

In the last year of his ministry he wrote to Adam Clarke:

If we can prove that any of our local preachers or leaders speak against it (Christian perfection) let him be a local preacher or leader no longer. I doubt whether he should continue in the Society; for he that could speak thus in our congregation cannot be an honest man.

The last recorded exhortation of Wesley on this subject was:

Whenever you have opportunity of speaking to believers, urge them to go on to perfection. Spare no pains; and God, our own God, still give you his blessing.

To the testimony given by his own custom for a quarter of a century, and by the advice given his fellow itinerants, to the value of the faith ultimately reached, Wesley has added that of his observation respecting the importance of preaching this doctrine. In 1762, the year in which, according to Tyerman, the doctrine of Christian perfection, attainable in an instant by a simple act of faith, was for the first time made prominent in Methodist congregations, we find it recorded in Wesley's Journal:

The more I converse with the believers in Cornwall the more I am convinced that they have sustained great loss, for want of hearing the doctrine of Christian perfection clearly and strongly

enforced. I see, wherever this is not done, the believers grow dead and cold. Nor can this be prevented but by keeping up in them an hourly expectation of being perfected in love.

Of the Societies throughout the kingdom he says:

When Christian perfection is not strongly and explicitly preached, there is seldom any remarkable blessing from God; and, consequently, little addition to the Society, and little life in the members of it. This is the word which God will always bless. Do not neglect strongly and explicitly to urge the believers to "go on to perfection." When this is constantly and earnestly done, the word is always clothed with power. . . . The more explicitly and strongly you press all believers to aspire after full sanctification, as attainable now by simple faith, the more the whole work of God will prosper.

Thus did this mature faith of Wesley bear its abundant fruit in the results of his personal ministry, in the wise counsel given his preachers, and in the conviction so freely expressed that the whole work of the Church depended on the prominence given this doctrine in the teaching of the hour.

The influence of the variations of belief indicated in this article is in the Church to-day. Those "mature thoughts" on Christian perfection, put on record after their author had reached his threescore years, have passed into, and become part of, the standards of Methodism; but in much of the recent religious literature of the Church, and often in her pulpits, are found the earlier and less satisfactory phases of belief for which men plead, and quote Wesleyan authority. The founder of Methodism has his followers in teaching, and perhaps in actual experience, at the different periods of his history, not excepting that of Moravian mysticism, or that of historic silence. Measurably we have reproduced in the living ministry of the Church the different phases of the personal belief of John Wesley, and the corresponding fruits of that changed faith.

It is in the reproduction of the declared belief and well-known practice of Wesley at the different eras of his history by the living ministry and in the current literature of the Church that his influence is still exerted. The line of his example in faith and practice touching the primal doctrine of Methodism—Christian perfection—extends from a ministry of twelve years comparatively barren of results to that of a

quarter of a century which was "as a handful of corn in the top of the mountains, the fruit of which did shake like Lebanon." Somewhere along this line, and between these limits, lies the ministry of every Methodist preacher. What the position in the line of each individual ministry is will be found to be determined, largely, by the particular belief which has been accepted of him whose "faith," consciously or unconsciously, "he follows." Only when the teachers of religion get tired of threading the mazes of doubt under the guidance of a belief acknowledged to be defective, and come to the acceptance of the truth to which after many years of earnest inquiry Wesley attained, may they hope for the larger fruits of his ripened ministry. Only when Wesleyan authority for doctrine or practice is understood to be, and, in fact, is, authority drawn from his own sentiments and practices in mature life, can there be much weight connected therewith, or can there be much uniformity in teaching the "higher life."

Art. III.—THE CRADLE OF THE ARYANS.

The latter part of the eighteenth century was characterized by a turning back of the minds of men to what they believed to be the golden age of the world's history. Under the influence of the frivolous and dissolute court of France life had become so artificial that a reaction was inevitable. This first showed itself in the literature of the age, being particularly prominent in the writings of Rousseau, and finally worked itself out in the mighty convulsions of the French Revolution, which the writings of Rousseau had no small share in bringing about. Amid the agitations of this period were born two sciences which have thrown much light on the early history of mankind, and without the aid of these we should probably never have known much about prehistoric man. These sciences are ethnology and comparative philology. In 1806 Adelung showed that most of the languages of Europe and some of the most important ones of Asia were related. In 1816 Professor F. Bopp laid the foundations of comparative philology, and later, in his Comparative Grammar, gave shape and substance to the science. He also

proved, what was already suspected, that all the languages which we now call Aryan, or Indo-European, were related, and probably had a common origin. However great might be their outward dissimilarity, the evidence of their sisterhood was unmistakable, and those who spoke them must have had a common ancestry, no matter whether found on the stormy shores of Iceland or on the banks of the sacred Ganges.

Naturally enough the question then arose, Where did those live who spoke this mother-tongue? The answer was not long in coming. "Asia," says Adelung, "has in all times been regarded as that part of the world in which the human race originated, where it received its first education, and thence has poured its abundant stores over the whole world." In 1808 F. Schlegel declared that Sanskrit was the mother of all the Aryan languages, and that the languages of Europe gave evidence of an Eastern origin, as did also many of the ideas that lie at the very root of European civilization. The inhabitants of Europe, he said, were merely colonists from Asia, led mostly by priests, as the Israelites were by Moses.

That this theory met with immediate and general acceptance may be attributed to several causes. In the first place it was generally assumed that the human race originated in Asia, and therefore this most important branch of it of course originated there. Be it remarked, however, that the question as to the original home of the Aryans has nothing at all to do with the question as to the origin of the human race. Again, the political condition of Germany, at this time, was so nearly hopeless as to cause Germans to turn their thoughts in almost any direction except toward their own fatherland. But, lastly and chiefly, the idea that the Sanskrit was the most ancient language in the whole family gave rise to the opinion that the cradle of the Aryan race must be sought for not far from where the sacred books of the Veda were found; and this argument has continued to be the sheet-anchor of what may be called the conservative party. What it is worth will appear farther on. It was, however, supported by the authority of Bopp, Pott, Lassen, J. Grimm, and a host of lesser lights, and for a time passed without challenge; but in 1851 Dr. R. G. Latham had the effrontery, for so it was regarded, to say in an edition of the *Germania* of Tacitus, that it was more probable that the

Aryans originated in Europe than in Asia. His argument was, that if a genus shows two species living separately we must assume that the one living most compactly and having least variety sprang from the larger and less homogeneous. "To deduce the Indo-Europeans of Europe from those of Asia in ethnology is like deriving the reptiles of Great Britain from those of Ireland in herpetology."

Of the seven great branches into which the original Aryan stock is usually divided, it seems more reasonable to believe that *two* should have emigrated from Europe to Asia than that *five* should have emigrated in the opposite direction. Latham says further:

> If the current views concerning what is called the Eastern origin of the so-called Indo-Europeans are correct, they are so by accident, for they rest upon an amount of assumption far greater than what the nature of the question either requires or allows.

Again, in his *Elements of Comparative Philology*, he says, with regard to the Eastern theory:

> What I have found instead [of evidence for it] is a tacit assumption that, as the East is the probable quarter in which either the human species or the greater part of our civilization originated, every thing came from it. But surely in this there is a confusion between the primary diffusion of mankind over the world at large and those secondary movements by which, according to even the ordinary hypothesis, the Lithuanians, etc., came from Asia into Europe.

Latham gave such strong proofs of the reasonableness of his opinions that he did not long stand alone, and his theory has found able advocates among philologists as well as among archæologists and ethnologists. Prominent among these are Professor Benfey, of Göttingen; Professor F. Müller, of Vienna; L. Geiger, Poesche, Ecker, and Lindenschmidt. Their arguments have been received with the scorn that heterodoxy is usually thought to deserve. Victor Hehn says, it was in England, the land of eccentricities, that it occurred to a crank to say that the Aryans originated in Europe, and through some whim or other the theory was adopted by a Göttingen professor, and, to crown all, a clever Frankfort dilettante (Geiger) took it into his head that the cradle of the Aryans must have stood near his own home. "All other migrations," he adds, "of which his-

tory makes mention were from east to west; but this one, the most important of them all, went in the opposite direction."

He, unfortunately, does not produce his arguments from history; and in the last edition of his work very properly omits all the above remarks. The most important contribution to the literature of this subject is the recent work of Dr. Schrader, of Jena (*Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*), who, after going carefully and impartially over the whole ground, decides in favor of the European hypothesis. His views on this subject are the more important because he, in a previous work, expressed a contrary opinion.

Professor Schleicher, on linguistic grounds alone, concluded that the Greeks, the Aryans of Italy, whom we shall call Italians, and the Kelts at one time formed a compact tribe or people, that they separated near the head of the Adriatic Sea—the Greeks going southward into Greece, the Italians westward and then southward into Italy, and the Kelts westward, gradually spreading over the whole of western Europe from the north of Scotland to the Pillars of Hercules. Were this theory correct, we should expect to find the Greeks and Kelts resembling each other more than do the Germans and Kelts; but this is not the case. On the contrary, there is good reason for believing that the Kelts are simply an offshoot of the great Teutonic stock.

All the inhabitants of northern and western Europe are called by the early Greek writers Kelts (Κελτοί), and they sometimes confound them with the Hyperboreans and Scythians, the latter always being located in the east of Europe. So far, then, as the name is concerned, the Greeks did not distinguish between Kelts and Germans; and Tacitus expressly says that the designation "Germans" was a recent one.

The near relationship of the Germans and Kelts to each other is shown, first, by their bodily resemblance. If we compare the pictures of the Germans, as drawn by Tacitus, with those of the Kelts, as drawn by Cæsar, Pausanias, and Strabo, we cannot fail to be struck by their resemblance. Both were tall, had yellowish hair, blue eyes, and a fair skin. Strabo calls the Germans the genuine (γνησίους) Gauls, and says Germans and Gauls are similar in build of body as well as in manners and customs. That this is true will appear upon examination.

Among both the priest had power above that of the king or chief, for the former could punish a freeman, while the latter could not. Each nation gave great weight to the divinations of female soothsayers, and bards or singers were common to both. "Bard" is a Keltic word, but that the Germans had something similar is shown by the fact that Tacitus calls the chanting of the Germans "*barditus*." Arms and dress were similar, as was their manner of fighting. It was a custom common to both to bury (or burn) along with the dead, arms, horses, servants, and wives. Both intoxicated themselves on mead or beer. Some of their gods, at least, were the same. Cæsar says of the Kelts, "*Deum maxime Mercurium colunt;*" Tacitus says of the Germans, "*Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt.*" The Gauls called the sun god *Fonion*, while *fon* is the Gothic word for fire. There is a remarkable similarity, too, in the tribal names of Kelts and Germans. Among both we find *Ambrones*, *Cimbri*, *Turones*, *Salii*, *Varini*, *Sidones*, and *Lugii*, and even the name *Germani* is found among the Kelt-Iberians.

Archæology also throws some light on this question. The oldest inhabitants of Gaul, so far as is known, were cave dwellers, with rude weapons and tools. These were driven out or subdued by a more civilized race from the north. This race was the Kelts.* Cæsar also says that the Belgians claimed to be descended from the Germans, and this is confirmed by Tacitus and Ammianus.

To the east of the Germans live the Slavs, called by Tacitus *Veneti*, by the Germans of to-day *Wenden*. It is generally assumed that these came last of all the Aryans into Europe. The only argument in favor of this theory is the present position of these people. The Lithuanians, who live farthest westward, must then have been the first of the Slavs to come into Europe; but if this is true, how did they preserve their language in such a primitive condition? For it is acknowledged that the Lithuanian tongue resembles the original Aryan language in some particulars even more than does the Sanskrit. If the Slavs had come from the East, then these Lithuanians would have been entirely driven out or absorbed by later arrivals; but if we assume that the Slavs are also an offshoot of

* Bertrand, *Archéologie Celtique et Gauloise.*

the Teutons, then the explanation is, that they early took up their position behind the Baltic, where they were protected by the sea from further molestation. At the time when Tacitus wrote they occupied substantially the same position that they do now.

The primitive character of the Sanskrit has always been one of the main arguments in favor of the Asiatic hypothesis, but that it proves nothing the following considerations will show. As has already been observed, the Lithuanian preserves this primitive character in a very high degree also, and if the argument is valid in the case of the Sanskrit it must be equally so with regard to the Lithuanian; and this would show that the home of the Aryans may have been near the shores of the Baltic. This argument is also vicious because it compares the Sanskrit of probably two thousand years B. C. with languages that are thirty centuries or more younger. Schleicher says, that since the Keltic languages differ more than any other from the original Aryan, therefore they are farthest removed from where this original language was spoken. But who can tell how these Keltic languages looked three thousand years ago? When we remember that the oldest monuments of the Keltic do not go back farther than the beginning of the ninth century A. D., and that the oldest hymns of the Rig Veda were written from fifteen hundred to two thousand years B.C., the absurdity of the argument from the primitive character of the Sanskrit will at once appear. If we compare the German of to-day with even the best preserved of the languages at present spoken in India, the former will be found decidedly the most primitive.

Between the Slavs and the Germans the resemblance is as great as it was found to be between the latter and the Kelts. Tacitus mentions several tribes which he did not know whether to class along with the Germans or the Sarmatians (Slavs), for they resembled both. Pliny and Ptolemæus speak of a similar difficulty—they could not tell where the one nation ended and the other began. Herodotus speaks of the Budini, and they were undoubtedly Slavs, as blue-eyed and blonde. Procopius says of the Slavs that they were all of a ruddy complexion, large and strong of body.

Their customs, too, have many things in common with those

of the Germans. As among these, there were three classes of people: nobles, freemen, and slaves. Women were held in high esteem, but polygamy was allowed. The priests wrote laws in Runic characters on wooden tablets. Both lived in tents and often changed their residences. They buried or burned their dead, and, along with the body, arms, horses, slaves, and wives. They worshiped their gods in groves, and the names of some of the Slavonic gods resemble German ones. Germ. *Freia*, Slav. *Pria;* Ger. *Tyr*, Slav. *Tur;* Slav. *Skrêt*, a spirit, old German *Skratti*, which in provincial English has become "Old Scratch." Tribal names, again, agree. Compare Slav. *Cassubi*, *Lemusi*, *Redarii*, *Pagyritæ*, *Scudici*, and *Waruabi*, with Germ. *Chassi*, *Lemovii*, *Hrêdmen*, *Paigira*, *Scudingi*, and *Varni*, respectively. That the Slavs are more nearly related to the Germans linguistically than they are to the rest of the Aryans is generally admitted.

That the Latin is closely allied to the Keltic may be taken as an established fact; but if the Kelts came into Gaul from the north, then the Italians must have come into Italy from the north-west, and not from the north-east, as is generally taught. Some Latin proper names give evidence of a connection between the Italians and the Germans. We find *Marsi* in Italy as well as in Germany. Compare, also, Lat. *Samnites*, Ger. *Semnones;* Lat. *Sabini*, Ger. *Sibini;* Lat. *Osci*, Ger. *Ascomanni*. The Latin river names *Albula* and *Tybris* are matched by the German *Albis* and *Tubra*. Nothing is more natural than that emigrants should carry into a new country the names which they had known in the old, for it is a process which we see repeated almost daily. Compare further, Lat. *Amulius*, Ger. *Amala;* Lat. *Tullus*, Ger. *Tulwin;* Lat. *Lucius*, Ger. *Lugius;* Lat. *Drusus*, Ger. *Druso;* Lat. *Naso*, Ger. *Nasua*. *Juno* is also a German name, and *Vanadis* was the *Venus* of the old Germans.

The Latin *mare*, too, is interesting in this connection. If the Italians came from the Baltic regions, the presence of such a word is accounted for, as well as its resemblance to the German *meer;* but if they originated in Central Asia, "where from grassy, treeless plains, beneath dry, bright skies, the streams run swiftly to far-off southern bays," they would have had no use for it. If the word is originally Teutonic we should expect

to find it in the Keltic on one side and in the Slavonic on the other, and it is found in both. The Russian is *more*, Lithuanian *mares* (plural), Irish *muir*. It seems incredible that if the Greeks and Italians had ever lived together, and had had this word in common, the former should have lost it and the latter retained it, especially since the Greeks were a maritime nation *par excellence*.

All along the lower Danube and far up into the Alps lived a people, divided into numerous tribes, whom we may call by the common name of Thracians. To these belonged, on the extreme west, the Rhætians, who lived in what is to-day the Tyrol and eastern Switzerland, and, according to Herodotus and Strabo, the Phrygians, Bithynians, and Mysians, in Asia Minor, were descendants of the Thracians of Europe. Evidence is not wanting that these were allied to the Germans, for they looked like them. Xenophanes says they were large, strong, blue-eyed, and blonde. Horace speaks of a certain Chloe as a blonde (*flava*) Thracian. Of their language we know very little, but of the few words that have been preserved several show a remarkable resemblance to Teutonic ones, as Thracian *skalmē*, a sword, Icelandic *skalma;* Thr. *tralleis*, slaves, Icel. *thraell*, Eng. *thrall*.

One of the largest tribes of Thracians were the Getæ. Now the old Polish chroniclers call the Lithuanians Getæ; but these Lithuanians being Slavs are closely allied to the Germans, and thus these Getæ probably formed a sort of connecting link between the Slavs and the rest of the Thracians. There is also evidence on this point from another source. It is not improbable that the much-disputed Etruscans were allied to the Thracians. Livy says they were Rhætians, and spoke the Rhætian language somewhat corrupted. Professor Bugge, of Christiania, has recently expressed the opinion that the Etruscans were related to the Greeks and Italians, but that they also showed some special points of resemblance to the Lithuanians.

Closely allied to the Thracians were their neighbors the Macedonians, and these were Greeks, differing slightly from the genuine Greeks (Hellenes). According to the traditions of the latter, the Dorians especially, they came into Greece from the north. In this march southward the Ionians were the leaders, and they spread over the islands of the Ægean, and

thence into Asia Minor. After them came the Ætolians and Achæans, and finally the Dorians, who were more like the Macedonians.

Do the descriptions which we possess of the personal appearance of the Greeks and Romans give us any light upon the question of their origin? Among both we find the Teutonic type regarded as the best. Some of the noblest Romans were blonde. Plutarch says Sulla had light hair and fierce blue eyes. Cato had reddish hair and blue eyes, and Ovid speaks of Lucretia's fair complexion and light hair. Horace, also, in various places, speaks in praise of blonde beauties. Turning to the Greeks we find that the greatest of Homer's heroes, Achilles, Menelaus, and Ulysses were blonde, and, what is of more consequence, Homer's gods likewise. Adamantios, a Greek physician of the fifth century A. D., describes those Greeks who were of genuine Hellenic extraction as tall, strong, with light hair and fair complexion, so that they looked like typical Teutons.

North and east of the Thracians lived the Scythians, who have caused philologists and ethnologists almost as much trouble as the Etruscans. According to good authority they were also Aryans.* Jordanis says of them that they were slender and handsome, with bright blue eyes and hair somewhat darker than that of the Goths, so that they were certainly not Mongoloids. In some of their burial mounds were found skulls of a decidedly Teutonic type. Their customs, as described by Herodotus, also show many correspondences with those of the Germans.

Just as the Thracians formed a connecting link between the Slavs and the Greeks, so the Scythians formed one between the Greeks and the Asiatic Aryans, first of all with the Persians or Parthians. Tradition here again points northward. Arrian says, the Persians believed themselves to be emigrants from Scythia. Hecatæus says the Gandari on the Malabar coast were of Scythian extraction; and Ammianus says the same of the Persians. We are also told that Persians and Sarmatians resembled each other in dress and arms. Some things in the religion of the Persians, too, connect them with these northern peoples. Both Persians and Scythians were fire-worshipers,

* See Professor Cuno's *Die Skythen.*

and in common with the Slavs the former had the dual principle in their deities, something that we find nowhere else among the Aryans.

The intimate connection between the Persians and the Aryans of India has long been acknowledged. The latter say they came into India from the north-west. They were originally of a much lighter color than at present, but have become dark by intermarriage with the dark races, the so-called Dravidians, who were in India before them, and who were numerically superior to the invaders. The higher castes, which are naturally the more exclusive, are, even at the present time, of a lighter complexion than the lower ones.*

In language, also, there are some remarkable correspondences between the Asiatic Aryans and the Slavs. Compare Slav. *Perunu*, Sanskr. *Parjanya*, the thunderer, Lith. *wiesspatis*, Iran. *vispaiti*, Sanskr. *viçpati*, a householder. *Bogu* or *bagha* is god in Slavonic, Zend, and Sanskrit.

If we admit the European origin of the Aryans we have an explanation of some facts that would otherwise be unintelligible. All eastern and northern Asia, well down toward the frontiers of Persia and India, has, so far as we know, always been inhabited by Mongoloid races, but if the Aryans had originated in Central Asia they would have driven out these Mongoloids, and would have spread in every direction, instead of going only southward and westward. J. Grimm says, that these swarms of emigrants left their original home in Central Asia, driven by some "irresistible impulse whose cause is unknown to us," but if he had looked about him he would have found a ready explanation of this "impulse," for it was no other than that which drives thousands of Germans to America every year —the desire of improving their condition. Taking Central Asia, however, as a starting-point, the deserts about the Caspian Sea and the steppes of Russia, whither the majority must have betaken itself if the Asiatic hypothesis is true, have nothing so inviting either in appearance or in reality that these swarms should turn in that direction rather than in any other.

Again, the Asiatics, the Shemites excepted, have never pro-

* The Sanskrit word for caste is *varna*, which simply means *color*. There were originally only two castes, the light and the dark, the former being the higher. —MAX MÜLLER, *Chips*, ii, p. 321.

duced any great impression on the history of the world, and this fact alone creates a presumption against the theory that the Aryans, the conquerors of the world, should have originated in that quarter. True, the Huns in the fifth century did create some commotion in Europe, but their advance was scarcely more than a cavalry raid of which the force was soon spent; and a thousand years later the Turks gained a foothold in Europe, but they could not have maintained it long if they had not been bolstered up (like any other sick man) by other European powers; and Turkey at the present time presents the anomaly of a country governed by a minority that is likewise inferior in intellectual and bodily vigor. These Turks, however, are by no means pure Mongoloids, as form and feature plainly show. The typical Mongoloid has a short skull, black, coarse hair, a yellow or yellowish-brown complexion, dark eyes, and a scanty beard; whereas the Turks more nearly resemble the Aryan type, which shows them to be a mixed race. Now, these Turks came from Central Asia, the reputed home of the Aryans, where we should expect to find the latter in all their purity, if the Asiatic theory were true. There is no reason to think that the whole region east of the Caspian Sea was not originally occupied by these Tartar races; and the Aryans, in spreading eastward from Central Europe, penetrated as far as the borders of the Chinese empire, and by mingling with the aborigines produced the mixed races which we find throughout this whole region, from the eastern part of European Russia far into Asia. In Russia the Aryan type predominates, but as we advance eastward it is gradually absorbed by the Mongoloid, until we approach the Chinese boundary, where it disappears entirely. This is just what we should expect if the Aryans came from the West, but not if they originated in Central Asia.

Let us now return to Germany, and see how the European theory fits there. There is, in the first place, no evidence that northern Europe was ever inhabited by a race substantially different from that found there at present. Professor Montelius, of Sweden, says it is impossible to tell what kind of men the first inhabitants of this region were, but that the oldest ones of whom we have any definite knowledge, those of the stone age, left skulls in their burial mounds that are not materially different from those of the present inhabitants. That the build-

ers of the oldest lake-dwellings in Switzerland were Aryan, no longer be doubted.

The best ethnologists, such as Poesche, Ecker, and I schmidt, are unanimous in their conclusions that the Teu especially the Scandinavians, because they are less inte with other races—are to be regarded as the best represen of the original Aryan type; and, generally speaking, just portion as we depart from northern Europe does this pri type disappear. This would be difficult to account for on the ground that these Teutons have remained in the inal home.

Pytheas, about B. C. 325, found Germans on the sh the Baltic and North Seas. He says, that along the Rh Kelts gradually merged into another nation, whom H Scythians, but who were undoubtedly Germans. In t we find Germans (Bastarnæ) in the army of Pyrrhus B. C. 278. Cæsar found them already on the west bank Rhine, B. C. 58, and it is likely that they filled nea whole country between the Rhine, the Alps, and the That they were very numerous, as well as very prolific, is by the fact, that notwithstanding their almost continuo with the Romans and with each other, as well as their repeated emigrations in large numbers, the land never seemed to lack an abundant population.

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History, then, gives no help to the Eastern theory, and even tradition is against it. It is sometimes stated with great confidence that tradition uniformly points to the East; but what are these traditions? Dr. Prichard, more than forty years ago, said:

> According to all the testimony of history, or rather, of ancient tradition collected by the writers of the Roman empire, the *migrations of the Gauls were always from west to east.* The Keltic nations in Germany, as well as in Italy, were supposed to have been colonies from Gaul, and the Keltæ have been considered as the immemorial inhabitants of western Europe.

Virgil tells us that the ancestors of the noblest Roman families came from Troy, but this story was evidently manufactured for home consumption, and was never really intended to be history. If Virgil had never heard of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, neither would he have heard of this tradition. Great impor-

tance is sometimes attached to a Scandinavian legend which says the gods (As, plur. Æsir) came from Asia, but this story is of a piece with that of Virgil. It is no older than the first half of the thirteenth century, and on account of the accidental resemblance of the word *As* to *Asia* the gods were made to come from that region because it was thought that since the crusades had made Asia famous it would give dignity and importance to the gods to *import* them. Even yet there exists a certain feeling that an imported article is better, merely because it is imported.* According to Scandinavian mythology, Odin, the first of the *Æsir*, was produced amid the fog and frost of the north, and made the first man out of an ash-tree, which certainly does not look like a reference to the "treeless plains" of Central Asia. The Germans themselves, as Tacitus tells us, claimed to be descended from a god who had sprung from their own soil, which he thinks very probable, for Germany was such a wretched country that no one born out of it would ever wish to live there.

With Germany as a starting-point we may imagine the migrations of the various Aryan tribes to have been somewhat as follows: On the west and south-west a movement began through Gaul and continued into Italy. Here the invaders found a non-Aryan population, a remnant of which, the Ligurians, remained until within the historic period. Being somewhat shut off from their kindred by mountains, and intermingling with the aborigines, their language changed rapidly, as did also their personal appearance, and the result was the great Latin race and language. Another portion of this advance guard crossed the Pyrenees into Spain, and, mixing with the population there, formed the Kelt-Iberian people.

On the east of Germany, also, a portion began to separate from the main body. The northern part formed what afterward became the Slavo-Lettic branch; the southern penetrated into Greece, and under the influence of specially favorable climatic conditions, and also of Phenician culture, attained a degree of development surpassing in some respects any thing ever reached by any of their kindred. Between these two was formed the germ of the Asiatic Aryans. These moved east-

* The original form of *ás* is *ans*, as the Gothic and Old High German show. Compare Germ. *gans*, Icelandic *gás*, Anglo-Saxon *gós*.

ward, passed around the end of the Caspian Sea, and lived long enough in the fertile valley of the Jaxartes to lose all remembrance of the rude northern land whence they had originally come. When this region became over-populated they advanced southward, one portion passing into Persia, the other into India, advancing as far as the mouth of the Ganges. Since these last are farthest from their original home, and have mingled more with non-Aryans, they are least like their German ancestors in appearance as well as in disposition.

We know that for at least two thousand years Germany has sent forth its swarms of surplus population, which, going forth "conquering and to conquer," took possession of nearly all of Europe, the fairest portions of America, and of considerable parts of the rest of the globe. Under the name of Ostrogoths and Lombards they overthrew the Western Empire, and set up one of their own in Italy. As Franks and Burgundians they conquered Gaul and left an indelible impression upon the language and institutions of that country, to which the former tribe also gave its present name. As Alans, Visigoths, Suevi, and Vandals they overran the whole of the Iberian peninsula, and the name of one of its fairest provinces, Andalusia (for *Vandalusia*), still testifies of their former presence and power. As Goths they defeated the Eastern emperors in battle, and dictated terms of peace to them. As Scandinavians they subdued Russia, and their leader Rurik became the founder of the most extensive empire that ever existed. The imperial family of Russia at the present day traces its lineage to a Teutonic adventurer. Under the name of Angles and Saxons they possessed themselves of Great Britain, and their descendants are to-day the most enlightened and enterprising people in the world, who, spreading in all directions, hold under their sway, besides Great Britain and Ireland, nearly all of North America, a large portion of Africa, the best part of Oceanica, and no small portion of Asia, while those nations who have never felt the force of the Teutonic arm are all ready to acknowledge the superiority of the Teutonic race in the arts of peace and in intellectual endowment.

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ART. IV.—MAKING THE APPOINTMENTS.

No part of the economy of the Methodist Episcopal Church has been more severely criticised than that which subjects its churches and preachers entirely to the appointing power of its bishops. To outsiders it is an anomaly which they cannot understand, and they often ask how it came to be adopted. Not a few Methodists are similarly embarrassed, when they think of certain appointments and removals for which they fail to see any good reason, though familiar with all the circumstances surrounding them. I deem it advisable, therefore, to indicate the origin of the arrangement before introducing the main points contemplated in this article. It will show it to have been the natural outcome of providential circumstances.

The foundation of Methodism was laid in the conversion of the Rev. John Wesley. Preaching what he had so learned, he attracted the serious attention of many and led them to Christ. They, in turn, began to speak and act in the fervent spirit of heart piety, by which means others were brought to the same joyful experience.

Regarding Mr. Wesley as their spiritual guide, they identified themselves with him, and a few of them began to preach informally, much to his annoyance. But seeing that God was with them he conquered his prejudices, and assigned to them fields of labor as he judged expedient. When, after many years, he heard that Methodism had reached America through some of his Irish converts, and that they desired to have his watch care, he sent Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor, two lay preachers, to take charge of the work. This occurred in 1769. Subsequently he sent others, and in 1784 he appointed and ordained Dr. Coke a superintendent. He also appointed Francis Asbury co-superintendent, and provided for his ordination by Dr. Coke, intending, no doubt, that they should exercise the same authority over the work and preachers here that he did in Europe, subject, however, to his own direction.

But his plan did not succeed as he anticipated. Evidently he intended to maintain his old policy of forming societies within the Church. But when the plan was presented by Dr. Coke

to Mr. Asbury, who had remained in the country during the war of the Revolution, and had marked the progress of democratic sentiments and the growing hostility among Methodists to the English Government and Church, he declined to accept the office unless it should be approved by the preachers. This was not owing to any disrespect for Mr. Wesley, but from a conviction that American Methodists would feel and do better if they were to elect their own superintendents. Accordingly, the preachers, *eighty-three* in number, were called to meet in Baltimore, and *sixty* of them met there, December 25, 1784, and constituted what is known in Methodist history as the "Christmas Conference." Dr. Coke presided, and the Conference proceeded at once to elect him and Mr. Asbury superintendents. We do not know that Dr. Coke had any doubts of the legitimacy of his appointment by Mr. Wesley, but he evidently saw that his virtual election by the Conference, indorsing, as it did, both his appointment and ordination, would give him a much stronger hold upon the preachers and people. It constituted him *their own*, and subjected him to their authority and direction.

This was the logical import of the transaction. Accordingly, the Conference at once adopted rules and regulations for the superintendents, as well as for others, restricting their power very much as compared with that exercised by Mr. Wesley. *He* received and dismissed members and preachers at his own discretion, and managed the Societies as he thought best. But under this new arrangement much of his great power was withheld from them, and committed to other parties. The special duties by which they were made to differ from other elders were, that they should travel at large through the Connection, attend the Conferences and preside over them, ordain the preachers, and appoint them to their work. This order has been maintained to the present time with but slight modifications. They have just the authority given them by the General Conference and no more, and hold it liable to increase or diminution at its constitutional discretion.

This is the policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church. And, considering that Methodism originated with a devoted Churchman, the reverence in which he was held by his followers in this country, and that he had no intention of organizing a new

Church, separate and distinct from the Church of England, and further, that Dr. Coke himself was a Churchman, the movement was a bold and most remarkable conception, largely attributable, no doubt, to the war of '76. Had Dr. Coke come before that event, the result would surely have been different. The course of Mr. Wesley and the national Church in relation to the war, and the return of his missionaries to England at its commencement, prepared the way for this new organization, in the earnest spirit of Methodism but on a broader basis of personal liberty and responsibility.

How the Arrangement was Received.

The work of ordaining to the ministry such candidates therefor as shall have been elected thereto by the Annual Conferences to which the candidates respectively belong, conferred on the superintendents or bishops as officers of the Church, has given general satisfaction, as being at once a prudent and dignified arrangement; but the power of appointing the preachers to their fields of labor has occasioned much dissatisfaction. Good Methodists have regarded it as the weak link in our excellent economy, and have sought to distribute it among the preachers. But every effort in this direction has failed, and the original arrangement remains in full force.

The first formal attempt of the kind occurred at the General Conference of 1792. The second day of the session, the Rev. J. O'Kelly, an old and able member of the body, introduced a resolution requiring the bishops to report the appointments about to be made to the Conferences, that they might make such changes in them as they might deem advisable after hearing from any who should feel aggrieved. The resolution was long discussed, and then rejected by a large majority. Mr. O'Kelly was offended, and unwisely withdrew from the body and formed another Church, bearing the imposing title of "Republican Methodists," taking with him several preachers and many members.

Eight years after, Bishop Coke, seeing how much dissatisfaction existed among the brethren, recommended to the General Conference that the new bishop to be appointed (not applying the order to Bishop Asbury) shall report his appointments to the Conferences, and see what they may say about them. This

being withdrawn, the Rev. Joshua Wells moved "that the new bishop, in stationing the preachers, be aided by a committee of not less than *three* nor more than *four* preachers, chosen by the Conference." This was rejected, as were several other propositions of like effect.

The next we hear of restricting the appointing power occurred in the General Conference of 1808, when it was proposed by the Rev. Ezekiel Cooper to so alter the Discipline as to allow the Conferences to "elect the presiding elders." This was lost by a vote of seventy-three nays to fifty-two yeas. Four years later (1812) it was moved to alter the Discipline so as to require the bishops to nominate the presiding elders, and the Conference to ratify their nomination, one at a time; which was rejected by a vote of forty-one for and forty-two against it.* A similar motion was made in the General Conference of 1816, but without success. In 1820 the subject was argued again, and resulted in the adoption of the following report of a special committee, signed and presented by Ezekiel Cooper, Stephen G. Roszel, Nathan Bangs, Joshua Wells, John Emory, and William Capers:

The committee appointed to confer with the bishops on a plan to conciliate the wishes of the brethren on the subject of choosing presiding elders, recommend to the Conference the adoption of the following resolutions, to be inserted in their proper place in our Discipline, namely:

1. That whenever in any Annual Conference there shall be a vacancy or vacancies in the office of presiding elder, in consequence of his period of service of four years having expired, or the bishop wishing to remove any presiding elder, or by death, resignation, or otherwise, the bishop or president of the Conference, having ascertained the number wanted from any of these causes, shall nominate three times the number, out of which the Conference shall elect by ballot without debate the number wanted; *provided*, when there is more than one wanted not more than three at a time shall be nominated, nor more than one at a time elected; *provided*, also, that in case of any vacancy or vacancies in the office of presiding elder in the interval of any Annual Conference, the bishop shall have authority to fill the said vacancy or vacancies until the ensuing Annual Conference.

2. That the presiding elders be and hereby are made the advisory council of the bishop or president of the Conference in stationing the preachers.

* See Journal of 1812, p. 114.

This was no hurried proceeding. The subject had been discussed in the Annual Conferences, and for several days in the General Conference by the ablest men of that body. It was adopted by a vote of sixty-one to twenty-five, and the friends of the measure supposed that the question was settled. But Rev. Joshua Soule, who had been elected to the office of bishop a few days before, objected, and said that he could not be governed by it should he be ordained, as was proposed. He claimed that it was unconstitutional, and that the bishops alone had authority to decide questions of constitutionality, thus placing them above the General Conference. This created a terrible excitement, which seemed to threaten the unity of the Church. Mr. Soule, Dr. Capers, and others resorted to sundry devices, including Mr. Soule's resignation, to have it rescinded, but failed. Yet by unwearied perseverance they carried a resolution, offered by two Southern members, to suspend it for four years. Mr. Soule and his Southern friends led the opposition, as he did afterward in 1844, when, failing, he and they soon after repudiated the Church altogether. In 1824 it was suspended again until the next General Conference, and then rescinded through alarm of the Radicalism which was sweeping over the Church like a cyclone, and which resulted in the organization of the "Protestant Methodist Church."

These things are mentioned to show that the appointment of the preachers by the sovereign will of the bishops has been a question of debate and difficulty from the beginning. Since 1828 the Church has been much occupied with other exciting questions, such as slavery, lay delegation, etc., but not to the entire exclusion of this. It has appeared in every General Conference, in our papers, preachers' meetings, and other Methodist assemblies, and has been a prolific source of alienation, and the cause of the loss of many preachers and people, who have gone from us to other denominations; and it has forced the conviction on many minds that *some modification of our method of making the appointments is very desirable.*

The writer entered the itinerancy in 1830, when we had four bishops who had been trained in the field and had taken their full share of the work and sacrifice. The presiding elders were from the pastorate, and were familiar with their duties by long and hard experience. The system worked well, and we

defended it, and do so now, as the grandest system of evangelization in the world. But men and things have changed. Our bishops are now taken largely from the schools, and most of them have had little experience in the hardships of the work, and they cannot be expected to appreciate the wants of the preachers or people as they would had they been graduated to their high office from the circuit work.

The changes that have occurred in the abilities of our ministers, and the estimate set on them by other denominations, may seem to call for some change in the manner of treating them. Formerly they had every thing to gain and nothing to lose by holding on to their place in the Conference, with its conditions, however severe. Other denominations discarded them as ignorant heretics. With their views and manners, they were obliged to be Methodists or nothing, and so they could not afford to complain. But now, for reasons which need not be stated, they are regarded as fairly intelligent and sound in the faith, and our preachers and people are courted and flattered. They are welcome every-where, and the chief argument against us among our friends centers in the method of making the appointments. Nor can it be denied that they are often made with so little investigation of ministers and the churches that the conviction is irresistible that the method should be revised. At the beginning we had eighty-three preachers and two bishops. Now we have twelve bishops, and nearly twelve thousand traveling preachers for them to supervise and appoint, among about two millions of members, scattered all over the world. It seems like utter folly to assume that any twelve men on earth can acquire the necessary information to station so many preachers annually in a wise and proper manner, though they might have no other care.

No such risks are allowed in any other department of our Church work. The Book Concern was started in 1789 by the appointment of Rev. John Dickins as book steward, editor, etc. The business prospered under his personal control until 1796, when the General Conference, in its dread of mismanagement and loss by leaving so much responsibility on one man, provided for a Book Committee to assist him, and determine what he should publish. A little later a second book steward, or agent, was elected, afterward two more, with several editors;

and both the number and powers of the Book Committee were from time to time largely increased, until it now consists of nineteen members; one from each of the General Conference Districts stretching from Maine to Oregon, three laymen at New York, and three more at Cincinnati, O.; all appointed by the General Conference, and endowed with large powers of control over the agents and editors. It is an expensive arrangement, but, selecting the members from all parts of our patronizing territory, it is believed by some to secure a wiser and safer administration, and better results. It certainly shows a jealous carefulness in guarding against any undue concentration of power in few hands.

The Church has shown the same caution with regard to our Missionary operations. At the first the business was largely managed by the bishops, missionary secretary, and parent board. But this was thought to be too local and hazardous, and it was judged that a wider and more thorough supervision was desirable. Hence the arrangement for the General Missionary Committee, composed of all the bishops, the corresponding secretaries, treasurer and assistant treasurer, and one representative from each of the thirteen General Conference Districts, to be appointed by the highest judicatory of the Church, with thirteen representatives chosen by the board of managers. This committee canvasses the whole subject, administratively and financially, and determines what fields shall be occupied as foreign missions, the number of persons to be employed, the amount of money necessary for the support of each mission; indeed, it controls every thing involved in the work down to the smallest details.

Similar attention is given to our Church Extension, Educational, and other benevolent enterprises. The meetings of these committees occupy several weeks, and their proceedings indicate how carefully we guard against all possible errors of administration. Hardly a dollar is left to the discretion of any one man in any department. The same precaution is manifested in our Annual Conferences and well-ordered churches. Indeed, in every thing but making the appointments the one-man management is discarded as inexpedient, if not dangerous. Even a pastor is not allowed to settle the least financial difference among brethren; it must be submitted to arbitration. The

same is true in a case of immoral conduct, and imprudence even; we demand its reference to a committee, and then allow the defendant an appeal. Our inimitable jurisprudence protects the churches and each member against the possible sins and errors of a single individual in a remarkable manner. And so does our administration in other respects.

Until 1872 the traveling preachers alone composed the General Conference, and made the rules by which to govern both the churches and themselves, and elected the bishops to preside over them and assign them to their work. But some thought the ministers had too much power, and proposed to neutralize it in part by introducing laymen to the General Conference. Certain bishops took an active part in the movement, and it was done, greatly reducing the controlling, the rule-making power of the pastors, but not lessening that of the bishops with regard to the appointments. The radical change thus effected in our government was thought to be desirable, and it was made. It was urged by the consideration of caution against too much clerical control, and the importance of concentrating all the wisdom of the Church in its management.

But when we come to the appointment of the preachers and the supply of charges with pastors, the whole responsibility is vested in one man: the presiding bishop. He can divide the territory into as many circuits and districts as he deems advisable, appoint presiding elders, transfer preachers to and from the Conferences, and station each one on his personal judgment, though it involves the health, comfort, and support of the men appointed, and the taxation of the people to maintain them. All this is imposed upon him by our rules, even though he may be entirely ignorant of the physical, intellectual, and moral adaptations of most of the preachers, and the circumstances and needs of the several churches. In every other position in which men are charged with administrative functions there is the presumption that the administrator may possibly be influenced, perhaps unconsciously, by prejudices, and therefore his authority is shared by some other one or more, or the party who fancies himself to be aggrieved has some mode of redress; but in the case of a bishop making an appointment, such merely human fallibility is practically assumed to be impossible.

In this state of affairs, it may not be without profit to ex-

amine anew the measure that was projected and urged in 1820 by some of the leading men of the Church, whose names were, and still are, held in high repute. It was not then as necessary as it is now; and yet more than *two thirds* of the Conference voted for it, and *two* of the three bishops favored it, and they were so settled and grounded in the belief of its importance that they would not retract, though Mr. Soule declined the office of bishop, as we have shown, and the South was also strongly opposed to it. Nor did they recede on their return home. Under date of January 31, 1824, we find a pamphlet addressed to the Baltimore Conference by Alfred Griffith, Gerard Morgan, Beverly Waugh, and John Emory; they say:

> We feel no hesitancy to acknowledge to you that it has been our opinion that the presiding elders ought to be elected by the Annual Conferences. We have believed, with some of the bishops themselves and with very many of our brethren, that this arrangement would afford aid and relief to the bishops, increase our mutual confidence, repel suspicion of unfair representations in the private councils, contribute to the desirability of the episcopacy, make the presiding elder's office also more efficient and agreeable, and thus give additional strength to the various links of our chain of union. . . . But how such a measure can be calculated, as has been represented, to destroy the itinerant general superintendency, and very much injure itinerancy, if not entirely destroy it, we have not been able to perceive. We should be very sorry to think that the itinerancy rests on so slender a foundation—that it is dependent on this fragment of episcopal prerogative—this modification of a fragment of individual power.

And yet the signing of this document did not seem to damage the reputation of its authors as loyal Methodists, for Mr. Emory was elected to the office of bishop in 1832 and Mr. Waugh four years later.

If the prevailing sentiment of our leading ministers in those days is not a sufficient guarantee for the safety of the measure, we only need to review the long experience of the British Conference. At its first session after the death of Mr. Wesley (1791) it appointed a "Stationing Committee," to assign, under specific instructions, the preachers to their work, and thus supply the churches, and it has maintained that rule of administration ever since with only slight variations. The Stationing Committee now consists of the president and secretary of the Conference, who are *ex-officio* members; of one secretary of the

Foreign and one of the Home Mission Fund, who are drawn by the departments; of one representative of each of their four theological colleges, who are chosen by the staff of their several colleges; and one representative of each of their thirty-five districts, who is chosen by ballot by the district meeting—generally the chairman of the district; making in all *forty-three* members. These men proceed in their work under the following directions:

> The representative of each district shall send to the secretary of the Conference, not later than the 27th day of June in each year (a month before Conference), upon a schedule to be provided by him, complete lists of (1) the arrangements provisionally made for the stationing of ministers in his district; (2) the invitations accepted by ministers in his district to circuits in other districts; and (3) all ministers in his district for whom no arrangement has been made: from these lists the secretary of the Conference shall compile, and cause to be printed in a convenient form for use in the Stationing Committee, one complete list of all arrangements thus provisionally made; and a separate list of all ministers for whom provisional arrangements have not been made; and a copy of these lists shall be sent to each member of the Stationing Committee at least seven days before the meeting of that committee.*

A few days before the session of the Conference the committee meets, and when it completes its first draft of the appointments a copy is sent to each absent preacher and board of stewards, "that the committee may be enabled to please every one as far as possible." After hearing from the circuits, the appointments are revised, and read in the Conference, and recommitted for such further revision as may be found necessary. Toward the middle of the session they are read in the Conference again, and laid upon the table, and remain open to alteration by the Conference until near its close, when they are corrected and confirmed. Thus the preachers and circuits know what is proposed for them soon after the opening of the Conference, if not before, and are at liberty to express their approval or dissent, and ask for any desired change. But where they negotiate they may know at the close of the March Quarterly Meetings; for the committee and the Conference court pre-arrangements, legitimately made, rather than suspecting and defeating them.

The Conference also determines how many districts and cir-

* Minutes of Conference, 1895, p. 284.

cuits it will have, and elects the chairmen, rather than leave all or any of these responsibilities to its president. And still the itinerancy abides in full force, and works with less friction than with us. At least, we never hear of rebellion among preachers or circuits on account of the appointments, or of any desire to change the plan. I mention these facts in answer to the gratuitous claim that episcopal sovereignty in making the appointments is necessary to the maintenance of the itinerancy.

We have no objection to the office of either bishop or presiding elder. We are indeed more than willing that both shall be retained. Nor do we complain of wrongs or hardships. Our bishops have generally done about what was required of them by the Discipline, according to their understanding of the subject. But we think the General Conference requires too much of them—more than it is in the power of mortal man to do well under their circumstances. And the object of this writing is to relieve them, and secure a more satisfactory and effective distribution of ministers among the people. How this can be done, if at all, is a question which admits of many different opinions. The writer has personally discarded most of the plans that have been offered during the last half-century, generally for the reason that they were too revolutionary, and tended to destroy rather than improve. That adopted by the General Conference in 1820, however, is conservative. It was the result of a compromise after all previous propositions had failed. The subject was referred to a committee of six, three from each side, with instructions to confer with the bishops and report what alterations might be made to conciliate the wishes of brethren on the subject. It avoids the direct election of presiding elders, independently of the bishops, which has been objected to because it leaves too much room for electioneering, and gives the bishop no part in the selection of his council. On this plan the vote is to be taken by ballot and without debate, and must follow pretty closely upon the nomination by the bishop, and will be likely to give the real preference of the Conference. If neither of the nominees obtains a majority, the bishop will be obliged to nominate others. But the presumption is, that in most cases the matter will be settled by the first ballot.

On our present plan a bishop is liable to be influenced in the selection of an elder by personal friendship or sympathy, or

perhaps by a desire to gratify particular parties outside of the Conference. Under the proposed arrangement, he will be somewhat restricted in these inclinations, in view of obtaining the indorsement of the Conference. It will certainly save the preachers from being obliged to submit to the oversight of men whom they deem unsuitable for the position. Then the elder, when thus appointed, will be an officer of the Conference; not of the bishop only, or of the bishop and a single district. This will be likely to stimulate him to acquit himself as one who must give account. Now if a man desires the office, as some do, he naturally seeks to conciliate the bishop. Under the plan proposed, he will be obliged to have the confidence of the Conference as well. Then too, while he will have special charge of a single district, he will be responsible to a certain extent for the appointments on all the districts, and will seek to become acquainted with the peculiarities of all the preachers and churches, that he may advise and act understandingly in the cabinet.

What is meant by the second resolution, constituting the presiding elders the "advisory council of the bishop," is not quite clear. I understand it to mean more than to give advice. That right they always had, if asked. I think it was intended to restrain the bishop from making any appointment without the approval of a majority of his council. If it means less, it leaves the appointments to the discretion of one man, as they now are. With my construction of the plan adopted in 1820, it will afford many advantages.

1. *It will greatly relieve the bishops.*

The responsibility of stationing so many preachers, and supplying an equal number of churches with pastors, is simply tremendous. If it were in the Romish Church, where the priests are not encumbered with families, and where all are financially provided for in advance, it would be much less. But it is far otherwise with us. Most of our preachers have families that are dear to them as life itself, and their comfortable support depends entirely on the financial ability and disposition of the church to which they shall be sent. The support usually furnished the preachers ranges from two hundred to five thousand dollars per annum, and the places and people vary in desirableness in about the same proportion. So that whena bishop sits

down to station the preachers in any Conference he needs to consider all these interests, as well as their personal adaptations. Every thing of earth, if not of heaven, is in his hands, and if he contemplates the far-reaching results of his decision he must be oppressed with a sense of his responsibility.

The bishop that could hurry off the appointments with little concern, trusting in God that they will be overruled for good, would show that he is not the right sort of a man for the office. These appointments carry with them the collection and appropriation of about eight millions of dollars, more than five times as much as all our benevolences put together; and the proportion of this sum which each preacher shall receive is largely determined by the decision of the bishop who appoints him.

But what can he do? There is, for instance, a Conference of two hundred and forty preachers, one half of whom must be changed; yet he does not know the particular adaptations of one in ten of them, possibly not of one even, and is no better acquainted with the churches to be served; but the appointments cannot be postponed. How can a bishop fail to be overwhelmed with solicitude if he has the heart of a true Methodist preacher? If our preachers were foreign missionaries and our people heathen, their cases would command the long and continued study of many minds to adjust them one to another, and to use the large amount of money involved to the best advantage. But being in the "regular work," the bishop is required to station every preacher and supply every church on his own judgment, and that within a very few days.

But this does not show the full extent of his perplexity. A large majority of our preachers seldom, if ever, approach a bishop at all in relation to their appointments. The same is true with most of our churches. But we have a class of pastors and churches which are not so submissive or modest. They *know* what they want and what ought to be done, and they have the courage of their convictions, and set themselves to work to make the bishop see things as they do, and accommodate their wishes. This sometimes leads to the adoption of resolutions and letters to the bishop, in advance of his arrival, expressing their desires and the reasons why he should gratify them. Some preachers desire to remain

the second or third year where they are not wanted, and others wish to be appointed to places to which they are not invited. These measures are often followed by the intervention of personal friends, classmates, or family relations, urging the bishop to grant the desired appointment. But when he gets into the cabinet he finds counter petitions and other information that create doubt in his mind as to what he ought to do. But he must decide the question, and often does so without asking the advice of the elders, and sometimes against their earnest wishes. I speak advisedly.

The plan will help the bishops, too, in determining how many districts a Conference shall have. This question has occasioned much dissension. Western bishops used to be alarmed for New England Methodism when they found from forty to sixty preachers on a district, and desired to restore them to twelve or fifteen, which was the orthodox number in the days of horseback travel. And one bishop—not a Western man, by the way—clandestinely foisted an additional district upon a Conference in the East, where he presided. It was done so adroitly that the Conference knew nothing of it until it was officially announced, and then it was too late for Conference action that year. But early in the next session another bishop was almost unanimously requested to restore the old number of districts. This was a severe trial to him, as he did not like to interfere with the administration of his colleague; but it was of no use, entreaty was in vain, and he did it. But that imposition gave two old presiding elders a new lease of official life for four years each, and afflicted the new one. The action was, however, according to law, though the preachers thought it unreasonable.

A modification of this kind, if properly arranged, will relieve the bishops also in the matter of "transfers," which are becoming a fruitful source of dissatisfaction and complaint. I say this without meaning to express any prejudice against them, for I believe them desirable if suitably made, and that they may be profitably multiplied. But they require thorough investigation and pre-arrangement, for which our few bishops have little time. Yet they have complete control, and do make transfers without any apparent reason. Cases of the kind have lately occurred which created great distress of body and mind, throwing preachers entirely out of place and support for a

whole year. But all the offending bishop needs to say in self-defense is, that he acted according to his best judgment. That may be true; he is not so much to blame as is the General Conference for exposing traveling preachers to such painful possibilities. The council proposed would preclude them.

2. *The plan will vitalize and dignify the office of presiding elders.*

These officers are now the agents of the bishop.* Of course they are officially powerless in his presence; but in his absence they have high authority, involving episcopal functions, not including the annual appointments. In those matters they are consulted and trusted, while in making the appointments, if they assume any control, they are distrusted; so that many preachers and churches prefer to take their chance to see the bishop and do their business directly with him. But should we make them responsible in part for the appointments, and give them a vote in the cabinet, they at once become assistant bishops in this respect also, through and by whom all negotiations can be made. They will then be the agents of the preachers and churches as well, and adjust them to each other.

3. *The plan will improve the condition of the preachers in many respects.*

It will at least secure to them free consultation and a better knowledge of their proper standing among the churches, which can hardly fail to stimulate to higher endeavors. The idea that they cannot be trusted with the facts in their own case, whether favorable or otherwise, is mortifying to self-respect. The secrecy thrown over this whole business is an offense to Christian manhood. It must be a pleasure to a preacher to know that he is wanted somewhere, and that his destiny is being considered by those who have time and authority in the premises, and is not left to the hurry and turmoil of the Conference session. It will save worthy men and women from a world of anxiety before the Conference, and many painful surprises at its close.

Then, improving the fitness of the appointments, it will lessen the frequency of removals at the close of the first and second year. Many move oftener than would be at all necessary to the highest success if the appointments were properly adjusted. One presiding elder lately informed me that he

* See Emory's *History of the Discipline*, p. 397.

went to Conference expecting to have about *fourteen* changes on his district, and returned with nearly *thirty*. I see by the Minutes that *twenty-nine* of his preachers are on their first year, *seventeen* on their second, and *nine* on their third. This is not a rare case, and is the legitimate outcome of our system as it is administered. If this is the best that can be done, it shows lamentable unpopularity in the preachers, or remarkable unsusceptibility in the people to be satisfied.

Preachers are unnecessarily taxed, too, with regard to the *extent* of their removals. I speak now of desirable men who stay two or three years in a place, but who are often sent from one end of the Conference to the other, when wanted near at hand, and not known nor asked for where appointed. Then after a short time they are sent back near their old charge.

The British Conference instructs its Stationing Committee emphatically on this point, to save the preachers and their families hard work and unnecessary expense.

Similar inattention is often manifested in regard to the health of ministers. But our bishops have no time to canvass these matters; it is the proper work of the presiding elders. They can also study the likes and dislikes of pastors as to places and styles of people, and often accommodate them without detriment to the cause. If this plan were adopted it would relieve the itinerancy of many of its unnecessary burdens.

Besides, the brotherly intimacy between the presiding elders and pastors involved in these investigations will create a closer fellowship than ordinarily exists. Elders will not be regarded as the representatives of the bishops merely looking after "complaints and appeals," and other judicial matters, but as co-laborers and brothers beloved, anxious to do the best possible with and for all concerned. And this confidence will give a new charm to the ministry, and lessen the temptation to accept calls to other bodies. Our preachers at the beginning were few, and were graduated largely from farms, shops, and the sea, and when called to preach they were ready to serve anywhere, and under any conditions. Now, we have the largest body of ministers in the country, many of whom are thoroughly educated, and capable of filling the highest positions in any Church. Other denominations are inviting them to their pulpits and professorships, with strong inducements as to salary and other consid-

erations. But most of them are Methodist itinerants from conviction and a sense of duty. To say that it is humiliating to receive their appointments without having been officially consulted as to their necessities or wishes is not unreasonable, and yet, if we are correctly informed, many do so; and even where arrangements have been made with the approval of the presiding elder they have been completely upset by the bishop.

In view of such occurrences it is not wonderful that there is a growing dissatisfaction with our administration. Under the plan which I have ventured to suggest offenses of this character could not occur without implicating a majority of the presiding elders, and would not, therefore, be often repeated.

Should any such plan be adopted, it is probable that negotiations between the pastors and people through the Quarterly Conferences will be legalized, or at least tolerated, among *all* the churches, as they now are among the larger ones, and the secrecy which has generally been enjoined will be superseded by free and brotherly consultations and arrangements. Why not? If military rule was necessary in the days when the bishops and pastors were allowed to receive *sixty dollars* a year "quarterage," and their traveling expenses (if they could collect it), and endured unutterable hardships, it does not follow that it is so now. In the good providence of God, Methodist ministers have come to be respectably supported.

There is another reason for this proposed care in making the appointments. I refer to the new rule, enacted by the General Conference of 1872, making it a penal offense for a traveling preacher to "refuse to attend to the work assigned him," indictable immediately by the presiding elder, and punishable by the committee to the full extent allowed in the case of a crime "sufficient to exclude a person from the kingdom of grace and glory;" namely, "suspension from all ministerial services and Church privileges until the ensuing Annual Conference."* So long as disobedience to the order of a bishop exposes preachers to such painful disabilities the utmost care should be used to make the appointments agreeable, or at least reasonable. This rule places our nearly twelve thousand traveling preachers in a most perilous condition. I was mortified to see it in the

* See Discipline, ¶ 219.

Discipline, but forbear to express my convictions regarding it in this article, except as it affects the present question. It reveals the difference in the treatment of preachers in England and with us. They negotiate by rule, if they can, and have three chances with the Stationing Committee, if they do not, to obtain a modification of their appointments, and one with the Conference afterward, extending over several days. *We* do not provide for negotiations, nor any free interchange of thought and feeling until the appointments are made. Then they are read by the bishop, when it is too late for revision, and the preachers are sent out to find their new fields, with a presiding elder on their track to arrest and suspend them if they do not occupy them.

Another argument for the measure may be found in a still later rule which provides for the *location* of a man for "*inefficiency or secularity*," without giving him an opportunity to vindicate himself by *evidence* against these charges.* Few men are able to manage unsuitable appointments without incurring the suspicion of one or both of these faults.

4. *The plan will give new responsibility and interest to a large class of our churches.*

I refer to those who take less care of church matters than they ought; receive their preachers without much forethought, and do more or less for their support as they may feel inclined. I cannot blame them much under our present system. But place them on the proposed platform, and make the Quarterly Conferences spokesmen for the people, and they will have something to say. It will give these bodies a certain responsibility, and put our churches about on a level with other denominations in these matters. Presbyterians contract for pastors, but it is not valid without the approval of the presbytery. Congregationalists may do the same, but need the indorsement of a "mutual council." Episcopalians can hire whomsoever they can persuade to serve them, but it goes for nothing unless the bishop sanctions it. Methodists ought to be equally careful in their arrangements, relying on the cabinet to ratify them; which will generally be done, if reasonable. This should extend to all our societies, however small. It will give them a self-respect and an honorable *status* in the community that indiffer-

* See Discipline, ¶ 188.

ence or pauper dependence cannot command. It will also protect them against themselves, and the private intermeddling of individuals. The presiding elder being largely responsible for the appointments, as he now is not, it will be his duty to give them such information and advice as may be necessary to right action.

5. *The plan will also protect preachers and societies against whims and notions* which unaccountably attach to all classes of men, however honest and good. We hear of but one solitary individual who claims to be exempt, and that is the pope of Rome. He assumes to be infallible. Whether he is so or not we need not decide. But our bishops make no such claim. They are good men, but liable to be affected by little things, and to err in judgment. A preacher was present lately when a friend expressed to one of them the great affliction he had imposed on a brother in the matter of his appointment. The bishop replied, "I have little sympathy for him, because of the report he made on periodicals." That bishop believed in our periodicals. Others are profoundly impressed with our missionary work, and estimate men by the amount of their missionary collections, which they are required to report in open Conference. Some believe so firmly in thorough education that they judge men largely by their diplomas, and see little to hope from young ministers who have not been through the discipline of the schools. Besides, bishops are liable to be affected by the speeches and votes of brethren in conference session, or their particular bearing in private life, so as to be more or less warped in stationing them.

This liability is recognized in all departments of responsibility, showing the danger of leaving great questions to the decision of *one man*. The incorruptible Sir Matthew Hale, chief-justice of the king's bench, declined a small present from a rustic neighbor, lest it might influence him in court. The President of the United States is forbidden to receive a present from a foreign government on similar grounds. Nor is he allowed to appoint many of his subordinates without the approval of the Senate. In our courts we require *twelve* men to settle very small differences, and allow an appeal. And how careful our judges are in impaneling a jury to shut out improper influence, and secure a verdict strictly according to law and evi-

dence. Our British brethren made rules long ago to exclude irregular intermeddling with their Stationing Committee, that they might not be diverted from fair and impartial conclusions. But we have no similar rules, and our bishops are exposed on every side, and are almost compelled to make some appointments they would not make were the elders authorized to share the responsibility of their decisions.

The same liability exists in presiding elders, and has sometimes led to great injustice to pastors and societies on their districts. Under the proposed rule each elder will be restricted by his colleagues in this particular, because they will have to share the responsibility of his action.

But some may say, the elders are now doing just what we propose. This is a mistake, though they may be trying to do it. One has lately informed me that he and his colleagues have nearly every thing arranged for the next Conference, five months hence. So they had a year ago, but I happen to know that at the "reading out" last spring they were disappointed, as were many of the preachers and people. And they will be again. The spirit is willing, but the authority is weak. Cases have occurred where the bishop blamed elders for making arrangements, and overthrew them for no other reason, as was believed, than that he was not consulted. A few more such things as have occurred may create a wider agitation. After all, was not the bishop right? According to the Discipline the elder had no business to meddle with the annual appointments. Presiding elders have nothing to do with them, except in the case of a bishop's absence, when they are associated with the Conference and authorized to "regulate" them.* The Discipline says nothing about his making them or helping to make them. It is, indeed, made his duty "to attend the bishop when present in his district, and to give him, by letter, when absent, all necessary information of the state of his district.† Nor are the bishops required to consult them on the subject. They can get information elsewhere, if they prefer it, and they sometimes do, so that the elders are as much surprised at some appointments as are others. My suggestion is, that we endow them with certain powers in this connection, that they may help the bishops where they most need wise counsel and support.

* Discipline, ¶ 168. † *Ibid.*, ¶ 171, § 7.

Is it said that *usage* gives them a part in the business, and that the bishops do call them together and consult them? We admit it, but the usage is entirely optional with each bishop in his own administration, and gives no rights or authority to the elders. Some bishops depend largely on them, while others know, or think they know, enough without their aid, especially in difficult cases. But is it safe to leave such important interests to them in their circumstances? We practically say it is not, in every other department; why not apply the same rule of common sense to this?

This subject appeals especially to pastors and churches. Bishops can but approve of the measure proposed unless they covet power, or perchance consider a bishop mysteriously endowed by God with extraordinary wisdom to control these supreme interests. As to more than *five hundred* presidents, professors, agents, teachers, chaplains, etc., among us, they cannot feel the pressure of the itinerancy indicated, because they make their own bargains, and only go where they please, and their appointment by the bishop is merely nominal, to allow them to occupy their positions without leaving their respective Conferences. But the pastors and churches have much at stake, and should give the subject their prayerful consideration. If they will properly ask for some such change as we have suggested, and use fair and Christian means to obtain it, holding for the present all other questions, however important, in abeyance, it will be granted. It is so reasonable that it would have been adopted years ago but for the fact that it was complicated with other changes of damaging tendency.

But if the pastors and churches are satisfied with things as they are I have no more to say, and will quietly take my seat, hoping to have the credit of being sincere though I may be in error.

Art. V.—THAYER'S GREEK-ENGLISH LEXICON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.*

The publication of this lexicon unquestionably brings in a new epoch for English-speaking students of the Greek Testament. With most of them it will doubtless soon supersede all others for constant use, and will thus enter as a powerful factor into all scholarly interpretation of the New Testament in England and America. It will affect commentaries, sermons, Sunday-school expositions, and other religious literature. It will be employed as a weapon in doctrinal controversies, as a key to unlock difficulties in exegesis, as the chief help to the critical understanding of the Greek Testament. During its shorter or longer supremacy as our leading New Testament lexicon it is sure to wield great power within its realm. And so, like the subjects of a new sovereign, we naturally inquire, with no little solicitude, into the history and qualities of this newest authority. Here it is with its broad, clear, regal pages;† but what is its lineage, and what its character?

Development of Greek Lexicography.

To rightly appreciate this lexicon and understand its marvelously composite character, it seems necessary to review briefly the origin and growth of Greek lexicography. Following the preface of this book is a list of about three hundred and forty ancient authors who are quoted or referred to in the body of the work. These names represent the extensive extant Greek literature which has been minutely examined during many centuries by countless scholars. The vast mass of lexical material thus laboriously accumulated has been arranged and rearranged in various ages and countries, in accordance with many plans and in different degrees of completeness, until

* *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament;* being Grimm's Wilke's *Clavis Novi Testamenti.* Translated, Revised, and Enlarged by Joseph H. Thayer, D.D., Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the Divinity School of Harvard University. Pp. xix, 726. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1887.

† The thick, agreeably tinted paper, the distinct and wisely varied type, and the press work approach very near to practical perfection. Some might prefer a thinner paper, like that of the last edition of Liddell and Scott, and a little clearer marking of the secondary subdivisions.

gradually a genuine science of lexicography has been developed which within our own century has attained an excellence leaving little to be desired. No literary works have so good a claim to the well-worn illustration of the coral reef as the great lexicons, for their foundations have been built up by the patient industry of numberless, and for the most part forgotten, toilers.

The beginnings of Greek lexicography are doubtless to be sought in the glosses or explanations written here and there upon the margins of early manuscripts to explain obsolete or foreign words (γλῶσσαι). Separate collections of these words, with their interpretations for convenience, formed glossaries, which were the rude germs of the later lexicons. The next step was the extension of their scope so as to include the more difficult Greek words, which were explained in the same language, with some consideration of synonyms. The explanation of foreign words in Greek or Latin introduced the practice which led to bilingual dictionaries. Here were the principles of the modern lexicon, but in completeness and arrangement the work was very crude. Although China puts in her claim to the earliest of dictionaries, and sets its date at about 1100 B.C., and rudimentary dictionaries have been discovered on ancient Assyrian bricks, yet modern lexicography recognizes its beginnings and development as thus directly connected with Greek and Latin literature. Worthy of special notice in this connection are the Latin Glossary of Varro, "the most learned of the Romans," which was dedicated to his contemporary Cicero; the famous Onomasticon of Julius Pollux, each of the nine books of which was inscribed to the author's imperial pupil and patron Commodus; the Greek lexicons of Phrynichus in the second century, Hesychius in the seventh, Photius in the ninth, Suidas in the eleventh, and Phavorinus in the sixteenth. With the revival of learning and invention of printing there arose a great demand for Greek-Latin lexicons, to which the early printers responded in a princely fashion. The crowning achievement of this period was the immortal *Thesaurus Linguæ Græcæ* of Henry Stephens. The publication of its five mammoth folio volumes (in 1572) led him eventually to bankruptcy and insanity. Hallam says of this work: "In comprehensive and copious interpretation of words,

it not only left every earlier dictionary far behind, but it is still the single Greek lexicon; one which some have ventured to abridge or enlarge, but none have presumed to supersede." The *Thesaurus* has been twice republished with additions, in London (1815–28), by Valpy, and in Paris (9 vols. folio, 1831–65), by Didot. The names of Schneider, Passow, Pape, Rost and Palm, and Liddell and Scott bring us, in general Greek lexicography, down to the present time.

New Testament Lexicons.

New Testament lexicography, though resting upon the common early foundations described above, and especially upon the works of Suidas, Hesychius, and Phrynichus, yet has had an important historical development of its own. From a long list* I shall mention only those lexicons which seem most important and interesting.

A vocabulary of the words in the Greek Testament was given in the Complutensian Polyglot (published in 1520); yet the first important New Testament lexicon to be printed was that of Flacius, forming a part of his *Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ* (1567). This passed through eight editions, and "served as a storehouse in which the exegetical products of the Reformation were collected."† Less dogmatic and polemic, and nearer to our modern ideal, was the lexicon of Pasor (first ed. 1619). Of moderate size, clear in its definitions, and nearly neutral in regard to disputed doctrines, it passed through more editions and was more widely circulated than any New Testament lexicon before or since. Not less than twenty different editions appeared, and as many distinct abridgments. Stock (in 1725) followed a more definite plan, and endeavored to arrange the meanings of the words in a strictly logical order, though his system was somewhat artificial and cumbersome. Mintert (1728) adopted the alphabetical in place of the prevailing etymological order, marked some various readings, and compared the New Testament diction with the Hebrew and the usage of the Septuagint.

* Schleusner gives in a literary notice following his preface a list of thirty-six different New Testament lexicons published between 1552 and 1799.

† Grimm, in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1875, p. 486, to whose article, *Krit. geschichtl. Uebersicht der N. T. Verballexica seit der Reformation*, I am indebted for many of the facts in this section, though they have been verified so far as possible by personal examination and from other authorities.

His citation of the passages in which a given word occurred was most awkwardly made in the order of their occurrence in the canon. The word *καί* thus arranged occupies fifteen pages!

Schöttgen, who had, in connection with an edition of Pasor, insisted upon that method of interpretation which is now called the grammatico-historical, published his own lexicon in 1746. As this was based upon sound hermeneutical principles, enriched from the editor's Hebrew and Talmudical learning, and contained references to the usage of the Septuagint, it marked a considerable advancement, and, as edited by Spohn (1790), was the best New Testament lexicon of its time.

A critical study of the defects of New Testament lexicons having been made by J. F. Fischer during a period of eighteen years (to 1791), his pupil Schleusner, profiting by his master's work, and reaping a rich harvest from the philological and exegetical labors of the time, issued his lexicon in 1791. This was a most valuable collection of materials but was miserably arranged, and conspicuously failed to distinguish between the real signification of a word and its special sense or application in a given passage. It was in bondage also to a false grammatical system. It was through this lexicon that Moses Stuart was initiated into New Testament learning.* Schleusner practically occupied the field by his various editions until 1821. But the great advancement in philological and exegetical studies led to a marked improvement in the science of lexicography. In 1810 Gesenius published his first Hebrew lexicon, in which, according to Dr. Robinson, "was first exhibited a complete specimen of what may be termed the *historico-logical* method of lexicography; which first investigates the primary

* Professor Stuart's testimony will interest many students: "This I know, that my eyes have been pained and my mind often vexed with spending not *minutes* merely, but almost quarters of an hour, in searching out some specific meaning, which was surrounded by such a host, that one might almost as well look for an individual in the army of Bonaparte, without consulting the clerk's rolls, as find a particular meaning in Schleusner and other lexicographers."—*Bibl. Rep.*, vol. viii, p. 489. Yet he exclaims elsewhere: "Good old Schleusner, peace to his ashes! . . . for he was the harbinger of a brighter day for New Testament lexicography. 'With all his faults we love him still;' for under his guidance we made our *début* on the field of New Testament philology. . . . In Schleusner we see the transition state from the old *régime* to the new."—*North American Review*, vol. cl, pp. 269, 275.

and native signification of a word, and then deduces from it in a logical order the subordinate meanings and shades of sense, as found in various constructions and in the usage of different ages and writers." Clumsy and artificial classifications, with their formal divisions of *proprie*, *per synedochen*, *per metonymian*, *generatim*, *speciatim*, etc., gave place to a more natural and logical arrangement. In 1819 the third edition of Schneider's *Greek-German Lexicon*, with its wealth of poorly arranged material, evoked general and severe criticism, and during the same year there was issued the first part of Passow's first edition in accordance with the newly accepted scientific principles. In New Testament lexicography the need of a similar reform was felt, and two important and rival lexicons soon appeared, that of Wahl in 1821, and Bretschneider's in 1824. Both greatly surpassed Schleusner in arrangement and accuracy, and each had its own peculiar excellencies. Wahl had a wider acquaintance with the classics, and gave the most painstaking attention to logical order and minute subdivision; but he paid too little regard to the influence of the Old Testament upon the style of the New, and, as Professor Stuart has said, "his lexical trees sometimes look like our Lombardy poplars." Bretschneider, who was a man of far greater talent than Wahl, gave careful attention to the Septuagint, the Old Testament Apocrypha, and the writings of Josephus, Philo, and the early Church Fathers. The first edition of Robinson's lexicon was a translation of Wahl's *Clavis*, with some additions from Schleusner and other sources, and a little original work. His later editions embody the results of his independent research and judgment, yet they are in the main a combination of the best things from these two German lexicons, supplemented from the best commentaries and grammars. The influence and usefulness of this scholarly, practical, and conservative lexicon in America and England have been beyond estimate. It is probably true that until the publication of Grimm's work it was the best New Testament lexicon, for ordinary use, existing in any language.

Wilke's Clavis.

The title-page of our new lexicon informs us that it is "Grimm's Wilke's *Clavis Novi Testamenti*, translated, revised,

and enlarged." In reality, very little of its substance or excellence is due to Wilke. Schürer has criticised the retention of his name in Grimm's second edition as a curiosity. Yet as Grimm's work owed its existence, plan, and name to Wilke's, it seems best to refer briefly to the *Clavis* and its author. The various editions of Bretschneider appeared between 1824 and 1840, and those of Wahl between 1829 and 1843. In 1841, Christian Gottlieb Wilke issued his *Clavis Novi Testamenti Philologica.* The author, who was born in 1788, was pastor at Hermannsdorf near Annaberg, spent some years in private life in Dresden and Würzburg, and eventually in the latter city entered the Roman Catholic Church. Besides the *Clavis* he published (in 1843) a work on New Testament interpretation, and another on the rhetoric of the New Testament. Reuss speaks of their philological spirit and minutely accurate schematic method. Winer regarded the latter as worthy of attention. After becoming a Catholic, he undertook the preparation of another New Testament lexicon for the especial use of Catholic theological students. Before this was fully printed he died, in 1856. From his manuscript the work was published in 1858. In this lexicon he showed, according to Grimm, notwithstanding its numerous faults, remarkable independence for a Catholic convert.

The *Clavis*, written while Wilke was still a Protestant of the rationalistic stamp, was reissued in a new but unchanged edition in 1850. Professor Grimm criticises it very severely in the *Studien und Kritiken*, and in the preface of his lexicon. He says that it is extremely superficial and abounds in mistakes, that "in it the careless use of Schleusner, Wahl, and Bretschneider has left very evident traces. Fritzsche not unjustly said of its editor, that 'if he had possessed as much learning, diligence, and good judgment as he had arrogance he might have written a very useful New Testament lexicon.'" Yet Professor Grimm adopts as an index to his own purpose these words of Wilke: "I decided to produce a book which should furnish to the students of the New Testament every thing which they should seek in it which was suitable and necessary for laying open the meaning of the sacred Scriptures, rightly divided and arranged in a convenient and simple order, which should not overwhelm them with a confused mass of observa-

tions, but should set before them the words and their meanings so arranged as to be examined with little difficulty."

Grimm's Lexicon.

When, after a few years, the entire second edition of Wilke's *Clavis* had been exhausted, the owner of the copyright desired Professor Grimm* to prepare a new edition. He promised to do so, though only knowing the lexicon by the unfavorable public judgment. He says: "After a careful personal examination I was convinced that it was still worse than its reputation, and that only by the writing of an entirely new work could it be improved." At the wish of the publishers he retained Wilke's name on the sub-title-page. With the *Clavis* as a sort of scaffolding he began the construction of a new lexicon in accordance with the most approved principles of lexicography. He sought to arrange the meanings of the words in their historical and logical order, and to make his treatment as brief as perspicuity would allow. He laid under especial contribution the New Testament lexicons of Schleusner, Bretschneider, and Wahl, and Wahl's *Clavis Apocryphorum;* such classical lexicons as Stephens's *Thesaurus*, Passow (as edited by Rost and Palm), and Pape; the works of the ancient lexicographers Hesychius and Suidas; the leading Greek philologists, such as Fischer, Winer, and Buttmann; and finally and notably such exegetical writers as Fritzsche, Meyer, De Wette, Bleek, and Tholuck. It is not surprising that a distinguished scholar by seven years of labor on sound principles and with such helps produced a lexicon which took the highest rank in Germany, and has maintained it to the present time.

Thayer's Lexicon.

The first part of Grimm's lexicon was published in 1862. Before two years had passed Professor Thayer,† then occupying the chair of sacred literature in the Andover Theological

* Carl Ludwig Wilibald Grimm is now Honorary Ordinary Professor of Theology at the University of Jena. His chief work is entitled, *Institutio Theologiæ Dogmaticæ Evangelicæ* (1848 and 1869).

† Joseph Henry Thayer was born in Boston, Mass., in 1828, was graduated at Harvard College in 1850, and from Andover Theological Seminary in 1857. He served as pastor of Congregational churches in Quincy and Salem, Mass., from 1858 to 1864, with an interval of service as a chaplain in the army; Professor of Sa-

Seminary, had arranged with Professor Grimm and his publisher for the reproduction of the book in English. This was announced in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October, 1864. The work was immediately begun, but suffered from several interruptions. These were of such a nature, however, as to substantially advance the work. Professor Thayer undertook the translation and editing of Lünemann's edition of Winer's New Testament Grammar, and afterward that of Buttmann. Meanwhile the American Revision Committee had been organized, and Professor Thayer became a prominent member, and the recording secretary of the New Testament Company. In August, 1873, he announced the translation completed, and the work of verifying the references drawing toward a close. There remained "the editorial labor requisite to adapt it to the needs of English speaking students." In 1879 a new edition of Grimm's lexicon was issued, to which Professor Thayer contributed over *four thousand* corrections in references. Finally, on Christmas day, 1885, twenty-one years after the first announcement of the lexicon in this form, the American editor signed the preface of his completed work.

The task of translating from the Latin, while fundamental, and demanding scholarship and literary ability in a high degree, was relatively a small part of the undertaking. The result is manifestly an accurate rendering into idiomatic English. It has little or none of that awkwardness of style which mars so many translations. Sometimes a word is wisely left untranslated (as *animalis* under ψυχή), or a knot is apparently cut (as in translating *physicæ*, "essential," under ζωή 2.a, where the more obvious rendering of "physical," which is given under λόγος III in a similar formula, seems inadmissible). And some freedom is taken in the form of statement (as under μονογενής), but examination shows that in these cases it was to preserve the real spirit and meaning of the original that the letter was sacrificed.

Several processes in the American editing may be noticed together, which involved accuracy, wide research, and almost infinite patience, but which are largely of a mechanical nature,

cred Literature in Andover Theological Seminary, 1864-1882; appointed Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the Harvard Divinity School in 1884.

and whose results are not at once apparent. Of this sort was the repeated verification of all the biblical and classical references,* and most of those to modern works. Of separate entries in the vocabulary, Professor Thayer has made over ninety, consisting mainly of forms peculiar in their spelling which are found in critical texts, but also of some words occurring in the text or margin of recent editions of the Greek Testament. Younger students will have reason to be especially grateful for some of the former, such as *ἐξέφνης*, *κρεπάλη*, *ἐφνίδιος*, and all will value such additions as *ἔλιγμα*, *ἐπικεφάλαιον*, *δύσις*, *κατανγάζω*, *συμφύω*, and *συνκατανεύω*. Of each verb those representative forms which occur in the New Testament are fully and exclusively given, and there is added to the verbs those compounds, formed with prepositions, which are used by the sacred writers. There are quite copious additions to the notes, indicating extra-biblical usage, to the cross-references and to the lists of the various readings from the critical texts, in which all of those from Tregelles and from Westcott and Hort have been incorporated. Of the same nature is the labor expended upon the Appendix. This contains a table of all the forms of the verbs which are likely to cause the beginner any perplexity. It has full lists of the words borrowed from the Hebrew, Latin, and other foreign tongues. For advanced scholars is given a classification of the extra-classical words under the headings, "Later Greek Words," and "Biblical Greek, including Biblical Words and Biblical Significations." The next section presents the words peculiar to individual New Testament writers. These lists are doubtless the best of the sort in existence, and will prove valuable to the most learned New Testament scholars.

With the treatment of etymology the American editor entered upon work of a higher grade. The principle adopted was "to give the derivation in cases where it is agreed upon by the best etymologists, and is of interest to the general student." The original statements in this department have been further supplemented by references to the works of Curtius, Fick, Vaničcek, Pott, and others. Among the corrections that under *αἰών* is noteworthy. Grimm favors the view that the word "is so

* The Rev. Dr. George B. Jewett, of Salem, Mass., who had rendered most valuable assistance in this and some other parts of the revison through many years, died last summer without having seen the completed work.

connected with *ἄημι, to breathe, blow*, as to denote properly *that which causes life, vital force.*" Thayer corrects this by the statement that it is "now generally connected with *ἀεί, ἀεί*," and adds abundant references. Under *συκοφαντέω* Grimm, giving the derivation of *συκοφάντης*, as from *σῦκον* and *φαίνω*, says, "At Athens those were called *συκοφάνται* whose business it was to inform against any one whom they might detect exporting figs from Attica." A reference to Liddell and Scott calls attention to a conjecture far more in harmony with history, the probabilities of the case, and the significant use of the word in Aristophanes. The theory that *θεός* originally signified *the implored one* is stated with references to the other views. Other additions are, that the primary sense of *ἱερός* is thought to be *mighty;* that *πατήρ*, from the root *pâ*, means, literally, "nourisher, protector, upholder;" that *μήτηρ*, from the Sanskrit *mâ*, "to measure," denotes either the "molder" or the "manager," and that *δίκη* is allied with *δείκνυμι*. These and others like them are substantial and valuable improvements, and we are tempted to wish that Professor Thayer had gone further in this direction; yet it seems only reasonable to trust his judgment as to the limits of certainty and profit. The means of further investigation are easily available, and the niceties of etymology, though fascinating, are often misleading to the interpreter and a serious hinderance in the practical work of the class-room.

One of the most welcome and valuable features of the lexicon is its treatment of *synonyms*. The plan of this was happily conceived and has been admirably executed. The choicest material has been selected from Schmidt, Trench, Tittmann, Green, and the best commentators, and expressed with brevity and clearness. Some of these notes are marvels of condensation and precision. Take for example this extract from the discussion of synonyms under *δέησις*: "Thus in combination *δέησις* gives prominence to the expression of personal need, *προσευχή* to the element of devotion, *ἔντευξις* to that of child-like confidence, by representing prayer as the heart's converse with God." References are also given here to the lexicon of Sophocles, to Trench, Bishop Lightfoot, Ellicott, and Huther. Under *βοάω* we read: "Thus *καλεῖν* suggests intelligence; *βοᾶν*, sensibilities; *κράζειν*, instincts;

hence *βοᾶν*, especially, a cry for help. *Κραυγάζειν*, intensive of *κράζω*, denotes to cry coarsely, in contempt." What could be briefer and more to the point than the following: "*Ἀργός*, *idle*, involving blameworthiness; *βραδύς*, *slow* (tardy), having a purely temporal reference and no necessary bad sense; *νωθρός*, *sluggish*, descriptive of constitutional qualities and suggestive of censure."

Without multiplying examples I will refer to interesting discussions under *αἰτέω*, *αἰώνιος*, *βίος*, *διάκονος*, *γινώσκειν*, and *κόλασις*.

A closely packed column is devoted to the much vexed and vexing distinction between *βούλομαι* and *θέλω*. Some seventeen authorities are arrayed as favoring the view "that *θέλω* gives prominence to the emotive element, *βούλομαι* to the rational and volative; that *θ.* signifies the *choice*, while *β.* makes the choice as *deliberate* and *intelligent*. Yet they acknowledge that the words are sometimes used indiscriminately, and especially that *θ.*, as the less sharply defined term, is put where *β.* would be proper." Professor Thayer thinks the predominant usage of the New Testament is evidently in favor of this view. He cites on the other side more than a dozen names. This presentation is remarkably full, fair, and clear. It is probably as decisive as the state of the problem allows. The statements of Liddell and Scott, Robinson and Cremer are meager and unsatisfactory in comparison, especially for the theological student.

Another distinguishing characteristic of the lexicon, and one of the highest value, is found in its abundant *references* to the best grammars, Bible dictionaries, and commentaries. This part of the editing demanded an accurate and extensive acquaintance with the best exegetical literature, wise discrimination, and great self-control. Authorities could be indefinitely multiplied to the discouragement or misdirection of the student. So far as I have examined the references, they seem to me to exhibit a rare union of learning, candor, and practical judgment. The lexicon becomes thus, not only a philological key to the Greek Testament, but also an invaluable index to the best exegetical literature. It points the inexperienced student or the busy pastor, wishing light upon a difficult word or phrase, to the best sources of information. The veteran Jena professor gives his view, and perhaps refers to other authorities

on the difficult phrase; and then Professor Thayer, after more than twenty years' experience in teaching American students, knowing their stand-point, difficulties, and facilities, says to the inquirer, "Having carefully reviewed what Grimm has written, I advise you to consult further these volumes on the pages given." How absolutely beyond estimate is the value of such assistance! The student is directed immediately to what are believed to be the best results attained by the ablest scholars. He is saved from wasting time and energy in fruitless search or attention to inferior writers. One has only to consult a few of the passages to which Dr. Thayer has referred in Meyer, Weiss, Godet, Lightfoot, Ellicott, Morrison, etc., to appreciate the real and sufficient reason for his references. Many a teacher of exegesis will find in these the very ones which he has selected, after careful research, as the best to give to his classes. Thus to a certain extent the lexicon supplies to the solitary student the place of an able instructor. Yet it also allows the standard of class work in the seminaries to advance to a higher standard. This part of the lexicon will be, naturally, the first to become antiquated, and the margin becomes actually tempting in the opportunity it affords for valuable additions.

Interesting Words.

To test the combined product of the two editors, we naturally turn to words involving cardinal doctrines, and also to others, not so important, which for varying reasons are of special interest. Let us examine a few specimens of the latter class, and first the two which are in the Lord's prayer. To ἐπιούσιος more than a column is devoted. A list is given of the principal authorities, including Tholuck, Bleek, and Cremer, who follow Origen in deriving it from οὐσία, and translate ἄρτος ἐπούσιος, *bread for sustenance*, and then of those, among whom are Weiss and Delitzsch, who derive it from ἐπεῖναι (and particularly ἐπών), and understand it to mean bread *which is ready at hand* or *suffices*. Grimm agrees with Fritzsche, Winer, Meyer, Bishop Lightfoot, and others in deriving it from ἐπιών, ἐπιοῦσα, "with reference to the familiar expression ἡ ἐπιοῦσα (*sc.* ἡμέρα), and that ἄρτος ἐπιούσιος means *food for the morrow*, that is, *necessary* or *sufficient food*. Thus ἐπιούσιον and σήμερον admirably answer to each other, and that state of

mind is portrayed which, piously contented with *food sufficing from one day to the next*, in praying God for sustenance, does not go beyond the absolute necessity of the nearest future. . . . Nor is the prayer, so understood, at variance with the mind of Christ as expressed in Matt. vi, 34, but on the contrary harmonizes with it finely, for his hearers are bidden to ask of God, in order that they may themselves be relieved of anxiety for the morrow." That Dr. Thayer shares this view seems evident from his four references to the full and able discussion of Bishop Lightfoot (Fresh Revision, App.), in which he shows that ἡ ἐπιούσα might sometimes refer to the day on whose morning the prayer is said, and that for a translation "the English language does not furnish any one word which would answer the purpose so well" as "daily." That the English revisers agree with Grimm is shown by their marginal note. The American Committee would add to this "or *our needful bread*."

Respecting τοῦ πονηροῦ, in the same prayer, we find under πονηρός 2. b. this statement: "ὁ πονηρός is used pre-eminently of *the devil, the evil one;*" and the passages Matthew vi, 13 and Luke xi, 4, quoted with others, but without comment or reference either here or under τὸ πονηρόν to any different opinion on this matter. This omission is to me the greatest surprise in the lexicon. As it cannot have been the result of oversight it indicates a settled conviction in the minds of the two editors. Yet it seems utterly out of harmony with the prevailing fairness of the book, and especially of the American editor, to omit all reference to the other view, which obtains so widely, is given in the margin of the Revised Version, and is supported by the preference of such critics as Tholuck, Bleek, and Weiss.*

In the article on νόμος is an interesting and valuable contribution from Professor Thayer, on the important and disputed question concerning the use of the word in the epistle without the article. As opposed to the view which has gained ground of late,† that νόμος without the article denotes not the law of

* See Weiss's Meyer (7 *te aufl. l. c.*), and the summary in Schaff's *Companion to the Greek Testament and English Version*, p. 439.

† It is advocated by Bishop Lightfoot, Vaughan, Van Hengel, Weiss, Gifford, S. G. Green, Buttz (in the *Methodist Review* for March, 1885). and others; against Winer, Buttmann, De Wette, Fritzsche, Alford, Ellicott, Dwight, and most modern commentators.

Moses, but law viewed as "a principle," "abstract and universal." This distinction is important, and Bishop Lightfoot says is "indispensable to an adequate conception of the leading idea of St. Paul's doctrine of law and grace," but Thayer claims that it is "contrary to usage," as exhibited in the Old Testament Apocrypha, "and to the context" in certain Pauline passages which he cites.

Under *ἱλαστήριον* we find a list of the leading advocates from Origen to Cremer* of that view which refers the word in Rom. iii, 25, to the *mercy-seat*, but the lexicon, with Fritzsche, Meyer, Godet, Oltramare, and others understands it here as meaning *an expiatory sacrifice.*

Ἄγγελος in Matt. xviii, 10, and Acts xii, 15, is said to refer to guardian angels. The angels of the churches (Rev. i, 20, *sq.*) are "heavenly spirits who exercised a superintendence and guardianship" over the assemblies. The phrase in 1 Cor. xi, 10, *διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους*, is explained "*that she may show reverence for the angels*, invisibly present in the religious assemblies of Christians, and not displease them." It is said that "*ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις*, in 1 Tim. iii, 16, is probably to be explained of the apostles, his *messengers* to whom he appeared after his resurrection. This appellation, which is certainly extraordinary, is easily understood from the nature of the hymn from which the passage is taken." This view Huther (in Meyer's Commentaries) pronounces impossible, and Ellicott, to whom Thayer here refers, says is precluded by the invariable meaning of *ἄγγελοι* in the New Testament. He thinks it "very probable that the general manifestation of Christ to angels through his incarnation" is referred to. Thayer adds most helpful references to the whole subject of angelology.

Ἐπιβαλών, from Mark xiv, 72, is cited with this note: "*sc. τῷ ῥήματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, when he had considered the utterance of Jesus." As a helpful analogy the English phrase, "he cast about," might be mentioned here. Professor Thayer gives references to the other interpretations. It is noticeable that Farrar, in his *Life of Christ*, follows Theophylact, Suicer, Fritzsche, etc., in understanding that he buried his head in the folds of his cloak; that Edersheim seems to accept the view of Beza,

* See Terry's *Hermeneutics*, p. 362. The margin of the Revised Version makes it an adjective, "to be propitiatory." See Morrison's Commentary.

Stephens, Schleusner, Bretschneider, and Wahl, who translate, *when he rushed forth;* and that the Revisers' margin gives the participle and verb the rendering, found in many ancient versions and accepted by Erasmus and Luther, *and he began to weep.*

Without further multiplying examples under this heading, I will merely call attention to the words *ἄνωθεν*, *βιάζω*, *ἀνάθεμα*, *ἅγιος*, *θεός*, and *πίστις* with its references. Under *ἐπιείκεια*, Thayer quotes most happily Matthew Arnold's phrase, "Sweet reasonableness."

Doctrinal Words and Stand-point.

No inquiries concerning the lexicon will be so general and interested as those bearing upon its testimony in doctrinal and ecclesiastical matters. Many readers of the *Review*, who are quite indifferent to the other considerations, will be eager to know about this. Probably the best way to give a rapid survey of its general position is, to present specific statements which are significant and characteristic. It should be remembered that in these the words inclosed in brackets are additions by Professor Thayer.

Under *δικαιοσύνη* it is said, that in the writings of Paul the word "denotes *the state acceptable to God which becomes a sinner's possession through that faith by which he embraces the grace of God offered to him in the expiatory death of Jesus Christ.*" *Ἀπολύτρωσις* is "deliverance effected through the death of Christ from the retributive wrath of a holy God and the merited penalty of sin." Under *ὑπέρ* we read that "the apostles teach that the death of Christ inures to our salvation, because it has the force of an expiatory sacrifice, and was suffered in our stead."

Under *παλιγγενεσία* we read, "*moral renovation, regeneration, the production of a new life consecrated to God, a radical change of mind for the better* (effected in baptism [comp. reff. *s. v. βάπτισμα*, 3.]), Titus iii, 5 [comp. the Comm. ad loc. (esp. Holtzmann, where see, p. 172, *sq.*, for reff.); Weiss, *Bibl. Theol.*, esp. §§ 84, 108; comp. *Suicer*, Thes. *s. v.*]

"In several passages in the writings of John, *ὁ λόγος* denotes the essential Word *of God*, that is, the personal (hypostatic) wisdom and power in union with God, his minister in the

creation and government of the universe, the cause of all the world's life, both physical and ethical, which, for the procurement of man's salvation, put on human nature in the person of Jesus the Messiah."

Αἰώνιος has, as its third signification, "*without end, never to cease, everlasting*," and under this are cited κόλασις and ζωή.

Βάπτισμα contains the following: "3. Of Christian baptism. This, according to the view of the apostles, is a rite of sacred immersion, commanded by Christ, by which men confessing their sins and professing their faith in Christ are born again by the Holy Spirit unto a new life, come into the fellowship of Christ and the Church (1 Cor. xii, 13), and are made partakers of eternal salvation [but see art. 'Baptism,' in Bible Dictionaries, McClintock and Strong, Schaff-Herzog]." In βαπτίζω II we read, "an immersion in water, performed as a sign of the removal of sin, and administered to those who, impelled by a desire for salvation, sought admission to the benefits of the Messiah's kingdom [for patristic reff. respecting the mode, ministrant, subjects, etc., of the rite, comp. Soph. Lex., *s. v.*; *Dict. of Chris. Antiq.*, *s. v.* Baptism]." *

From ἀνάστασις we extract the following: "ἡ ἀνάστ. ἡ πρώτη, in Rev. xx, 5, *sq.*, will be that of true Christians, and at the end of a thousand years will be followed by a second resurrection, that of all the rest of mankind. Rev. xx, 12, *sqq.*"

Of πρεσβύτεροι it is said: "That they did not differ at all from the (ἐπίσκοποι) bishops, or overseers (as is acknowledged, also, by Jerome on Titus i, 5 [comp. Bishop Lightfoot, Com. on Phil., pp. 98, *sq.*, 229, *sq.*]), is evident from the fact that the two words are used indiscriminately (Acts xx, 17, 28, Titus i, 5, 7), and that the duty of presbyters is described by the terms

* This definition has already caused some excitement, as it was frankly inserted in the advertising circular of the publishers. It seems ungenerous to object to it with the references appended, when we remember that Robinson's definition is followed by a polemic against immersion. Grimm represents the view prevalent among German scholars. But it should not be forgotten that they, and others, while admitting this *minor* premise of the Baptists, deny the *major* premise upon which the practice of exclusive immersion is founded, namely, that the exact mode common in apostolic days is essential and binding for all ages and all climates. See on this point Schaff's *History of the Christian Church*, chap. i, p. 468, *sq.*, and his edition of the *Didache*, and particularly Stanley's *Christian Institutions*, chap. i. Yet it may be said of all controverted doctrines, that special treatises, and not manual lexicons, will be depended upon for proofs.

ἐπισκοπεῖν, 1 Peter v, 1, *sq.*, and ἐπισκοπή, Clem. Rom. 1 Cor. xliv, 1."

Σωτηρία is used of "*b. salvation* as the present possession of all true Christians," which is said, under σώζω *b.*, to consist "in the pardon of sin, and in the blessed peace of a soul reconciled to God."

In πνεῦμα 4 occur these words: "In some passages the Holy Spirit is rhetorically represented as a Person [(comp. reff. below)]: Matt. xxviii, 19, John xiv, 16, *sq.*, 26; xv, 26; xvi, 13–15 (in which passage from John the personification was suggested by the fact that the Holy Spirit was about to assume with the apostles the place of a person; namely, of Christ.)"

Μονογενής, "used of Christ, denotes *the only Son of God*, or one who in the sense in which he himself is the Son of God has no brethren. He is so spoken of by John, not because ὁ λόγος, which was ἐνσαρκωθείς in him, was eternally generated by God the Father (the orthodox interpretation), or came forth from the being of God just before the beginning of the world (subordinationism), but because of the incarnation (ἐνσάρκωσις) of the λόγος in him he is of nature or essentially Son of God, and so in a very different sense from that in which men are made by him, τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ. John i, 13. For since in the writings of John the title ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is given only to the historic Christ so called, neither the Logos alone, nor Jesus alone, but ὁ λόγος ὁ ἐνσαρκωθείς, or Jesus through the λόγος united with God, is ὁ μονογ. υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ." Important references follow concerning the reading μονογενὴς θεός. The remarkable expression in Phil. ii, 7, ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, is said under κενόω to mean "he laid aside equality with or the form of God," and the whole passage is thus fully interpreted under μορφή: *who, although* (formerly when he was λόγος ἄσαρκος) *he bore the form* (in which he appeared to the inhabitants of heaven) *of God* (the sovereign, opp. to μορφ. δούλου) *yet did not think that this equality with God was to be eagerly clung to or retained* (see ἁρπαγμός, 2), *but emptied himself of it* (see κενόω, 1) *so as to assume the form of a servant in that he became like unto men* (for angels also are δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ, Rev. xix, 10, xxii, 8, *sq.*), and was *found in fashion as a man.*"

In καταρτίζω is this: "Σκεύη καταρτισμένη εἰς ἀπώλειαν, of men whose souls God has so constituted that they cannot escape de-

struction [but see Mey. (ed. Weiss) in loc.]." A characteristic treatment is found under *ἵνα* 3. which deals with the alleged use of *ἵνα* to express result. There is only space to quote the following: "In many passages where *ἵνα* has seemed to interpreters to be used *ἐκβατικῶς*, the sacred writers follow the dictate of p i e t y, which bids us trace all events back to G o d as their a u t h o r and refer them to God's p u r p o s e s."

Under *ἀντίχριστος*, which is fully treated, John, it is said, "employs it of the corrupt power and influence hostile to Christian interests, especially that which is at work in false teachers who have come from the bosom of the Church and are engaged in disseminating error. . . . In Paul and the Revelation the i d e a but not the n a m e of Antichrist is found; yet the conception differs from that of John. For Paul teaches that Antichrist will be an i n d i v i d u a l man [comp. B.D. as below] of the very worst character (*τὸν ἄνθρ. τῆς ἁμαρτίας*; see *ἁμαρτία*, 1), instigated by the devil to try to palm himself off as God. 2 Thess. ii, 3–10. The author of the Apocalypse discovers the p o w e r of Antichrist in the sway of imperial Rome, and his p e r s o n in the Emperor Nero, soon to return from the dead. Rev. xiii and xvii, (often in Eccl. writ.). [See B. D. *s. v.* (Am. ed. for additional reff.), also B. D. *s. v.* Thess., 2d Ep. to the; Köhler in Herzog, ed. 2, i, 446, *sq.*; Westcott, Epp. of St. John, pp. 68, 89.]

Of *Ἀβιάθαρ* Grimm says that in Mark ii, 26, "he is by mistake confounded with Ahimelech his father." Adding corrective references Thayer remarks: "It would seem that d o u b l e names were especially common in the case of p r i e s t s, and that father and son often bore the s a m e name."

"In the New Testament *δαιμονιζόμενοι* are persons afflicted with especially severe diseases, either bodily or mental (such as paralysis, blindness, deafness, loss of speech, epilepsy, melancholy, insanity, etc.), whose bodies, in the opinion of the Jews, demons (see *δαιμόνιον*) had entered, and so held possession of them as not only to afflict them with ills, but also to dethrone the reason and take its place themselves; accordingly the possessed were wont to express the mind and consciousness of the demons dwelling in them; and their cure was thought to require the expulsion of the demon [see B.D., Am. ed., *s. v.* Demoniacs, and reff.: Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, book iii, chap. 6]."

These extracts evidently furnish much material for discussion, and some may even think sufficient evidence for condemning the lexicon on purely doctrinal grounds without further examination. Yet no one who wishes to study the Greek Testament critically is likely to draw so narrow and hasty a conclusion. Confident statement in this connection is most difficult and involves great responsibility, and the actual experience of years can alone answer some of the questions involved. Yet certain important facts are clear, and some results from its general use seem highly probable.

In the first place it is important to notice that Professor Grimm is a representative of the foremost school among believing biblical scholars in Germany. We have long employed in critical study the commentaries, grammars, and other works of these writers. We have received from them our chief inspiration to advanced theological studies, and in a more or less modified form most of the instruments for prosecuting them. We have now presented to us an exact reproduction of that New Testament lexicon which stands at the head in that land of biblical science. The question as to its value and use is similar to that involved in the use of such works as Meyer's Commentaries, and a like answer must in consistency be given to both. We cannot accept them blindly as standards of doctrine, yet we certainly cannot afford to ignore them or refuse the substantial help they offer. Does it not seem both cowardly and puerile to try to shield the candidate for the ministry from the influence of what may appear to us the errors of German evangelical believers, while his future hearers are to be constantly exposed to the poison of infidelity of every sort? Both breadth of view and firmness of conviction are likely to be gained from that study which these questionable statements involve, and from the counter arguments of instructors. And, moreover, as it is highly improbable that these critics, who in some cases add fervent piety to profound learning, are wrong in all their peculiar positions, we may hope to gain some new truth in our study, and not merely establish more firmly our preconceived opinions.

For helps to biblical study England and America owe a debt to Germany which they cannot hope to pay in kind. In this department both countries have long been to a large degree de-

pendent upon German scholarship, and seem likely to be for years to come. Though this connection has its perils, yet as Protestants and as lovers of truth we must welcome every thing which helps us to a more perfect understanding of the Bible. Such help these German works in general, and this lexicon in particular, directly and indirectly afford.

Yet notwithstanding Grimm's statement, apparently indorsed by Thayer, that he has guarded "himself against encroaching upon the province of the dogmatic theologian," we think this encroachment the one serious defect of Grimm's work. Some statements given above on *δικαιοσύνη*, *λόγος*, *παλιγγενεσία*, *μονογενής*, *κενόω*, and *καταρτίζω*, read like passages from a work on systematic theology. The brevity and neutrality which so admirably characterize the lexicon generally are laid aside when these and some similar words are treated. It does not seem legitimate to insert in such a work dogmatic and polemical statements. The claim that they are privileged as the conclusions of biblical theology opens too wide a door to individual and sectarian opinions for a philological lexicon. Such statements therefore are not to be regarded as having equal authority with the facts given concerning the meaning and usage of words.

Grimm's free method of handling the New Testament writings is illustrated above in the words *ἀντίχριστος*, *Ἀβιάθαρ* and *δαιμονίζομαι*. It is characteristic of his school, and, without countenancing it, we must in simple justice remember that it is not by them regarded as injurious to the fundamental doctrines of evangelical Christianity.

When Johann Musäus prepared an edition of the *Clavis* of Flacius, he was careful to mark with an index (☞) the passages which he thought contained important doctrinal error, as a warning to readers "not yet settled in their theological views." It is manifest that Professor Thayer's added statements and references will serve a similar purpose with regard to most or all of those positions taken by Professor Grimm which are in dispute, or seem to the evangelical Churches of America erroneous and dangerous. By these the American editor indicates his more conservative position, and, by quoting authorities on both sides of controverted doctrines, his conscientious impartiality. Many, no doubt, will wish that he had prepared an

independent lexicon, merely based upon Grimm's, as he might have done with little more labor, possibly even with less. If he should still do this some years hence, he would be following in the path of many predecessors.* Yet the course pursued puts practically the same lexicon into the hands of students in Germany, England, and America, which is of itself no inconsiderable advantage. As supplemented by Thayer, it must be far more stimulating to all students who have access to such books as he refers to. For those remote from libraries it is not so safe a guide as Robinson's is, or as one entirely the work of Thayer would have been. Yet its peculiar character seems fitted to advance the cause of Christian unity among us. Its natural tendency will be to make the adherents of different Churches less sectarian and dogmatic in non-essentials, and more united and confident respecting the fundamental truths of religion. The use of similar works has generally had this influence upon the leading scholars of the different denominations.

It is desirable, also, that theological students and intelligent laymen in our country should see that the more rigid theories of biblical inspiration, which have obtained among us, are not essential doctrines of Christianity. The evangelical leaders of Germany having passed through a fiercer intellectual struggle than any other Christians in any age, have generally abandoned the traditional views concerning inspiration, while they still hold unflinchingly to the doctrines of revelation and of salvation through Jesus Christ, the crucified and risen Son of God. They teach that the apostolic testimony is the sufficient historic basis for Christian belief, and that personal faith thus founded begets a self-evidencing life in Christ. May we not, even while cherishing stricter views of inspiration ourselves, be glad, in these times of doubt and conflict, that Christianity is not necessarily a "book religion,"† and that an earnest evangelism and a passionate devotion to Christ‡ may rest upon simpler foundations than we have thought possible. § From this stand-point are given the evangelical definitions

* For example, Schöttgen, Passow, Robinson, Liddell and Scott.

† See Weiss's preface to his "*Einleitung in das Neue Testament*," p. v.

‡ Like that of Tholuck.

§ See especially Neander's address, "To my Christian Brethren in the United States of America," in McClintock and Blumenthal's translation of his Life of Christ; and Beet on Corinthians, preface, p. vi.

above, which represent "salvation as the present possession of all true Christians," consisting in "the pardon of sin and the blessed peace of a soul reconciled with God," and this coming "through that faith by which the sinner embraces the grace of God offered to him in the expiatory death of Christ."

Valuation.

Moses Stuart quoted with approval the saying of Scaliger, that "a part of the daily prayer of every literary man should be thanksgiving to God that he had been pleased to make lexicographers and grammarians." I think we may in this case devoutly offer this thanksgiving, and express our gratitude to the gifted and learned scholar who through more than twenty years* of life-exhausting labor has prepared for our use this combined product of centuries of research. Not without a pang is Robinson's work relegated to those neglected shelves where mummied lexicons lie in state. It has served a noble purpose, but in thirty-six years it has become antiquated. Cremer's lexicon, theological, devout, and emphasizing the "language-molding power of Christianity," has its important place, but as it treats only a part of the New Testament words, and is too peculiar in its object and method to be the rival of any complete, philological work. As compared with Grimm's lexicon, Thayer's has the advantage of the additions and improvements described above, so that it greatly surpasses its original for all who can use the English language. We have then in it, during its "meantime" of supremacy of which the editor modestly and almost pathetically speaks, the most complete† lexicon of the New Testament existing in any language, and the one most accurate in all the details of forms, citations, references, and lists. It is most fully abreast of the philological learning of the day. It gives the best treatment of synonyms. It contains the fullest and most helpful references to grammatical and exegetical literature. It excels in conciseness and harmonious proportion of treatment. As modified by the American editor it indicates a conscientious effort to be doctrinally impartial. We do

* Like Suicer's Thesaurus, "*Opus viginti annorum indefesso labore adornatum.*"

† One proof of this completeness is, that out of the 5,420 different words in the Greek Testament, all but one hundred and sixty have every instance of their occurrence noted.

not hesitate to pronounce it the first of helps to the understanding of the Greek Testament. We may well take pride it as a product of American scholarship, and we anticipate with satisfaction the stimulus it will give to New Testament study. Above all we are thankful for the good hope that it will promote true Christian unity, strengthen the defenses of the faith, and advance the kingdom of Christ, and that thus through it the word of the Lord shall run and be glorified.*

*Some readers of the *Review* who are earnest students of the Greek Testament, and yet remote from centers of learning, may be glad to consult the following brief and practical list of critical helps for this study. Westcott and Hort's edition of the Greek Testament (Vol. I containing the text, and Vol. II embracing an Introduction on textual criticism, and an appendix, Harper or Macmillan). Gardiner's or Robinson's Greek Harmony of the Gospels. The former is published by Draper, of Andover, and has the clearest arrangement. The latter, revised by Professor Riddle in 1885, is somewhat cheaper and very excellent. Thayer's Lexicon. Winer's New Testament Grammar. Thayer's edition published by Draper, Andover, is the best for American students. The next grammar to be bought should be Buttmann's Grammar of the New Testament, translated by Thayer (Draper, Andover); the next, T. S. Green's Grammar and Critical Notes (Bagster). A Greek concordance should come next. Hudson's is cheap and highly recommended by some, but it seems to me to involve more waste of time than economy of money. The Englishman's Greek Concordance (Bagster) is best for those who do not read Greek readily, but Bruder's (Leipsic), giving the immediate connection in Greek, is incomparably the best for others. The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament. The edition of Van Ess (Leipsic) is good and contains the Old Testament Apocrypha. Tischendorf's edition is the best and more expensive. Unfortunately the only concordance of the Septuagint (that of Trommius) is too rare and expensive for most ministers' libraries. Trench's New Testament Synonyms (Macmillan). Cremer's Biblico-theological Lexicon of the New Testament Greek. Translation of the second German edition by the Clarks, Edinburgh. Also an appendix with additions from the fourth German. The German editions are much cheaper, fuller, and more conveniently arranged. Terry's *Hermeneutics* (Phillips & Hunt) will prove a very helpful guide to correct methods of interpretation. The Bible dictionaries and cyclopedias, and lives of Christ and Paul, are too well known to require enumeration. Commentaries need an article or book for treatment, but Meyer, Ellicott, Morison, Lightfoot, and Beet are worthy of special mention.

Art. VI. — SOME CAUSES OF THE WANT OF SUCCESS OF THE PULPIT.

The gracious challenge of a prophet to rebellious Israel to come and reason with the Lord, with assurance that they should be delivered from their sins—and the complaint of another one, that while abundant provisions were made for their healing, "the hurt of the daughter of my people" was not "recovered," are still the burden of complaint among those who seek to call men to repentance and salvation.

A very high place is justly assigned to the preaching of the Gospel among the agencies ordained for saving men. The pulpit has ever been the Church's chief agency for spiritual awakening and persuasion, and for Christian edification. The history of the Church agrees with this view of the subject. The pulpit is, and ever has been, recognized as the first among ordained agencies for the propagation and the conservation of the Gospel.

Respecting the pulpit of the present time—that is, the evangelical Protestant pulpit—two preliminary remarks may be made, each qualifying the other:

First. It is only the simple truth to acknowledge both its general fidelity and its ability.

Second. That there is a great, and therefore a lamentable failure on its part to measure up to the full possibilities of the required work, and to answer to its demands.

To a certain extent the ministry is doing a good work, for which it should be commended; but it is equally evident that it is coming very short of its possibilities, and that there is *lack* where there should be *abundance*. And this deficiency is the more to be deprecated because of the preciousness of the interests that are made to suffer, *and which can be secured by no other means*. Our own times have also their own special infelicities, which require the first and most careful consideration. It is confessed by all that the house of God is much less attractive to the unconverted than formerly—that fewer of that class are now found at its services—and so, to the same extent, the message of the pulpit fails to reach those who especially need to hear it, and those, too, to

whom it was first of all sent. This lack of unconverted persons in our congregations is practically, but perhaps unconsciously, recognized by the preachers themselves, and they accordingly, as a rule, shape their ministrations to the spiritual conditions and requirements of *believers—converted persons.*

That this is not as it should be all will grant; and especially should all Methodist ministers cry out against it, for they are taught to adapt their preaching primarily to the unsaved. Of the four principal rules respecting the "Matter and Manner of Preaching" given in the Methodist Discipline, the first three of them refer evidently to preaching to those who have not accepted the Gospel. They are (1.) To convince of sin; (2.) To offer Christ; (3.) To invite. The practical purpose of these three things is to *awaken* in the consciences of the unconverted a sense of *sin* and *guilt* and *danger*, and then to such awakened ones to *offer Christ* as a sacrifice for sin, through whom sinners may be saved. And to this simple exposition of the truth must be added earnest appeals to persuade sinners to be saved by Christ. After these, in the order of sequence (if not of importance), comes the fourth direction, which with many preachers is almost the first and the last, "to build up."

May it not, then, be asked whether there is not good cause to suspect that because of the failure to deal with the primary Christian doctrines—*sin*, *atonement*, and *repentance*—our preaching fails to minister to the felt wants of souls who are unconsciously hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and that, therefore, they neglect the house of God? And besides this, since the Christian life is a continuous conviction of sin and a life-long repentance, at every point of which there is need of Christ in all his saving offices, the same preaching that best suits the case of the unsaved is often the best adapted for Christian *nurture* and *edification.*

It is not assumed that the failures spoken of are either universal in extent or complete in their degree, and yet it is obvious that they *exist*, and, therefore, they are to be deprecated. Nor can it be denied that the extent to which they prevail is far from being inconsiderable. Both the ability and the sincerity of the ministry of our times are readily and cheerfully conceded; nor is it to be charged that, to any great extent, it is harmed by speculative departures from the truth; and yet

there is a general confession that the preaching of the Gospel is failing, to a lamentable extent, to accomplish its saving purpose among men. To find out *some* of the causes of this failure, and so to suggest a remedy, is the purpose to which our further thoughts and discussions are to be directed.

Among these causes may be named as one, and an important one, the prevalent failure to clearly set forth and to earnestly emphasize the distinctively evangelical doctrines of the Gospel.

What these are presumed to be has been already indicated. Among them must be included, and as a kind of keystone to the arch, the doctrine of *sin* as a fact in man's spiritual being and in his life, causing his separation from God, and involving him in a condition of spiritual death, and bringing him into condemnation with God; and so exposing him to eternal perdition. This, too, prepares the way for the doctrine of Christ and his salvation; his sacrificial death as a *sin-offering;* it also calls for repentance and prayer in the name of Christ, and for the exercise of saving faith. All of these things quite certainly enter into the composition of the sermons that we hear, but they do not sufficiently constitute the *burden* of the lessons and warnings of the pulpit. It is not that our preachers have ceased to hold to these doctrines, though there may be cause to suspect that they are often held somewhat loosely and apprehended only indefinitely, and perhaps they are taught with "bated breath" and damaging qualifications. And here it may not be out of place to notice that, in order to effectually eliminate any given doctrine from a system of theology, it is not necessary to openly antagonize it—to simply *fail to declare it* is enough. Only by positive statements and *assertions*, with *conclusive proofs*, *explicitly declared and earnestly reiterated*, can the truths of the Gospel be made to keep their place in the popular belief, so that they shall operate as spiritual forces among men. Any article of faith that may be withdrawn from public notice by the silence of the pulpit respecting it will, in not a very long time, disappear from the popular thought and cease to be practically effective. By this process the doctrine of predestination, which was once made so distinctively prominent, has very largely disappeared from most of the nominally Calvinistic pulpits of the present day, and from the minds of

the people; and it is the opposite of impossible that similar changes in respect to other doctrines have occurred in another class of pulpits.

This obscuration of certain forms of religious thought and doctrinal conceptions, with its deadening influence upon the sensibilities, usually occurs along well ascertained lines; and as the doctrine concerning SIN lies at the foundation of the theology of the Gospel, so this decadence of faith commonly first manifests itself at that point. The word SIN is one of those best known in all the popular vocabulary, and it may be added, without fear of successful contradiction, that it is among the least adequately understood. *Sin*, in the common conception, is simply a *wrong action;* and men are accounted *sinners* in proportion to the number and atrocity of such actions committed by them; and the test of sin is usually the *consensus* of public opinion. But the scriptural idea of sin, while it covers all these, reaches down into man's spiritual nature, so recognizing sin as a property of the soul—the spiritual self. To this conception of the case the quickened conscience of the spiritually awakened sinner instinctively responds. The psalmist, when confronted with a specifical act of wrong-doing, being reproved both by the voice of the prophet and the light of the Holy Spirit, dwelt but for a moment upon his *one* great overt crime, but in his deep penitence of soul he thought only of the *sin* in which his mother conceived him—now revealed in a concrete form; the connatural iniquity of his soul. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, detects and designates "the law of sin in his members" as something more original and constant than any form of outward actions—a "*body of death*" from which only divine power, through Christ's death, could bring deliverance. *The guilt of original sin* is a doctrinal conception that has been coeval and co-extensive with the Christian consciousness. As an article of faith, it is in the largest sense *catholic* and *orthodox*. It is embodied in the confessions and rituals and institutions of the three great divisions of the Church—the *Roman*, the *Greek*, and the *Protestant*—and it has been openly and formally rejected only in company with the other great and central truths of the Gospel. It was *emphasized* by Luther and his coadjutors, and was firmly imbedded in all their creeds and confessions; and upon this, as

its bed-rock, was laid that reconstructed edifice of vital Christianity called Methodism.

Nor is it any breach of the broadest charity to suspect that this great and significant article of faith has, to a damaging extent, faded out of the religious thinking of our times. Sometimes, even when not openly denied, it is eviscerated by subtle explanations, and not unfrequently it is openly rejected. And with this change of the popular conception of the nature of sin the estimate of its turpitude and ill-deserts has been very greatly mitigated. "Conviction of sin" is often spoken of as little more than an intellectual *concept*, not seriously alarming, whose demands may be met by a reformation of life, with not much occasion for sorrow or regret over what is past and *irreversible*.

The distinctive ideas indicated, severally, by the terms SIN and SINS should be carefully discriminated, for there is a real practical value in marking their differences. The latter is formal and concrete, indicating only *actions* and *conduct;* the former expresses the moral condition of the soul. The one is the accident of the moment; the other the ruling moral attribute of the essential self. *Sins* may be laid aside at one's *will*—simply "quit your meanness"—but even then sin abides in the soul and must be washed out by the blood of the atonement. Our Christian teachers tell us about our *transgressions*, and enjoin us to "keep the commandments that we may have life," and so far they do well; but in respect to the sin of the soul they are too commonly either very indefinite or wholly silent. We are treated to an ETHICAL *Gospel*, which seeks to replace immorality by virtuous well-doing, for very largely James has crowded Paul out of the pulpit. Of *inbred sin* and men's *spiritual alienation* from God, and especially of "the wrath of God revealed from heaven against all unrighteousness and ungodliness of men," only a very little is heard. The pulpit tells of a salvation for *good people*, the word of God for *sinners*.

Men's conceptions of the nature of sin very largely affect their notions respecting the duty of *repentance* and the nature of conversion. "Now God commands all men every-where to repent," and this command must rest upon the assumption that men are *sinners*. But this universal state of sinfulness cannot

depend upon a series of *happenings*, of wrong-doing in details, but upon a constant outflow of the essential nature. Their notions of the *work of Christ*, especially in making an atonement for the sin of the world, will also be largely affected by the same cause. If sin is simply an *error in conduct*—a fault, a defect, or weakness—it may be cured by correction, by supplementing what is defective, and by giving enlarged powers of amendment. A Saviour from sin of this kind must be a *teacher* and *guide* to lead the *erring* into a better way of living, by showing the excellence of virtue and strengthening the better elements of the character by instruction and brotherly sympathy. Such is the Christ of "liberal Christianity" by the logic of its premises, and such we know it is in fact. Its call to repentance is simply an admonition to cease from actual sinning and to lead a better life; but, quite logically, it has very little to say about *atonement* by Christ's death, for it finds no need of any thing of that kind; nor does its scheme make any account of either the *guilt* of sin or of its real and proper *forgiveness*. Sin being of very little account, in any legal or judicial sense, it calls for no recompense, and all that is required is that its practice shall be abandoned. In order that men shall be redeemed it is only necessary to persuade them, by "moral influences," to accept salvation without price or conditions. The only needed change of heart is an honest determination to do better.

Now, we do not suppose that this "new theology" is consciously accepted, except in a very few cases, by Methodist ministers, or that it is often proclaimed in *form*, and as a system of doctrine, from Methodist pulpits; and yet we are quite certain that its presence is felt in not a few of their utterances, and it is the warp and woof of whole sermons of some of our religious teachers. It is virtually implied in the earnestness with which the extreme and overdrawn features of the opposing forms of doctrine are denounced, while no guard is set up on the other side; and it is seen in the earnest proclamation of God's *love*, in the form of *tenderness* toward the erring, without any recognition of his *judicial* righteousness and his *magisterial* assertion of his own authority. And, because the preachers fail to remind their hearers that "the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unright-

eousness of men," the people quite naturally fail to recognize that momentous truth, and so *sin* itself is not felt to be a very great evil nor highly dangerous. "Conviction of sin" becomes, under such teaching, an indefinite idea, and as ineffective as indefinite; and the repentance for which it calls will, of course, be of the same kind. The paralyzing influences of such a conception will reach out to the whole religious life.

As set forth in God's word, sin is, in its essence, *ungodliness*, that is, a *moral* or *ethical* state of the soul not in conformity to the divine mind. As tested by God's holiness, it is moral and spiritual *abomination;* as to his sovereign authority, it is *rebellion* (*ἀνώμια, lawlessness*); and as the expression of the WILL, it is an intense antagonism, striving against God. And this is not merely an accident, or occasional happening, in the *conduct* of the sinner, but the ruling element of his character and the law of his life, so constituting its subject an embodiment of disharmony with the divine nature—a mass of spiritual defilement, and a spirit of intense hatred against God; for he that is not for God, by virtue of the conquering power of grace, is against him. And because "God is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity," and because "he hates sin with a perfect hatred," all the intense energy of the divine nature is necessarily aroused against it, and against all those who love and cherish it. And since, as a sovereign, he must maintain his throne in righteousness, the incorrigible sinner can by no possibility escape his wrathful judgments.

Now it is to such persons—*sinners, guilty and depraved*, and asleep in their sins, loving sin and disliking holiness, abiding under the wrath of God, and yet self-secure in their unbelief—it is to such that Christ's ministers are sent to preach the Gospel; and, as a matter of course, the first response in every case of the sinful soul to the demands thus made is a peremptory refusal to obey. And then follow in order the successive efforts "to convince," "to offer Christ," and "to persuade;" and each step in that process must be gained against the soul's active and determined opposition. It is, therefore, all the more needful that men shall have their true spiritual condition clearly set before them; and, because of their dislike of unpalatable but wholesome truth, it is all the more necessary that it should be persistently and earnestly pressed upon their minds and hearts,

and the physician's warning that only by using the prescribed remedy can the life be saved should be most emphatically declared. Any failure at this point, in what purports to be "the preaching of the Gospel," is a defect for which there can be no compensation. It is a failure, by reason of inadequate treatment, to rescue the spiritually diseased and dying from eternal death. It may, indeed, be hoped that not all who are thus treated to an *emasculated* Gospel will die, since it is quite possible that in the abundance of the diffused religious light all about us, even under a very defective ministration of the Gospel by the pulpit, some will enter into the Christian life. But if so the religious character so formed will be apt to be feeble and of insecure tenure; the structure so reared a "house built" (at least in part) "upon the sand," with large proportions of "hay, wood, and stubble." It might be prudent to inquire whether not a little of the confessed ineffectiveness of the Gospel as it is preached among us, and by us, and of the lack of permanence in the fruits of our revivals, may not proceed from a failure at the points just indicated.

When the sinner is truly convinced of sin he instinctively asks what he must do to be saved, and to that inquiry the Gospel has one all-sufficient answer: "*Repent and believe.*" And though this answer seems to be complex, it is, nevertheless, a simple act that is required; for true repentance implies a confiding appreciation of God's mercy; and whoever casts himself upon the divine mercy does so in the spirit of penitence; and, as a willing and purposed movement of the sinner toward God, it is naturally placed at the beginning of the Christian life. But as all repentance implies a precedent conviction of sin, so its depth and thoroughness, and also its saving value, will depend upon the correctness and the intensity of such conviction. If that is simply speculative and superficial, so will be the resultant repentance. If sin is apprehended as simply an occasionally lapsing into improper conduct, or a coming short of the full measure of duty, instead of an essential badness of character and depravity of the whole life, then, of course, repentance will take no deeper form than regrets for the past and purposed amendments of life and manners; and out of such a repentance only a feeble and incomplete spiritual life will arise. How largely such faint convictions and feeble repentances contribute

to the lack of robustness and endurance among professed Christians may be suggested rather than declared.

This insufficient estimate of sin and guilt leads naturally to correspondingly low estimates of the work of Christ, and, indeed, it modifies the whole estimate of atonement away from its proper scriptural conception. Incidental and superficial faults call for only easy and outward remedies. If man's sin is only an accidental stepping aside from the right path, then he must be restored by moral influences; but this makes no account of *God's anger against sin*, and his displeasure at those in whom it inheres. Nothing is said of the deep native depravity of the soul; only men's strange unwillingness to be saved is taken into the account, and that must be overcome by brotherly sympathy and the attractions of virtuous example. No use is found for such statements of Holy Writ as, "Without the shedding of blood there is no remission," and "We have redemption in *his blood*, even the remission of sins." As far as this conception prevails the work of Christ is only that of a teacher; his *kingly* office is lost sight of, and his mediation is addressed to men, and not to God. Probably not many among us accept these views, with their natural implications and logical consequences; but if only partially accepted and unconsciously entertained, they become powerfully effective to rob the Gospel of its influence over men's hearts. And there is no room for a doubt that the hiding out of sight of *Christ crucified*—"the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world"—has largely conduced to the ineffectiveness of the modern pulpit. But still the preaching of the cross, and only that, though practically ignored by rationalists and ritualists, is still the power of God unto salvation to all them that believe.

Intimately related to the foregoing is another of the great Christian doctrines, which seems of late to be somewhat lost sight of, and in that fact it may be suspected that the preaching of the Gospel has been deprived of much of its legitimate power over men's consciences—the doctrine of "justification by faith" *alone*. It is well known how prominent and effective was that article of religion in the great Reformation of the sixteenth century, and it was scarcely less so in the great Methodist revival of the eighteenth century; and as to its unique

and incomparable effectiveness as a factor in the work of soul-saving there cannot be any two opinions among evangelical Christians. But may it not be asked, without undue censoriousness, Has not that doctrine been permitted to become inconspicuous in the average preaching of our times? It is still retained, perhaps, as a dogma in theological discussions, but not so in Christian instruction and homiletics except in special cases, as a blessed truth to be set forth for Christian consolation and hope *in extremis*. We are seldom told, in clear and easily intelligible terms, what is the nature of the *faith* by which men must be saved, or why it is indispensable, or how it is alone *sufficient*, so that, in the order of God, "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life: and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the *wrath of God abideth on him.*"

Men are, indeed, taught by all sorts of nominal Christians. that they must repent and believe the Gospel. *Socinians* and *Unitarians*, *Romanists* and other *sacramentarians*, do this; but they do not declare this with the requisite fullness that is implied in the terms used. There seems to be in much of the preaching that we hear the implication that while at the moment of conversion only faith in Christ is essential, afterward other and diverse conditions are required; that, in fact, "good works" are co-ordinated with *faith* in the continuance of the gracious state that was at first reached by faith alone. It is not, indeed, to be for a moment forgotten that *faith* and *good works* sustain very intimate and important relations each to the other, and both in unison are inseparable from the Christian life, and, therefore, they are not to be separated in our preaching. The faith that does not lead to good works is *spurious*, and without the *power to save;* and, on the other hand, the outward righteousness, however excellent in form, that is not the outgrowth of faith is itself *sin*—"filthy rags." But, since "he that believeth is saved," salvation must, at every stage, be by *faith alone*, and not by "the good works *which are the fruits of faith*, and follow after justification," which indeed "cannot put away sins, nor endure the severity of God's judgments." Our justification, which is originally received and continuously perpetuated *by faith*, is always *complete*, so that we need no other salvation. Good works, though wrought in faith, are themselves defective, and would of themselves count

against us in "God's judgments." The outcome of the teaching of even some Methodist pulpits—among them some of the most conspicuous—seems to be to the intent that having been freely accepted of God, through the merits of *Christ alone*, with no other condition on his own part but simple faith, the believer must now maintain his state of grace by pursuing a course of Christian observances and moral duties. This is indeed called *the life of faith;* but the faith here spoken of differs in kind from that in which the awakened sinner at first comes to God. The latter is simply seeing and believing; trusting in Christ crucified and God in Christ reconciling the world to himself; and relying only in Christ's blood for acceptance and for eternal life. This is the faith of a *son*, which abides always. The other is *fidelity*, the spirit of obedience, that is, of a *servant*—faith—striving to do something for the Master, not simply as a thank-offering, but for a return. But, at his best, every man must be incapable of rendering such service as can endure God's righteous judgment—the law is holy and the commandment is holy, but man is always frail and fallible. The child of God, therefore, has need at all times to be saved from the defects and demerits of his own best works. Every moment he must be "justified by faith without the deeds of the law." Always, said the saintly Fletcher, we shall need the blood of Christ to atone for our holy things. It is very possible that our evangelical pulpits shall fail to declare and insist upon the sufficiency of Christ's grace alone to the saving of the soul to the uttermost. It is one thing to confess him as the Saviour of all men, and to acknowledge that without him none can be saved; but quite another to confess, in the heart's deepest convictions, that "we are *complete in him.*" There is, therefore, a continual trying to supplement his fullness by our own works. It is readily confessed that he does very much for us, incomparably more than all else, but there is also a feeling that men must do somewhat for themselves. This may be very little, but still doing that somewhat is an essential factor in the great problem of salvation. Thus the dead fly of *legalism* becomes mingled with precious ointment of evangelical faith, and so corrupts the whole mass. Salvation, it is conceded, is by faith, but not by *faith alone.* Christ is, indeed, the Captain of our salvation, but "overcoming" is not entirely by faith.

In much of the preaching of the present time, while there is a recognition of the doctrine that the repentant sinner who comes to Christ for salvation in simple faith is accepted without any merit of good works, there is also the implication, that to retain the justified state there must thereafter be added the merit of *good works;* that having received Christ, and been received by him, "without the deeds of the law," we are now to be *made perfect*—continued in salvation—by a process in which our own works are, in some way, an essential *factor.* It is also granted that perhaps in extreme cases final salvation may be given in the absence of *good works*—as in the case of the thief on the cross, and, indeed, in all cases of repentance given and faith exercised in the article of death. But such cases, we are reminded, at least by unmistakable implications, are exceptional, while in all ordinary cases it seems to be assumed that the primary justification "by faith alone" must, in order to its retention, be supplemented by certain ethical conditions of the life and character. Very little use is made of the apostle's assurance, "Ye are *complete* in him," while all along there is heard in undertone the requisition of somewhat to be done by ourselves that shall *supplement* and make continuously effective Christ's work for us. The drift of very much that is heard from the evangelical pulpits of the day seems to be about in this wise: *Being freely justified by faith, and regenerated by the power of the Holy Spirit, we are now called to maintain and complete our salvation by a life of well doing,* through the aid of the grace of God "preventing us that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will;" and because there will still be, in most cases, a coming short, Christ's merits must still be depended upon as a *supplementary fund* from which such deficiencies are to be made up. Now all this may appear very well till placed alongside of St. Paul's scheme of salvation, namely, "That I may win *Christ,* and be *found in him,* not having my own righteousness, which is of the law, *but that which is through the faith of Christ,* the righteousness that is of God by faith." It should be carefully observed, however, that a salvation by works, even though wrought in faith, is not salvation by faith *alone.*

Rather strangely, this notion of salvation in part by works leads to spiritual indolence, since in proportion as men come to

feel that the saving of their souls is committed to themselves, they cease to be very much in earnest, and especially are not in haste about it. *Thus the dry-rot of legalism* is made to permeate the soul; and precisely at this point may, no doubt, be detected a principal cause of the inefficiency of the pulpits of our nominally evangelical Churches. Having the power to *do*, men argue, they will also choose their own time; having the saving of their souls upon their own hands, they will attend to it when convenient.

We hear much of a new departure in theological thought, and of a "Progressive Orthodoxy," some of whose imperfectly defined features may be detected where least expected, and in every case they tend to obscure and enervate the teachings of the word of God. In the absence of any adequate conception of the *exceeding sinfulness of sin*, nothing can be more natural than mitigated notions respecting its final outcome. The idea that any and every unsaved person who may be overtaken by death in impenitence must perish everlastingly, is declared to be monstrous, and such a doom, it is said, would be wholly out of proportion to the deserts of the offending. This conclusion comes logically from the assumption that the usual forms of sin, and especially those of *unbelief* and *irreligiousness*, are not very grave offenses, and that God cannot, without great cruelty, punish them very severely. And so the unconverted are permitted to lull themselves into a carnal security, a sleep in sin, from which only death can arouse them. Evidently St. Paul had no sympathy with this kind of easy-going theology when he wrote to Timothy his letter of instructions respecting "the matter and manner of preaching:" "I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ," is his stirring language, "*who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing;* PREACH THE WORD; be instant in season, out of season; Reprove, Rebuke, EXHORT with all long-suffering and doctrine" (teaching). Because he saw that there was danger of the judgment to come, and knowing "the terror of the Lord," he would "persuade men" to be saved. Mr. Wesley's notions respecting the guilt of sin, and the danger of the unsaved, were certainly not of this kind, when in his instructions to his "helpers" he wrote the paragraph that may still be found in the Methodist Discipline (¶ 146, page 89): "Look around,

and see how many are in danger of *damnation.* And how can you walk and talk and be merry with such people, when you know their case? When you look them in the face, you should break forth into tears, as the prophet did when he looked upon Hazael, and then set on them with the most vehement exhortations. O, for God's sake, and the sake of poor souls, bestir yourselves, and spare no pains that may conduce to their salvation! What cause have we to bleed before the Lord that we have so long neglected this good work!" With the *minified* notions of sin and its inevitable results now in vogue, though the fact of future retribution may not be formally repudiated, it is impossible to arouse men's consciences or to bring them to a sense of their real danger. It is also impossible that, while doubting and hesitating over these things, the preacher himself should duly appreciate the critical character of the business in which he is engaged. He will feel but little concern for the eternal welfare of those to whom he ministers, and his efforts will be but feeble for their awakening and conversion. There will be in such a case but little "crying aloud," but very much "sparing;" not much telling the people of their sins, and especially little will be said respecting the cherished sin of their souls. No wonder that with such conceptions of the great truths of religion dominating the pulpit there should be no gift for *exhortation.*

In the same proportion in which the pulpit fails to declare the whole counsel of God, it loses its power over the unconverted masses; and then there will be a tendency among them to wholly forsake the house of God. That they do so is confessed, and a variety of strange devices have been invented to counteract that tendency, and to make the house of God attractive. The *ethical* and the *æsthetical* are substituted for the *spiritual,* and an "enriched" *ritual* is made to replace the simplicity of spiritual worship; and fine music supplies the deficiencies of the pulpit; and the solemn grandeur of architectural embellishments is substituted for the power of the truth in Christ Jesus. The so-called "churchly" element is sometimes found to be not sufficiently effective, and then there is a divergence toward the conditions of the *theater* and the music hall. Short sermons are in favor, so that the faint and vitiated appetites of the hearers shall not be surfeited by too much of the

strong meat of the Gospel. Popular songs, set to light and fantastic airs, and "rendered" by a company of poorly trained opera-singers, take the place of the grand old hymns which teach the simple but soul-saving truths of religion. And occasionally, for the sake of variety and as a relief, the sermon is wholly set aside, not, however, to make room for a freer exercise of prayer and exhortation and Christian testimony, but for a "service of song," which is usually only a poor imitation of the so-called sacred concerts that are given on Sunday evenings in the play-houses.

It may not be desirable to absolutely discountenance all possible attempts to utilize the æsthethic element in the services of the house of God, but there is good reason for being jealous of its influence, and certainly it is allowable to only a moderate extent. In the services of the Jewish temple, which were addressed chiefly to the senses and the imagination, a larger space was properly allowed to the outward. But the worship of the Christian sanctuary was not originally fashioned after the temple service, but after that of the synagogue, in which every thing was ordered with extreme simplicity and without ostentation, while the exercises were almost entirely didactic and *hortatory*.

The worship of the primitive Church, says Dr. Paley, was evidently very much like that of a Methodist conventicle of his own time—that is, of the middle of the eighteenth century; and in both these, the ancient and the modern eras, the ministrations of the Gospel were mightily effective. Some little of liturgical order may be necessary in stated religious services; but great care is needful to guard them against their natural tendency to become *bonds* and *shackles* within which the spirit of worship will not be restrained. Music has always had a place in Christian worship; but the early Christians' "hymns of praise to Christ," of which Pliny tells, were quite another thing than the gorgeous and imposing ceremonies of some great cathedral performance.

The history of the Church shows very clearly that the growth of art in connection with the forms of worship has uniformly been attended or closely followed by loss of spiritual power.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

EVANGELISTS AND REVIVALS.

THERE seems to be among our people a growing interest, in some quarters, as to the desirableness or otherwise of having among the working forces of the Church a class of agents that are designated *Evangelists.* What that term in its modern use signifies is well known, which, however, is something quite different from its use in the New Testament and in the apostolical Church. It is evident that the New Testament evangelists and those of the present time are identical only in their common name. A clear understanding of the case, as a fact, may help toward the solution of the several secondary questions in which the whole merit of the subject in hand consists.

An evangelist in the Methodist Episcopal Church, as is indicated by the prevailing usage (the office has no legal status), is a preacher or public speaker, man or woman, who without definite pastoral charge goes from place to place holding special revival services. The fields of their operations are seldom or never, except in a few exceptional cases, among the "ungospeled" masses, but chiefly in the largest and best appointed churches. The Church so served finds the congregation and the requisite material conditions, and pays all the bills, including the more or less given to the evangelist, on the principle that the laborer is worthy of his hire; for even such a one may not be expected to serve God for naught. Such persons constitute a legally unrecognized class or order among us; and yet they must be somehow recognized, whether for better or worse, among the Church's agencies. They are, in different cases, traveling or local preachers, or exhorters, or even unlicensed operators. As to their special calling and work, they are outside of the Church's established order and discipline. As every traveling preacher is supposed to have his own appointment, within which he is to labor, it is plain that none of that class can be evangelists without a manifest departure from the ideal of their calling.

The appointments of "Conference evangelists," that were some time ago made by the Bishops in a few cases, were entirely without legal warrant, and it may be presumed that no more such will be made. Neither within the letter nor the spirit of the law of the itinerancy can a traveling preacher be an evangelist, in the special sense of that term, nor can an evangelist be a Methodist traveling preacher.

The legal status and relations of local preachers, on the other hand, are well adapted to the requirement of this class of operators. They are not bound to any definite field or work; they may exercise their gifts wherever

they can get a hearing, and may "officiate" in any church if invited, or in any "parish" if not forbidden by its preacher in charge. True, they are supposed to be in any case nominally and legally members of some local Church and its Quarterly Conference, to which they are amenable as to both personal and official character and conduct; but it is quite probable that these relations are often rather perfunctory than effectual. Our female evangelists, however, must be unofficial, since the Discipline of the Church does not allow women to be licensed as preachers or exhorters; but this difficulty may be obviated by the action of the pastors, who may invite any member of the Church that is in good standing, that is, against whom no formal complaint has been made, to speak or pray in his congregation.

In practice it is the work of an evangelist of this kind to go to some Church to which he or she may be invited, to labor for a season in special revival services, working especially for conversions, and also, in some cases, either as a principal purpose or as an auxiliary device, for the promotion of "holiness." To carry the gospel to the destitute pertains to the office of the "missionary," which is quite another calling than that of the specifically so-called evangelist. Local preachers have sometimes done excellent work as missionaries, but in doing this they were not evangelists, in the sense in which that term is now used; nor do these seem to affect such humble, painstaking, and often painful work. They seem to require, instead, a prepared place and a congregation sustained by the requisite local prestige and financial ability. When thus brought into position, if in a church, though the regular pastor is in form and by law in charge, very large liberties are given to the new-comer, who must be permitted to operate according to his own methods, and he usually has methods of his own. For the time the work is his, and because it is the work of a specialist it must not be interfered with.

This modern form of evangelistic work originated during the third decade of the present century, chiefly in the nominally Calvinistic Churches of this country, under such leaders as Finney and Nettleton, and among the Baptists, Elder Knapp. And soon after these came Dr. N. W. Taylor, of New Haven, with his "New Divinity," teaching men to become Christians by simple acts of volition. [Some say that this is still done by both Mr. Moody and Sam Jones.] At that time all Methodist preachers were presumed to be, and were in fact though not in name, evangelists, and yet the services of specialists—among them, first of all in point of effectiveness, John N. Maffit—were sometimes called into use. The few among us whose memories cover the period of forty to fifty years, will recollect something of the proceedings of those times, and also the disastrous outcome of Maffit's career, and the consequent discrediting, for a season, of his methods. But they have been revived and rehabilitated, and the call is sometimes made for their legalization, and for the grafting of the system of evangelists upon the Methodist itinerancy. The subject so pressed into notice presents two general questions, to be properly determined before the demands so made may be granted: first, Does Meth-

odism need such an order of workers? and, second, If so, how can it be wrought into its existing ministerial system?

In favor of an affirmative answer to the former of these questions it is pleaded, not without some degree of truth and pertinency, that there is more than a fancied difference between the pastoral and the evangelistic work; and that, while both are necessary, there is in the ordinary working of the ministry a tendency to care for the former, and relatively to neglect the latter.

It is said, not without some show of justice, that the preaching heard in Methodist churches from week to week, on all ordinary occasions, lacks the specifically evangelistic element; that its tendency and purpose is (consciously or otherwise) to edify the Church, and to build up believers in the faith, and to incite them to right living, much more than to awaken the impenitent, to lead inquirers to Christ, and to show the necessity for, and the way to, the beginnings of a saving religious experience. There is much more than a playful satire in the saying sometimes heard, that as to our preachers the gift of exhortation is among the "lost arts," and it is not very unusual to hear able and acceptable ministers confessing their want of that gift. It may also be granted that the natural tendency of a pastor's duties and relations is toward the pastoral side of his calling, and relatively away from the evangelistic. His daily intercourse is chiefly with professed Christians, whom he is compelled, by courtesy at least, if not by conviction, to recognize as converted people; and it is his business to lead them forward in their Christian calling, that, "leaving the principles—first things—of the doctrine of Christ," they may "go on unto perfection," that is, to Christian maturity; and because his mind and heart are thus drawn in one direction more than another, that other tends to be minified, and to fade out of his thoughts and feelings; and when he sits down to prepare for his pulpit exercises the same thoughts dominate his feelings and control his actions. He sees, in his imagination, a congregation of Church members before him, who, in the judgment of charity are presumed to be real Christians, converted persons in some of the stages of experience that lie between the beginnings and the perfecting of the Christian life, and his sermons naturally and almost necessarily are shaped by these things. And that way of thinking and speaking harmonizes with his own spontaneous religious tastes and feelings, to say nothing of those of a less spiritual kind. And thus it comes to be the case that not a few excellent Methodist ministers—just the kind that fill the pulpits of the better class of churches—are confessedly not qualified to perform a highly important part of the work required for "the upbuilding of the body of Christ;" and because of this lack on the part of the pastors it is pleaded that there is need of a distinct class, specially trained for specifically evangelistic work, to supplement this deficiency. To this, however, it will be answered that since the position of the regular pastor gives him opportunities and advantages that can be enjoyed by no one else, it would be desirable, could it be so, that he himself should, like Timothy, "do the work of an evangelist," and in that

way really "*fulfill* the work of the ministry;" and that this is possible there is no room for a doubt.

If, however, it shall be granted that every pastor shall also be an evangelist in his own field of labor, it must be further considered that in every Church there are times and seasons when increased and special evangelistic efforts should be made. The notion sometimes expressed, that the Church should be all the time in a state of revival, so as to supersede the necessity for special seasons of spiritual quickening and activity, is at best only a half-truth; as a whole, it is not according to either the reasons or the facts of the case. It is evident beyond successful dispute that the ordinary work of the Church does not suffice for some of its wants. Something more than the usual rounds of weekly and monthly services are needful in order to the best conditions of church life. Occasional revivals, over and beyond the usual activities of the best of Churches, are at once needful for the highest interests of religion, both for ingathering and upbuilding. They are also the normal outcome of the sustained Christian life of the Church. In the spiritual heavens, not less than in the natural, there are alternations of times and seasons, which the wise in spiritual things will not fail to observe and to turn to account. It will be found very difficult to avoid a gradual subsiding of zeal and activity, of devotion to God and deadness to the world, in any Church and congregation which remain for successive years unvisited by special spiritual quickenings; and in very few Churches, and only such as are specially favored by their conditions and environments, will the natural depletions of members be compensated for except through revivals. In all ordinary cases, the Methodist Church that has no revivals is in a state of chronic decline which must ensue in death—spiritually and also outwardly.

A conviction of this sort, no doubt, is commonly prevalent in the Churches, and accordingly revivals are desired either from pure or from mixed motives. But how shall they be obtained? and how, when begun, successfully followed up, so as to secure the best results? Just here comes the call for an evangelist; and, though good results have sometimes been reached by that process, there are still very serious difficulties in guarding it from serious abuses. The pastor who calls in an evangelist, except as an auxiliary, to promote and conduct a revival in his Church, confesses by that act his own insufficiency for one of the chief parts of his official duties, and by so doing he consents to be discounted in the estimation of his own people. The pastor should always be the spiritual head of his Church; his people must be taught, by all that they see and do, to recognize him as such, and to follow him accordingly; but if, in a most important part of the work of the Church, they are taught to look to another leader, the effect can scarcely fail to be pernicious. No doubt, in times of widespread revival influences pastors need help, often more than can be rendered by the laity of the Church—which, however, should always be utilized to the farthest possible extent—and in such case *help* should be sought. But in no case should the pastor transfer his author-

ity to another. His responsibilities to his flock and to the chief Shepherd forbid him to do so.

It is granted that great and precious revivals have occurred under the conduct of professional evangelists; but in nearly or quite all such cases it is very probable that there were conditions connected with the regular church work that contributed very largely to the success—perhaps saved it from ruinous disaster. A continuous course of faithful pulpit and pastoral ministrations may have prepared the Church and congregation for the visitation of the Spirit, and the advent of the evangelist may have been the least of the procuring causes of the work that was done. And during and after the revival the pastor was on hand to minister to the spiritually wounded, to gather the lambs into the fold, and to feed them with the pure milk of the word; and so to bring them, through grace, to the stature of adult believers. And it should be said, with all solemn emphasis, that revivals without these attendant conditions of pastoral care are of less than uncertain value. In many an instance there is reason to believe that the case of a Church or community so visited has been made worse instead of better.

The second question suggested at the beginning would be pertinent only after an affirmative answer to the first had been reached. It may, however, be allowable to look at some of its conditions. It is pleaded that since there are, and are likely to be, among us those who are in fact professional evangelists, they ought to be recognized by the law and administration of the Church, in order that they may be made amenable to authority. This plea is specious, but not so forceful as it seems. Some things are better let alone than taken in hand; and were the thing suggested desirable in itself, its formal adoption might cost more than it would be worth. As now organized, and as it has been from the beginning, Methodism has no room for an order of evangelists; first, because the itinerancy itself is a vast evangelistic agency; and, second, because it has no place into which to bring the new order. Every Church must have its pastor, who is charged to do all the work of a Methodist minister; and, while he may use any available help, he cannot relinquish any part of his work in favor of any other person. An evangelist can operate in his Church only through his sufferance; and both the presiding elder and the Conference on one side, and the officiary of the Church on the other, must look to the minister in charge for the conduct of the Church's affairs. If the evangelists are to be members of the Annual Conferences, where shall be their appointed fields of labor, and to what authority shall they be subjected? and last, but not least, whence shall they receive their support? If they are local preachers, then they need no larger liberty than is now given to all such, nor is it certain that they would willingly consent to any additional limitations. At present the pastor of each Church is responsible for its services; he can employ such duly accredited persons as he may wish as helpers in his work, and within these provisions there is room for all necessary use of evangelistic agencies. The needs of the case are not new arrangements, but the better and more effective working of the agencies we have.

CITY EVANGELIZATION.

The question of the social and religious affairs of the modern city is receiving a good share of the attention which its transcendent interest abundantly justifies. The importance of cities as centers and sources of social influences has long been recognized, but this has been very greatly increased during the recent past, through the relative growth of cities and large towns as compared with the small towns and hamlets and the open country. The latter, until quite lately, contained a very large majority of the inhabitants of the whole country; and so the character of the population, with its tastes and needs, was fashioned by the facts of its rural conditions. But that is now quite otherwise. Through causes not at all difficult to understand, the people have been gathering into the cities from all the rural regions, until at length, in all the older and more densely populated parts of the country, the cities are becoming the homes of most of the people, and the fashion of American life is becoming conformed to the influences and requirements of their new conditions. These changes, of course, make necessary certain modifications and readjustments of the agencies and methods to be used in providing for not only the industrial wants of the people, but equally so for their social welfare, and especially for their intellectual and religious necessities. At present we purpose to consider only so much as is indicated by the heading of this paper, "City Evangelization;" and, for good and sufficient reasons, our facts and the application of our suggestions will center about New York city—its people and their conditions—in which, beyond all others, is embodied and represented American city life.

It is quite the fashion to speak deprecatingly of the manners and morals of cities as compared with those of rural and village communities; but that is a subject upon which a good deal may be said on both sides. Life in the city is certainly more intense than in the country, and, accordingly, there are larger developments of character and wider extremes of both good and bad qualities; but which of the two classes, the rural or the urban, will show the better average of moral character may not be so readily declared. There are, no doubt, types of viciousness and degradation among our city population that cannot be duplicated among those of the country; and the same comparison will hold good in respect to the opposite types, for, in respect to social enterprise and disinterested care for others, expressed not only in pecuniary bestowments, but especially in personal labor and sacrifices, the advantage is certainly very greatly in favor of the city. And if we are reminded of the multitudes of the morally and socially debased that make up large quarters in nearly all great cities, we may also suspect that, if we carefully inquire, we shall find in smaller bodies a scarcely less proportion of persons living at a very low level of intellectual and moral culture. The whole case may be summed up in the statement that city people are both better and worse than the corresponding classes in the rural portions of the land.

In speaking of American cities, it is safe to take New York as a specimen case; it is fairly representative of the whole class in all their ruling features, while its magnitude serves to present all its characteristics in magnified proportions. Nearly all our chief cities have the same general wants; but what may be manageable with comparative ease in smaller cities, can here be successfully dealt with only by the use of large means and far-reaching appliances. Further than this, New York has become essentially cosmopolitan in its *personnel*, and in the modes of thought and methods of living of its people. It is indeed American as to its social character, and especially its political institutions, and in the trend of its thinking; but the blood that flows in the veins of its inhabitants is strongly dashed with an alien element, which, however, no doubt, is undergoing a process of rapid assimilation. Protestant modes of thought are certainly decidedly dominant, although scarcely one half of the people claim to be Protestants. The national peculiarities of Europe have been transplanted among us, where they have taken root and flourish with marked luxuriance. Many of the old transatlantic ideas and feelings are still active among us; and, as to numbers, there are more Germans in New York (if those of the first generation born in this country are included) than in any city in the fatherland except Berlin; while the Irish population of New York exceeds that of Dublin. These, and those of many other nationalities, live apart, and largely retain their original characteristics, and maintain many of their former usages and modes of life. And in nothing else is this persistency of character so effective as in matters of religion. The Irish Romanist appears to become intensified in his (and especially *her*) devotion to "mother Church" by breathing our free air, although the atmosphere is permeated by the spirit of Protestant liberty; and German Lutherans are said to cherish with new zeal and affection, in this country, the forms and memories of the Church which they habitually disregarded at home; and the Jews appear to be decidedly less approachable by Christian agencies here than in Europe. All these things may be hopeful rather than otherwise; but certainly they are not unimportant factors in the problem we are considering. They vastly complicate all our practical methods for city evangelization, which must be shaped to meet their demands.

The local configuration of our city's ground-plot, also, not a little affects this question. It is a comparatively narrow strip of land between two broad bodies of water, extending out in only one direction. The heavy business of the city—that which makes it what it is—is pressed down toward the lower extremity. The down-town portion—that lying below Fourteenth Street—has about two fifths of the population, and much the larger part of the city's wealth; but its own inhabitants are relatively poor. The owners of most of the property are not residents of that locality; but within this region are found people of almost every nation under the heavens. Nearly all the languages of the earth are spoken there, and in one large quarter of this part of the city the German language is, apparently, more used than the English. The former population of this

region has been moving up-town for half a century, until only a few limited localities remain in which those consent to abide who can afford to get away. Fifty years ago the best churches of the city were down-town; now there are very few in all this region that can sustain themselves without aid, either direct or indirect, from up-town. The whole of New York city below Fourteenth Street, with its six hundred thousand inhabitants, is largely, though not absolutely, a missionary field; and this fact is becoming year by year more fully appreciated, and practically provided for. Here a large share of the evangelizing agencies of the city are effectively at work; but both the money and the agents for doing the work must come from up-town.

The migration of the population northward, to occupy what had been vacant lands, necessitated the erection of new church buildings and the provision of all other appliances for church-work in the new districts, for which, in most cases, nearly the whole of the needed outlay, amounting to many millions of dollars, had to be obtained by voluntary donations. Comparatively little money from the sale of down-town churches has been carried away with the removing people; of the Methodist churches none at all. Every Methodist church above Fourteenth Street, with a single exception, has been founded within fifty years, and their entire cost (amounting to nearly $2,000,000) has been contributed by the people, chiefly those for and by whom they were built; though in most cases each church has received aid from the Methodists of other localities for the idea of a common interest has been all the time practically effective. And while the Methodism of New York comprises all its churches, its resources for all general enterprises, including the principal maintenance of the churches of the lower wards, must come from the up-town churches. That consideration suggests the necessity of strengthening these, as a provision for the prosecution of evangelistic work among the poorer localities of the city; and it shows that the numerical increase and the strengthening of the abler churches are the best possible provision for the more properly missionary work among the poor and destitute. Church extension and church building, in the more prosperous localities, is thus seen to be a necessary prerequisite to the effectual prosecution of city evangelization. As the people are going up-town in vast numbers, and large precincts hitherto vacant are becoming covered with dwellings into which the moderately well-to-do of the people are moving—most of whom are Protestants, and a large percentage Methodists—the call for new churches becomes importunate; the heeding or otherwise of which must be the cause of success or failure, of denominational life or death.

Passing from the consideration of the exterior conditions of our problem, we are next to inquire respecting the methods by which the needed work may be done. That work is, as in all Christian work, to bring the influences of the Gospel to bear upon the hearts and minds of the people. Here, as every-where else, the faith which alone can save comes by hearing; and that the Gospel may be heard it must be preached; and, in order that it may be preached, certain ones must be sent, commissioned, set at

work, to do it. City evangelization is the same in its kind and purpose with the ordinary preaching of the Gospel, and shepherding the flock; its peculiarities consist in the adaptation of methods to the local and accidental requirements of the case; and because in this case the conditions are peculiar, and in many things widely different from ordinary church work, very considerable modifications of methods may be needed. Attempts to evangelize the people of large portions of a city like New York, simply by the usual methods of church work, will probably not succeed.

As a fairly good and successful minister taken from an ordinary pastorate for city mission work, operating according to his old methods, will be pretty sure to fail, probably not a small part of the unsuccess of our work in this city has proceeded from this cause. It is one thing to deliver sermons and minister to the religious wants of an organized Christian body, and quite another to go out into the highways and hedges, the slums and hiding-places of poverty and crime, and bring the power of the Gospel into effective operation upon those living there, whether of choice or from necessity. And although there are many not so far gone who are proper subjects for the work of city evangelization, yet the effectual doing of the work must reach the very lowest stratum of the social mass. There seems to be just now, in not a few generous Christian minds, a sense of discouragement in view of the vastness and the necessity for this kind of work, and the comparative unsuccess of all past efforts. And yet, while on the one hand it must be granted that the past has not been altogether without good results, on the other, its partial failure suggests the need of carefully re examining our methods; and in doing this experience may afford valuable suggestions.

Two distinct methods have heretofore been pursued, both of which have been productive of good, and yet both have been pretty clearly demonstrated to be unequal to the work. For nearly sixty years an undenominational and non-ecclesiastical association of Christian workers, known as the "New York City Mission and Tract Society," has been engaged in laboring for the benefit of the non-church-going masses, distributing tracts, visiting the sick, and endeavoring to persuade people to attend church, and to send their children to Sunday-school. In some cases local chapels and Sunday-schools have been instituted, but the church idea was generally avoided. But experience taught those engaged in that work that, for its wider and permanent success, a more thorough organization and a more churchly character were necessary; and now that body has become the founder and patron of four great establishments, which are, first of all, churches, provided with large and commodious edifices, with audience-rooms for public worship, and chapels for Sunday-schools and other public exercises; and also having parlors, offices, library and reading-rooms, and gymnasiums; and, in addition to the usual religious services, they provide a variety of useful and entertaining exercises for the benefit of the young people, in order to divert them from vicious associations, and to make the churches points of interest. The experiments made along this line have proved, thus far, eminently satisfactory; for

while the plan gives to the attendants all the advantages of a complete church organization, it also provides for them that which they cannot themselves supply—the necessary funds and the administrative ability for managing the affairs of so large an interest.

Some of the Episcopal Churches of the city have, within the past ten or twenty years, engaged actively in the work of caring for the poor and irreligious of the city. Their work in this direction has usually proceeded under the administration of their parishes, as such, rather than by extra-ecclesiastical organizations, and the plan seems to have operated both effectively and smoothly. They build large and commodious chapels, where church services are regularly held, and school-houses for Sunday-schools and also for parochial schools, with kindergarten and industrial departments; they look after the poor of their vicinities, especially poor women and small children; visit the sick, provide medicines, and, best of all, provide personal attendance and nursing in extreme cases. The Episcopalians have several peculiar advantages in their work: they are intensely denominational, and abundantly wealthy; and, although rich men are not usually good givers, yet, where much is possessed, persistent efforts will pretty surely gain something. But beyond all others they know how to utilize women's aid in their missionary enterprises; and these constitute an important contingent in their working force.

The Methodists of New York, though they have nothing that is at all equal to either of these, have not been unmindful of their duty and calling in respect to the poor and outcast classes. Originally, their whole Church was a spiritual propaganda, and it gloried in the distinction of being the Church of the poor. It built churches with free sittings and welcomed all comers. But because it gathered its converts into Churches, its strictly evangelistic work required to be supplemented with pastoral care and direction. No doubt, in making this transition, the Methodist system passed through a very severe test of its elasticity and capacity for adaptation, and though it survived the ordeal it is perhaps still somewhat affected by the strain. In the open country and comparatively small towns the required adjustments were not very difficult, for Churches in such localities must be at once evangelistic and pastoral; but in large cities the two kinds of work are to a wide degree distinct, and yet neither can prosper and do its best except as the two are conjoined and co-operative. In New York, as by degrees the Methodist Churches became individualized, and the pastoral duties grew to be onerous and exacting, the evangelistic work very naturally gave way to the demands of the local Church. It then became manifest that a broader and freer agency for outside work was needed, and to meet this want, about twenty years ago, an association was formed for city mission work, which has been widely useful. It is now called by its chartered name, "The New York City Church Extension and Missionary Society," and has under its care about twenty churches, located in all parts of the city, with nearly three thousand church members, and large and flourishing Sunday-schools. But the experiments made during those twenty years have taught those who

direct that work wherein they have made mistakes, and what is now required to render it properly effective. The plan of planting and sustaining small and feeble missions has been found not advisable, failing, as they necessarily must, to do much of the required work, and being disproportionately costly in what they do. Centralization of means and comprehensiveness of plans so as to reach and hold the persons intended to be benefited is now clearly shown to be necessary to success. It is only just to award great praise to those who have labored in this organization, both for their devotion and for the results that have been accomplished; but it is becoming more and more evident that its aims and its methods must be enlarged; its funds should be very largely increased, and both its agencies and agents should be chosen and employed only as they are known to be adapted to the special requirements of the case.

It is clearly shown by experience that the characteristics which qualify ministers for the work of city evangelists are not the same with those which fit them for ordinary pastoral work; and it is no doubt through no fault of their own that some excellent ministers have found themselves sadly out of place by being thrust into places for which they had neither natural nor acquired adaptations.* The plan of making each little mission an independent pastoral charge has nothing in its favor and very much against it; and while it may be well to have some one specially charged with the local oversight, both a frequent alternation of the pulpit supply and a general administrative superintendency are highly desirable. Because it was seen that the conditions of this work are widely different from those of the ordinary pastoral care of the churches, provisions have been made in the law of the Church that the rule limiting the pastoral term to three years need not apply to ministers appointed "to neglected portions of our cities." The provisions of the Methodist Discipline are especially felicitously adapted to the best possible arrangement for this kind of work: and with a wise application of those provisions by the general administration, and with a sufficient supply of qualified ministerial workers, that side of the work may be placed in the best possible conditions, which it must be conceded is not now the case.

In addition to the points just spoken of, two others, both of the first importance, must somehow be rendered available. This work calls for very considerable amounts of money, much more than our wealthy laymen

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* At the National Council of the Congregational Churches in Chicago, a few months ago, Rev. Dr. Pentecost uttered some good things which we may appropriate without following him to all his practical conclusions. Respecting the subject now under notice, he remarked, as to the habits into which pastors naturally fall: "This life and habit of study, and their practical exclusion from all people except members of their several flocks and congregations, have put them out of touch with the great mass of mankind. . . . Their work of teaching and edifying has been carried on at the expense of evangelizing." And to this may be added the further fact, that the tastes and social habits learned by being trained in regular pastoral work largely disqualify them for the peculiar calling of city evangelists.

have been accustomed to give. If by any means these can be made to feel and perform their duties in this matter a double benefit will be secured: first, the givers will be rescued from the pernicious sin of covetousness, which in not a few instances is eating into their souls like a canker, and, second, the financial help that is essential to successful city evangelization will be provided. Somehow, our rich men must be made to realize the obligations that come with possession of wealth, quite as much for their own spiritual and eternal welfare as for the interest of the cause of Christ among men; and perhaps no cause is better suited to move them in the needed direction than this of which we are writing. The second thing especially called for in this work is the united and earnest action of our Christian women. The Church is just now coming to appreciate, in some degree, the immense resources of moral power lying dormant and unused among its women. And while some object, very wisely, we think, to many things that are said and done about "woman's sphere" and "woman's rights," every body will grant that to do good to the souls and bodies of the poor of our cities lies within the sphere of godly women, and to engage in a work so Christ-like is their *right* also. Every well-directed experiment along this line has proved its availability and its eminent effectiveness; and yet, strangely enough, we have used that power only sparingly and timidly. We would not ask for any either superstitious or ostentatious display in this matter, and yet we see great fitness in an informal order of "deaconesses," aided by a goodly class of "sisters," of grace as well as of mercy, to labor together in behalf of the outcasts of our teeming populations.

In a late number of the *Andover Review* is an editorial article touching upon some of the points which we have discussed, with which we agree in its general substance, though not in all the details. We close with its somewhat extended last paragraph:

> Owing to the peculiar configuration of New York city, this process of abandonment and desertion [of the older churches] is more conspicuous there than elsewhere; but it is going on in every great city. What can arrest it? How can the Church recover to itself the territory which is slipping from its grasp? We answer, Advance the work of city evangelization to the grade of that of home or foreign missions. . . . What other course can satisfy the reasonable demands of the city upon its (own) Christian element? We are convinced that little can be accomplished in the way of city evangelization until the Church of the city is equipped for work through every day of the week. A Sunday church (only) is, in the eyes of the masses, a class church. An every-day church, ministering through all possible agencies, reaches with a penetrating power into the densest life of the city. Of course the change, on the part of any number of city churches, from Sunday to every-day churches would involve a vast increase in expenditure. But will any thing less suffice? The dribbling support which is given to most city mission organizations is a confession of indifference. . . . We advocate, as a present necessity in city evangelization, the establishment of working centers, with a sufficient force of skilled workers to make them effective. . . . The chapel as an appendage of a distant wealthy church is no longer an appreciable factor in the problem. These agencies may remain, but work must be projected on broader lines.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

AN ORIENTAL CONGRESS in Vienna has recently attracted a great deal of attention because of the prominent Orientalists in attendance, and the remarkable breadth of the discussions. Delegates were present from Turkey, Egypt, British India, and China. In no city of the European world is such a gathering more in place than in the Austrian capital, for it holds the middle ground between Orient and Occident both in position and in the mixed character of its people and their idioms.

For the Austrian Empire a knowledge of the East and its varied tongues is indispensably necessary, and the Oriental Academy of that city has long held the first rank in Europe for the education of diplomatists for eastern lands. When the shah of Persia some years ago made his European tour he received as aid-de-camp, on reaching Vienna, a distinguished native Orientalist, who could converse with him and all his suite in whatever language they chose to use; an attention that could be paid to the Persian monarch in no other land.

The discussions took place in sections, and that one devoted to Africa and Egypt seemed to have a peculiar attraction for the lay element of the Congress. The session of this division, at which the famous London lady, Miss Amelia B. Edwards, renowned as Egyptologist and hieroglyphist, read a paper, was very largely attended. Turks and Egyptians listened with surprise to her address on the latest discoveries in Egypt; namely, the mummies in the caves near Assouan, as well as the mighty Necropolis on the Elephantine island. Many ladies honored this marvel of their sex with their attendance on this occasion.

Next in order of interest seemed to be the Arabic and the Semitic sections. Here the famous Egyptian scholar, Hefni-Effendi, delivered an address, in the Koranic-Arabic idiom, on the popular Arabico-Egyptian dialect; Professor Hommel, from Munich, illustrated the Arabic texts of ancient Indian legends; and Professor Kaabocek, of Vienna, treated of the importance of recent finds of papyrus documents as the bases of closer investigations in the Arabic paleography. In the Semitic section the matters treated of were a little more popular in character. The chaplain of the British embassy in Vienna read a paper on the period of King Gudia, about 2,000 years before Christ, and touching the Assyrian arrow-head inscriptions on the bricks which a German Assyriologist had recently brought to Vienna. The celebrated Parisian Assyriologist, Jules Oppert, threw light on the abstruse subject of Assyrian law in its development from 3,000 years before Christ until the period of the Romans.

DR. GEORGE SCHWEINFURTH was recently the lion of a convocation of German naturalists and physicians for the investigation of physical and physiological themes as pertaining to recent travels and reports from various parts of the earth. He greatly delighted the distinguished body by his attractive investigations of the "Prospects and Tasks of Europe in

Tropical Africa." He was peculiarly instructive and emphatic in his remarks on the magnitude of the civilizing work required on the part of Europe for a region containing perhaps five hundred millions of Negroes. He sought in no way to conceal the intense demands of the undertaking and the many difficulties of the task, but he nevertheless opened several bright and encouraging perspectives into a period when Stanley's Dark Continent would be no longer dark, except in the complexion of its inhabitants. On a closer inspection of the new Congo State, and a comparison between that and "German Africa," he declared with great earnestness that the latter territory seemed to him to offer opportunities for a more speedy opening and utilization than the giant Congo realm, so very difficult of access. He is of the opinion that for native plantations and trade, if not for agricultural colonies, East Africa offers great prospects, and can undoubtedly be sooner made useful.

The prize essay of missionary superintendent Merensky has shown in a very clear manner the important responsibilities in respect to the education of the natives of Africa not only to labor, but in civilizing influences, and the ways that will best lead to the attainment of this object. What he therein says of the absolute necessity of the co-operation of Christian missionaries in the work has received unstinted applause. In his view, it is a simple question as to whether the Negroes shall become Christians or Mohammedans; in the latter case they will be certainly lost to civilization. Merensky declares it as his opinion, that in order quickly to attain all ends desired, a standing army, manned by European officers, will be indispensably necessary, and this, strange to say, partly to defend the natives from European intruders, who will come to destroy rather than to aid them. It will be of the highest importance to keep at a distance the many disturbing influences which the persistence of the pioneers of European trade usually forces, all too soon, into the civilizing efforts of legitimate colonists or those of the natives themselves. As to the importation of all kinds of spirituous liquors, it must be absolutely and unconditionally forbidden. All men of intelligence and religious convictions unhesitatingly state that the stream of colonization can only flow purely and in increasing measure when free from this and other vices of civilized life.

The Portuguese are making the most strenuous exertions to retain their hold in Africa, which proves, indeed, to have been very strong, as they seem to have impressed their language on all the regions where they have established "factories" and carried on the slave-trade. It will be noticed that, for their intercourse with the authorities they may meet with, Bishop Taylor and his party find it necessary to use the Portuguese rather than any other tongue.

Serpa Pinto, the now well-known Portuguese explorer, who three years ago made the brilliant passage through Africa, has again arrived in Lisbon after the fulfillment of a mission from the Government on the east coast of Africa. He was appointed consul-general for Africa, that his official position might give him influence and authority in arranging for

his explorations, and especially for an approach to the Sultan of Zanzibar, in favor of Portuguese interests. His instructions ordered him mainly to explore the Nyassa Lake and become better acquainted with the tribes on its shores, in order to enter into trading relations with them, and to open up, if possible, a commercial route to their region.

This same object was also the animus of the mission of Capello and Ivens, who lately crossed Africa from the west to the east coast. In view of the energetic character of Serpa Pinto, his Government was prepared to see him pass, indeed, the Nyassa, and come to light again in the west, but the fates were antagonistic to him; he was twice detained by sickness, and then obliged to give up the idea of commanding the expedition through the interior. His representative and companion, the naval officer Cordoso, took the party to Nyassa, and his geographical investigations are of much scientific interest. The Portuguese consider the expedition a success in the line of extending their political interests.

THE FRENCH CHAMBERS are making awkward work in the matter of organizing popular education so as to laicize the schools and exclude from them all but lay teaching. The recent measures of the municipal councils of Paris in banishing from the schools all books that contain the name of God, and all expressions that have their origin in the sacred book, have so far overshot the mark as to alarm all thinking men, and cause them to fear the legislation of the Chambers in this regard. The expense of the measure, also, is objected to; but in order to meet this complaint five years are given in which to perfect it, and even then the reform is to be carried out only in proportion to the credit granted.

After many efforts to thwart the action it was resolved, by a large majority, to proceed with it. Then the royalists declared that this exclusion of the orders from the schools was an equivalent to banishing all religion from them, and the exposing of the youth of the land to a moral poison equivalent to atheism, which, indeed, many good people fear who are not royalists. To this objection an answer was made by the author of an excellent work on moral teachings, that a refusal to have the orders in the schools need not necessarily imply the contemning of all religion. And more than this, the brothers and sisters of the teaching orders are, by their origin, unfitted to observe neutrality in religious matters. The objection that teachers for the common schools could not be obtained among the laity, which was well grounded a few years ago, is no longer true, for to-day there are not less than 12,000 male and female teachers who have passed the required examinations, and are now waiting for places. The act establishing lay teaching in the public schools was finally passed by a large majority, and will undoubtedly now be put into operation. This will result in the opening of large numbers of private schools in which the elements of religious instruction will be given.

THE SUMMER RESORTS on the Continent are frequently sadly deficient in Protestant religious services on the Sabbath. The English have made some effort to supply this want, but nearly always in the line of the Epis-

copal faith, and the Scotch have done something in that of evangelical service; but, on the whole, not much is done, and the great majority of tourists or summer guests are left without religious privileges on the Sabbath.

The Germans are now moving in this matter in a style that we hope will be an instructive and encouraging example to other nationalities. Last year they founded an association for the establishment of Protestant service at sanitary and other summer resorts. Their first annual report has been made, and from it we gather some interesting facts. In the first place the whole field of labor has been systematically divided into sections, as follows: The winter stations on the Riviera, in all Italy and southern Tyrol; the spring and autumn stations on the lakes of upper Italy; the summer stations in the Austrian Alps, and at the Belgian and Dutch baths; and, finally, the summer resorts in all Catholic regions of Germany.

This service is held in the parlors of hotels, in the halls of sanitariums, in school-houses, or wherever a suitable place can be found to which the guests will be willing to come. The pastors in this work have been so far quite active, and some of them are veritable itinerants with very hard work. The trouble with much of this labor hitherto has been the fact that many who undertake it do so simply for the opportunity it affords them to spend the summer at some desirable spot and receive a support in the meanwhile. It is customary, we believe, with the English Church to send some favorite pastor, an invalid, perhaps, to some such spot as a personal kindness, and in most of these cases there is very little zeal or energy displayed. The idea of the Germans is, to make this a semi-missionary effort, and therefore they solicit funds and appeal to their people from patriotic and religious motives to help the cause.

THE RAUHE HAUS of Hamburg, under the control and guidance of the widely known Pastor Wichern, is becoming a veritable "People's College" of the most practical kind. A few months ago the director applied to the Prussian Minister of Public Worship, and to various consistories in German lands, as well as to many professors of practical theology, to aid him in calling together a number of riper students of theology for the purpose of giving them a few weeks' course in the art of approaching the masses that are met with in the work of the home mission.

Wichern made known in his circular the desire to receive, as far as possible, young theologians, and asked also that those who sent them would be careful in making choice of those who showed talent in the line of popular appeals. To young unmarried men, destitute of means, he gave encouragement for aid in defraying their traveling expenses, and also promised free homes from the liberality of Christian friends in the town. The call was for twenty-five, as all that they could provide for or help. To this there came, beyond all expectation, one hundred and forty applications, and among these there were college tutors and many pastors. The satisfying feature of this number of applicants was the proof of the need felt for preparation for this work.

It was not a pleasant task to select twenty-five and reject all the others, but it was necessary, and was done. The twenty-five were present on time, and it was interesting to see who they were. Three of them were assistant preachers, seven were still candidates, and the remainder still students. The faculty of Göttingen had sent two, Berlin one, and the seminary in Wittenberg one; four were from Saxony, two from Würtemberg, two from Baden, one from Bavaria, and one from Austria, etc. These took their courses and left for their homes well prepared to spread the good seed of enthusiasm for home mission work.

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH POLICY, in its newest phase, is very active in antagonism within and without, and this is not the product of a few individual personalities, but is rather the necessary result of the entire policy of Russia. Since Peter the Great decided to copy western Europe, and inoculate its culture into Russia, and especially since the Crimean war, there has been a greater necessity to examine more closely the foundation of its political and religious life, and this investigation shows clearly that "Old Russia" is still alive and powerful, notwithstanding all the attacks of Nihilism and its attendant forces. Now this internal force is ever occupied in strengthening the main pillars of the orthodox Greek Church, in consequence of which we see in all fields of effort—in the social, political, and military—this influence in the foreground. Thus the Church is now openly acknowledged as what she really is; namely, the hoop that holds together in one organic bond the various constituents of the great incongruous realm. Above all, the Russians now begin to see that the Russian and the Slavonic elements are by no means at all times identical, for the deadliest enemies of the Russians are the Poles, and these are mainly supporters and adherents of the Roman Catholic Church. Against these, therefore, as well as against the Lutheran Church of the Baltic Provinces, the orthodox Greek Church is now directing its blows. In these sections of the Baltic the Russian Government is trying to stamp out not only the religion but also the language of the people, and the agents for this work are mainly the priests of the National Church. Politically and ecclesiastically the Catholic Church is more feared than the Lutheran, but both are regarded as uncompromising enemies. Since the period of the first Alexander of Russia the Church of the realm has been making strenuous efforts to attach to itself some other branch of the Church at large, such as the English Church and the Old Catholics of Germany, but so far not much progress has been made in this line.

POLITICAL JUDAISM seems to be on the decline. As soon as one of the prominent Jews of the period steps off the political stage his place is supplied by one of a different profession or of none. Of all the parties now in the German conflict no one presents a candidate for the future; not even the German liberals, who have been heretofore their chief supporters. The single exception to this is found among the social democrats, who do not trouble themselves at all about any confession. Thus Dr. Ludwig Bamberger is now the only remaining witness of the period when

the liberal Jews were elected to Parliament. Lasker, Reichenheim, Warburg, and others are left without political posterity.

Meyer von Rothschild, of Frankfort, seems to have left behind him no very pleasant flavor in the nostrils of his co-religionists. A leading Jewish journal says of him: "We have nothing to say of his benevolence, and so far as his faith was concerned, it sat very lightly on him; he declined to contribute any thing to the collections for the Jewish refugees at a period when the appeal for aid was sounded throughout all Europe, and when even the Lord Mayor of London placed himself at the head of an association for their aid."

The Jewish students in Russia meet with new and troublesome restrictions in the schools, and nearly all the higher institutions are closed against them. All the gymnasia in Saint Petersburg that have hitherto accepted large numbers of Jews now close their doors against them. No more Jewesses are received in the training-school for nurses in the Russian capital, and in the clinical course of the present year not a single Jew has found entrance. In the surgical school for the army no Jew now stays or enters without special permission. The percentage of Jewish doctors allowed to practice is now reduced to five. Jewish physicians are not allowed to practice in Christian families, and Jewish lawyers are forbidden to bear Christian names.

THE PROTESTANT SPIRIT seems to be asserting itself every-where in Germany with renewed vigor since the quasi-surrender of Bismarck to the Pope. At a recent convocation of evangelical clergy in Wiesbaden one of the members treated of German Protestantism in its relation to Rome, declaring that the German people are in great danger of coming again under the sway of the Jesuits. He declared also that the Roman Catholic Church is aspiring to be the only acknowledged Church of the State, and that the Jesuits now mean not peace but war with Protestantism. A very significant debate was held on the relation of German Protestantism to the civil power, in which many of the exactions of the State on Protestantism at the present time were gravely repudiated, and the banner of Christian liberty was raised to the mast-head. The accusation was made that in the last fifty years much of the property of the Church, in the attack on individual parishes, had been virtually expropriated. The body closed its session with an ardent wish that its meeting would lay the corner-stone for a new edifice of Christian liberty.

THE FRENCH SENATE has been manipulating the ticklish question of *divorce*. Naquet, the leader in the matter of granting easy divorce, offered a motion to change an article of the civil code so that simple separation would become absolute divorce after a period of three years. The leading speaker in the opposition was the well-known Dr. de Pressensé, who had a good many moral objections to the proposition. He had favored the granting of divorce as a sort of safety-valve, but to make it become so general would, he feared, cause it to bear heavily on social conditions. To grant divorce at the request of only one of the parties, and then also

to let separation slide into absolute dissolution of the marriage bond, would be a dangerous measure, and one to which the Senate had better not lend its favor. Senator Renault defended the measure as one calculated to give the individual the opportunity to found a new family in case his first effort had failed, and especially to subvert the intrigues of the clergy, who oppose divorce. The Minister of Justice declared that the Government favored the measure after the Senate had *rejected* it by a fair majority.

CONGO LAND now has also its Roman Catholic bishop. The Archbishop of Paris recently laid his apostolic hands on the head of the missionary priest Corrie, in conformity to an order from the Pope, and made him Bishop of Congo Land. Monsignor Corrie is about forty years old, and is described as an uncommonly active and energetic missionary, who knows how to put his hand to every thing, and in the latest field of his operations was school-master, engineer, wood-chopper, hotel-keeper, and, in short, all in all as a pioneer of civilization. (Let Bishop Taylor look to his laurels!) A few months ago he founded a mission station nearly 200 miles above Stanley Pool. The new apostolic vicar will be accompanied by about forty co-workers and several of the sisters of Saint Joseph, who will open schools for boys and girls, and will teach the women the handiwork of civilization. The future episcopal seat will be in Loango, where there is now a school of forty Negro children. The money will be furnished by the Propaganda, that yearly receives large sums in France for such purposes.

"THE BALTIC CONVERSIONS," sarcastically so called, are now becoming even more suspiciously numerous than formerly. The Russian Minister of Public Worship announces that the religious movements among the populations of the Baltic Isles, in leaving Lutheranism and coming over into the Greek Church, are greatly on the increase, and especially since these peasants were told a few years ago that their transposition to the Russian Church was the most acceptable coronation present that they could send to the emperor. Since his last report this official announces that 1,200 persons have received the saving unction, the most of these from the island of Dago, where 1,000 at one conference were led over. But some of the concessions made to them, about which nothing was said in the report, were, that they might sit down in the church (not stand, as is the custom in the Greek Church), and also that they might sing their Lutheran hymns. The secret of these conversions is that they are virtually obtained by bribes, such as relief from Church tithes, and many like burdens that bear on them in the Lutheran Church in Russia.

NORTH AFRICA has its French Catholic bishop, who is just now not in a very pleasant state of mind, because the French Senate has struck from the budget the 100,000 francs granted usually for the priests' seminaries, and the training of a national clergy in Algiers and Tunis. The letter that he sends to the authorities analyses the case, and declares that the

matter is not one alone of care for souls, which can be done by the priests of other nations, but that it greatly concerns French interests in North Africa. It is not, in his opinion, the Church that has so much to suffer from the suppression of the subsidy as the glory of France, whose shields the French priests and missionaries are every-where. "This standpoint is so invulnerable that all European nations regard it in their colonial policy. It pains us, therefore, to see that an opposite policy obtains with us regarding the budget for North Africa. We think that our labors, our anxieties, and our distance from all partisan strife, as well as our ardent devotion to the motherland, should save us from such blows." Signed, "Lavigerie, Archbishop of Carthage."

THE BOHEMIAN CHURCH, on the old Protestant battle-ground of Prague, is again being annoyed by the police authorities of the city, who are trying in various ways to interfere with the evangelical worship, and close the doors of the modest retreats where gather the descendants of Huss to worship God in the way of their forefathers. A deputation of evangelical preachers lately visited Vienna, and laid the matter before the Minister of Public Worship of the realm. They were received kindly there, and their petition was read and filed with the promise that in a little while the prohibition of the police officials of Prague would be subjected to a thorough investigation, and, as far as the law allows, the Reformed Church of Prague would be granted all possible liberty in the practice of its devotions. The Prime Minister of Austria also received them kindly, and listened to their exposition of the situation. One of the deputation called attention to the fact that their ordinary liberties had been granted in 1879 at the request of the Emperor, and expressed a hope that his majesty might again interfere in the case.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

OVER A THOUSAND CONVERTS ON THE CONGO.—The American Baptist Missionary Union has six stations on the Congo, four of which are on the Lower, and two on the Upper Congo. The farthest station is the Equator Station, and the nearest Palabala. The Baptists, it will be remembered, received the mission from the Livingstone Inland Society, of which Mr. H. Grattan Guinness, of London, was the head. There was some question among the Baptists, a year ago, whether they would go on with an enterprise requiring so much outlay, or drop it and concentrate their energies on Upper Burmah, which was then just opening to missionary occupation. But the great majority were in favor of seizing the opportunity to reach Central Africa, and of prosecuting the enterprise as vigorously as possible, trusting to the Churches to furnish the necessary means. Two stations, that of Mukimuika, on the sea-coast, and that of Mukimbungu, should be transferred, it was agreed, to other societies. The latter, however, is still under the care of the Union.

It is doubtful if the most sanguine expected such wonderful results within a few months as are now reported from the Congo. At Banza Manteke, on the south bank of the river, above Vivi, there has been a revival of such magnitude that more than a thousand converts had been gathered in at last accounts. The station has been in charge of Mr. Henry Richards, one of the appointees of the Livingstone Inland Mission. Mr. Richards had been laboring at the station several years. He had taken a short vacation in 1884, returning from England in June of that year to labor and wait and hope. His first converts, a man and his wife, were received in the spring of 1885. Some months later another man professed Christianity, and shortly after there was a fourth accession. Mr. Richards was then obliged to take his wife to the coast to send her to England to recover her health, and was prevented by fever from returning at once to his station. In March last he took up his lonely work again, preaching, teaching, and translating as he could, and, above all, fervently praying for a pentecostal outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Last summer he prepared sixteen converts for the rite of baptism, and, locking up his house and taking the converts with him, went into the villages to sing and pray and preach. The singing was assisted by an harmonica. He spent whole days in this work, and was soon rewarded with signs of an awakening. The people brought out their idols and burned them, and cried, "What shall I do to be saved?" "There was," says Mr. Richards, "much opposition and persecution, which only seemed to increase the spiritual power; for the bitterest enemies and the greatest sinners were brought under conviction of sin. The interest increased, and the people came up in large numbers to the station."

Then came busy days. Inquirers flocked to his house from morning till night, and hundreds gathered under the trees to hear him preach. In August Mr. White left Palabala to help him gather in the great harvest, and by September 10 there were over a thousand converts at that station alone, and the revival was increasing. Of the thousand, eight hundred and seventy are grown people. Some of the remainder are quite young, but gave cheering evidence of their faith. This great change has not occurred without exciting considerable persecution. One woman was poisoned by her husband, another was driven away, and whole families had to flee to save their lives because they professed Christianity. The converts who go to distant towns to preach Christ and invite inquirers to the mission house are often threatened with knives and guns. Mr. Richards believes the conversions are genuine. He says:

> How I wish you could see the people at the services—see their bright faces as they listen to those wonderful words of life and truth and love, hear their earnest prayers, listen to their heart-felt praises, witness the confessions of their past sins, and behold their joyful professions of their faith in Jesus and love to God; you would indeed thank Jehovah for his grace, and glory in his mighty power. There is no need for one to ask who are the converted and who not; for the joyous face, the freedom of manner of the one, and the hopeless expression and slavish deportment of the other, make the contrast indeed great. Many people from distant towns came to see and hear what this new thing meant, and were converted, and returned and declared what God had done for them. In some

cases their testimony was accepted with fear and wonder; in others, rejected with scorn and contempt. It is impossible now for the people to be indifferent; for the heathen believe that to give up their idols means death, and look upon Christians as traitors and devils. The Christians, on the other hand, hate heathenism with a bitter hatred.

Mr. Richards was, at last accounts, expecting to baptize the converts and to organize a Church in October. Hé was assisting in revival work at Lukungu. Thirty-four converts have been baptized at Mukimbungu, making forty-two for the year. There have also been a dozen or more professions of conversion at Palabala, and it is hoped the revival will spread all along the river.

SPREAD OF MOHAMMEDANISM IN AFRICA.—Dr. E. W. Blyden, Sierra Leone, Africa, who is a genuine Negro, splendidly educated, the master of several languages, and a very able writer, is discussing in the *African Church Review* the conquest of Africa by Mohammedanism, a subject with which no one, perhaps, is so competent to deal as himself. He has written for our own *Review* some most valuable articles on this very important question, which the Christian world interested in Africa do not understand and appreciate as they should. Dr. Blyden, who, by the way, is a Presbyterian minister, says the Moslems are not conquering the Nigritian and Soudanic tribes by force of arms, as they overwhelmed Northern Africa, but by mosques and schools and books and trade and intermarriages. These tribes have never been subdued by a foreign foe. Again and again they have driven back both Arabs and Europeans; but once accepting Mohammedanism, they do not hesitate to extend it by *Jihads*, or military expeditions to reduce pagans to the faith. In the last fifty years there has been a wonderful activity in this direction, and the whole of Africa north of the equator is being rapidly brought under the influence of the Crescent. Dahomey and Ashanti still cling to their paganism, but they cannot long resist the Moslem conquerors. Dr. Blyden writes:

> There is at this moment an energetic promoter of Jihad, having under his command scores of thousands of zealous Mohammedans anxious for the spoils of time and the rewards of eternity. By means of these he is reducing to the faith the most warlike and powerful tribes. His name is Samudu, born about forty years ago in the Mandingo country, east of Liberia. His fame has gone far beyond Nigritia, all through Soudan. It has crossed the Mediterranean to Europe, and the Atlantic to America. . . . Large and powerful states, which two years ago were practicing all the irrational and debasing superstitions of a hoary paganism, are now under the influence of schools and teachers and the regular administration of law. . . . The troops of this energetic commander are now moving westward toward the Atlantic. He has no quarrel with Christians, whom he treats with consideration and respect, and would be an important auxiliary in the interior operations of Christian governments on the coast, if they knew how to utilize him. He displays in all his dealings a soldierly as well as fatherly heroism, so that he has the art, as a rule, without carnage, of making his iconoclastic message acceptable to the sympathies of the pagans whom he summons to the faith. In every town, taken either by force of arms or by its own voluntary submission, he plants a mosque and schools, and stations a teacher and preacher. He lays great stress upon education. He trusts to the Koran and to the schools far more than to the sword as instruments for the determination of the great moral and political controversy between him and the pagans, and for the general

amelioration. Indeed, throughout Mohammedan Africa education is compulsory. A man might now travel across the continent from Sierra Leone to Cairo, or in another direction from Lagos to Tripoli, sleeping in a village every night, except in the Sahara, and in every village he would find a school. There is regular epistolary communication throughout this region in the Arabic language, sometimes in the vernacular written in Arabic characters.

The book *par excellence* with African Mohammedans is the Koran, called *Alkitab*, composed in the purest Arabic, the idiom of the Desert Arabs. To them it is a divine book, and whatever seems to illustrate it is prized. Great attention is paid to grammatical analysis, and nearly every Mandingo or Foulah trader or itinerant teacher carries among his manuscripts the *Alfiyah*, the most complete and celebrated of the Arabic grammatical poems.

It is plain that Dr. Blyden regards Mohammedanism as much better than the paganism which it supersedes, and it is also plain that he thinks the Moslems wiser, in some respects, than the Christians have been in propagating their religion. The North African Church failed because it proved itself incompetent to deal with the indigenous races.

"The Gospel, pure and simple, would have been an unspeakable blessing, but it would not have come 'pure and simple. . . .'"

The successful invaders would have assumed a right to the persons and labor of the natives, slavery would have been the normal condition of the aborigines, and the cruelty and rapacity of their European masters would have exceeded any thing witnessed in the New World. A whole continent would have lain prostrate at the feet of unprincipled greed and irresponsible tyranny.

Mohammedanism in Africa has left the native master of himself and of his home; but wherever Christianity has really been able to establish itself, excepting in Liberia, foreigners have taken the country, and in some places rule the natives with oppressive rigor.

THE ONLY "FORBIDDEN LAND" IN ASIA.—All the countries of Asia are now open to the commerce of the world save Thibet. India, Burmah, China, Japan, Siam, Cochin China, Korea, receive the traveler, the trader, and the missionary; but Thibet still rigorously excludes them, and is to us almost entirely an unknown land. Roughly speaking, it is about 1,500 miles long by 300 miles wide, from north to south, and has a population variously estimated at from 6,000,000 to 10,000,000. It is a dependency of China, but the government of Peking exercises no direct authority over it. The Indian government recently sent a mission to Thibet to conclude, if possible, a treaty at Lhassa. The Chinese government cordially approved it, and the Thibetan authorities at Lhassa were prepared to welcome it. But the Chinese Resident at Lhassa sold himself to the younger monks, called the Kaloo faction, made a false report of the Thibetan attitude to the Peking government, and the young monks made such a demonstration of hostility that the Indian government ordered the mission to return and abandon the attempt. It does not appear that the head of the mission, Mr. Colman Macaulay, was at all discouraged, and it is suggested that the mission be reorganized at an early day, and be directed to make another attempt to reach Lhassa. The Dalai Lama, the lay ministers of state, and all the "Nyingma" (monks from whom the

personal attendants of the Dalai Lama, or Buddhist pope are taken), were all in favor of a treaty.

Thibet lies at a great elevation, and has a very dry and cold climate, not unhealthy to those who are acclimated. The air is so dry that meat never becomes putrid, but is gradually pulverized. Wood becomes brittle, and even rocks turn to powder through the action of the cold, arid atmosphere. When the day does come which shall see Thibet as China and Korea are, as it most probably will come during the present century, for the English are to make another attempt at negotiations soon, Christianity, thanks to the indomitable courage and patient waiting and working of the Moravians, will be ready to enter in and take possession. The Moravian missionaries have not been able, after twenty-five years of waiting at the border, to penetrate into the country, but they have learned the language and translated portions of the Scriptures into it, and have prepared Thibetans for gospel work. The mission is in the high valleys of Cashmia, with stations at Kyelang, near the source of the Chandur Bhaga Poo, near the border, and Leh, the capital of Ladakh. The last-named station has only recently been permanently occupied. The little congregation there consists of four Thibetan families. The heathen are shy, and do not attend the services much. Leh has an altitude of over 11,000 feet above the sea. A long, straight, and wide bazar runs through the center, while on each side there are numerous small and crooked streets. Above the city stands the dilapidated castle of the old rulers. Leh is an important meeting-place of caravans from the north and from the south, and Hindus and Mongols mingle freely in the market-places. When the superintendent of the mission, Mr. Redslob, decided to occupy Leh himself, he moved thither with his family from Pau, going by way of Kyelang. It took three months in the summer of 1885 to make the journey. The roads, the bridges, and the methods of travel are all quite primitive. Day after day they traveled wearily along rough mountain paths, sometimes being carried, sometimes riding, often toiling on foot up steep declivities and above yawning precipices, encamping every night. The bridges were most trying, especially to Mrs. Redslob and her daughter. They are made of twigs, are very narrow, and sway with the wind high above a roaring torrent or a deep chasm. Such bridges need to be renewed every three years, but often they are allowed to do service five years or more. The women would cover their faces in being carried over, until they got accustomed to look down without becoming dizzy. One mountain pass was crossed over a natural arch of snow. Mr. Redslob acknowledges the receipt of the second portion of the Thibetan New Testament, and has translated the larger part of the Pentateuch.

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF UPPER BURMAH opens, as we indicated some months ago, a fine field for missionary labor. It has been a stronghold of the Buddhist religion, which must be greatly weakened in the minds of its Burmese votaries by the downfall of King Thebaw. Upper Burmah is of vast importance as missionary ground, as a border country

of China and India and south east Asia, and also as a road to Thibet. The American Baptists are best prepared to enter it, having conducted a most successful missionary work in Lower Burmah, which, by common consent, has been deemed Baptist ground. Our own Church has undertaken a modest work in Rangoon, and the Church of England, through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, has made Rangoon the seat of a bishopric; but our own mission has been careful not to conflict in any way with the Baptist brethren, who cannot possibly fully occupy even Lower Burmah. Into Upper Burmah the Baptist missionaries entered close upon the heels of the British army. Their missionaries have been in Mandalay upward of six months, and report that the hinderances are much fewer than they expected. Good order has been maintained, notwithstanding the ravages of the *dakoity* elsewhere, and there are encouraging signs. One of the missionaries received, a short time ago, a call from a young lady with a message from one of the princesses. After the business was transacted the lady ventured to ask some questions. Among other things, she wanted to know whether it was true that when the missionaries put converts under the water they held them there until "they say they see God." This, it seems, is a very common impression among the heathen.

The English Wesleyans have decided to enter Upper Burmah, and a missionary and a native preacher from Ceylon will found the first station. Where it will be the missionary is to decide after he enters the country. The immediate cost will be $5,000. The missionary sailed in November. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has a missionary in Mandalay, who reports 130 scholars on the rolls of the school, and two converts baptized.

"Speedy Baptism in India."—This is the subject of an article in the English *Baptist Missionary Herald*, by the Rev. G. H. Ranse, one of the leading Indian missionaries of the English Baptist Society. The question has received a pretty general discussion in India, and it was considered at the June meeting of the United Calcutta Missionary Conference. The occasion of the discussion was the action of some of the native preachers connected with our mission in Oudh. They visited a *mela*, or fair, at Ajudhiya, preached, invited inquirers to their tents, and in the course of three days gained 248 converts—men, women, and children—whom they immediately baptized. The question raised was whether these converts ought not to have been required to wait until they could be instructed in Christianity, and their sincerity could be proved. They came to the *mela* knowing nothing of Christianity. Could they have learned sufficient to justify baptism in three days? Mr. Kerry, of the Baptist mission, read a paper at the Conference referred to, taking the position that speedy baptism of applicants is desirable, and "it was remarkable," says Mr. Ranse, "to notice to how large an extent his views were shared by other speakers." Some thought, however, that such administration of the ordinance would only serve to make it "cheap," and increase the number of merely

nominal Christians. Baptism, it should be remembered, is a very decisive act in India. It breaks caste. By it a man severs himself from the Hindu community. He may believe in Christianity, read the Bible, pray, and even give up idolatry, without losing caste; but baptism makes him an outcast. And it is also to be remembered, that those who are found at a *mela* come from many widely separated places, and if not baptized at once may never be reached. It makes relapse less easy. Reports concerning those baptized at Ajudhiya state that only a few have gone back to idolatry. Most of them are doing well. Mr. Ranse says, Goolzah Shah, of the Baptist mission at Simla, has within the past two years baptized 200 Punjabi villagers who, hearing the Gospel from their relatives, took the journey to Simla, were instructed for two weeks, and then received the rite and went "back to their villages to suffer for Christ."

This question must become a more and more important one, because conversions in large numbers are coming to be more frequent. Instances of this are occasionally afforded in the most conservative missions. For example, the Church of Scotland reports 320 baptisms the past year in its Punjab mission, with nearly 800 converts in the Darjeeling and Kalimpoong missions.

THE FUTURE CHURCH OF INDIA.—Last year we indicated what steps had been taken by the missions of the various Presbyterian Churches, European and American, in India, in favor of a United Presbyterian Church for India. The Indian missionaries cannot see why there should be in India a Free Church of Scotland, an Established Church of Scotland, a United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, a Presbyterian Church of America, a United Presbyterian Church of America, and so on, in India. In other words, if the Presbyterians of Scotland and America are a lot of "split P's," the Presbyterians of India need not be likewise divided. The Church Missionary Society, through its able monthly organ, the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, raises a much broader question in the inquiry whether there need be any Protestant divisions in India. The article, which is by the editor, and appears in the January number, occupies seventeen pages, and is characterized by a broad and kindly spirit. It is a very able discussion, the ablest and completest the *Intelligencer* has ever had on a subject to which it has given close attention for several years. "What is to be the future of Indian Christendom?" is the question with which the article opens. The writer disclaims all attempts at prophecy. He simply wishes to inquire what is desirable, and what is possible as the ground of a wise and consistent policy. He holds, in the first place, that it is not desirable that the Indian Christendom should perpetuate the divisions of Western Christendom. At present this is natural and inevitable. But ere long native Christians will be asking themselves, "Why these divisions?" And it is the fervent hope of the writer that they will go on asking until they find a remedy. In the second place, he does not wish Indian Christendom to be absorbed in a Church not in communion with the Church of England. He believes the doctrines and order of the

Church of England to be well fitted for a comprehensive Indian Church. In Polynesia he would follow the liberal views of Bishop Patteson, and "accept the Methodism of Fiji, and the Congregationalism of the Society Isles, and the Presbyterianism of New Hebrides as *de facto* the Christendom of those islands, not to be interfered with, but to be heartily rejoiced in." But in India the divisions are side by side, and the Church of England has by far the largest representation of any one Church, forty-three per cent. of the native Christians being within her fold. The other Churches will either continue as they are, unite to form a Church of their own, or join the forty-three per cent., and become a body in communion with, though independent of, the Church of England. Thirdly, he does not wish to see the Indian Church subject to the see of Canterbury, and bound by all the laws and usages of the Church of England. Fourthly, he does not wish to see an Indian Church in which English bishops and clergy shall be dominant. "If the future independent Church is to be formed under the dominating guidance of English bishops and English leading clergy, the native clergy and laity meekly saying ditto to whatever . . . they may lay down, then there will never be an indigenous Church." What the writer does wish to see is: 1) An Indian Church comprehensive enough to include all native Protestant Christians; 2) that it should be in communion with the Church of England, holding fast to evangelical truth and primitive episcopacy; 3) that it should be independent and self-governing, having its own synods, bishops, prayer-book, rites, and ceremonies. 4) Native, free from the dominating influence of foreigners. The writer admits that an Indian Church such as he describes cannot be made; it must grow. The policy for the Church Missionary Society to pursue is, to encourage the native brethren to the utmost "to depend, under God, upon themselves, not neglecting the teachings of Church history, nor the wider learning of many of their European colleagues, but steadily moving on toward a real native Church;" holding out the hand of fellowship, "both to other Church-of-England Christians [those of the S. P. G.] and to non-episcopal Christians, in different ways, according to the mutual relations possible in each case."

It would be interesting to know what this liberal-minded Churchman would say in case the majority of the Protestant Christians of India were, in the forming of such a union as he speaks of, to express a deliberate preference for the Presbyterian or Congregational systems of church organization. Would he say they ought to have full liberty to make such choice? We fear not. It is just this that his scheme lacks. In India, as in this country, "Christian Unity" is a very fine thing; but in every case it must be reached by the submission of all other forms of ecclesiasticism to a prelatical episcopacy, *regularly derived.*

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

It is evident to all who follow the course of magazine literature that English writers are finding more and more to instruct and interest them in American topics. While Englishmen are not so limited in their intellectual sympathy as are Frenchmen, it is still true that they never consider the literature or the economics of a country until it touches their own; then they study it with a thoroughness which makes them better authorities on the internal affairs of foreign nations than the native economists themselves. In the October *Westminster Review* the leading place is given to a paper on "American Resources and the American Exhibition," a thoroughly valuable paper for the instruction of Americans. The writer sounds a warning in English ears not only with regard to the agricultural but also the manufacturing supremacy of the United States. We have met with no article from an American pen which equal, this in its variety and exactness of information. This statistician pays the United States the high compliment of saying, "They stand alone in their comprehensive and valuable system of collecting industrial statistics, and they enjoy, in consequence, the manifest advantage of a more complete knowledge of their industrial circumstances and relations than any other nation in the world." In 1881 the industrial classes of Great Britain numbered almost exactly 8,000,000, or 23 per cent. of the whole population, while the corresponding figures for the United States gave somewhat less than 4,000,000, or 12¾ per cent. of the whole population. It will thus be seen that England has an enormous start in respect to manufacturing departments. There is a most striking table given in this article, illustrating the burdens under which our American iron and steel shipbuilders rest, showing how impossible it is for us, under our present conditions, to compete with England for the carrying trade of the world. As to the manufacture of steel plates, the cost in the United States of material per ton and of labor per day is more than twice what it is in England; of iron plates, twice; of steel beams, not quite twice; of iron beams, more than twice as much; of pig iron, about 50 per cent. more; of propellers' shafts, twice; of steel rivets, more than twice as much. The writer sees nothing in the way of our becoming ultimately the greatest industrial nation in the world except our peculiar economic [tariff] system.

In an article in the independent section of this Review there is an exposition of Von Hartmann's criticism of Christianity, under the title, "Christian Thought Tested by Modern Ideas." Von Hartmann holds that liberal Protestantism abandons Christian ground. He declares that logical Protestantism places man's opinions in place of God and his revelation, and finally sets up his autonomous moral consciousness as a measure of revelation; but this is substituting the autonomy of the conscience for the heteronomy of the divine will and revelation, which is the Christian ground. He also holds that Protestantism has carried back its own beliefs and fastened them on the early Church. He is bold enough to say

that Luther has no claim, strictly speaking, to be Christian, because he builds on Paul's conception. It is plain, from an examination of this article, that Von Hartmann has nothing to offer but the extinction of all faith in Jesus except as a moral leader of limited intelligence and of great sincerity of purpose. In other words, he lands where all others have come who have attempted to account for the character of Christ by purely rational methods.

The *Nineteenth Century* for October has an examination, by the Bishop of Carlyle, of Comte's famous fallacy. This fallacy, or theory, if one chooses to speak of it more respectfully, relates to the three progressive states of human knowledge. To quote from Comte, the law is this: that each of our leading conceptions—each branch of our knowledge—passes successively through three different theoretical conditions: 1. The theological or fictitious; 2. The metaphysical or abstract; and, 3. The scientific or positive. In other words, the human mind, by its nature, employs in its progress three methods of philosophizing, the character of which in each case is essentially different or even radically opposite from both the others. Our readers will find a much stronger examination and refutation of Comte's statements in Dr. Martineau's recent work on *Types of Morals*. Nevertheless, the bishop very ingeniously applies the tests to the theory, and does faith good service in showing that it is true only in a single sphere. The only other article of popular interest for Americans in this number is that on "What Girls Read," by Edward G. Salmon, in which he criticises gently but strongly the stories of Miss Yonge and Miss Sewell, and has many good words to say for some American writers, especially for Miss Louisa M. Alcott.

The atmosphere of the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* is always one of steady faith, where ministers can find discussions of the freshest topics in the spirit of reverence for the past as well as of outlook toward the future. The paper in the October number on "The Counterfeit Gospel of Nature" is particularly valuable for its setting forth of what Christian readers have noticed, that the preachers of nature worship, from George Eliot down, have tried to press gospel phrases and ideas—not, we think, as this author says, "with the view of enlivening what would be otherwise a dull discourse," but in the endeavor to reconcile Christian and so-called natural truth. This article is a very clever examination of the position and influence of Matthew Arnold. To most men who have studied thoroughly Mr. Arnold's position, its chief attractiveness is that of its immense conceit; for here is a man who condescends continually toward the mass of mankind, who joins in their worship and their political life with a feeling that the "saving remnant," of which he is a considerable part, is doing a good work for inferior man by taking on the aspects of worship and respect for Christian things without any real belief in their truth. Thus, he tells us about keeping a certain Christmas Day by going to church, joining in the Collect and the like, and then immediately sitting down and taking time to evolve two new critical formulas which, if

adopted, would remove all spirit and force from Christianity as a divine institution. Mr. Arnold's great work as an antagonist of cant, as a prophet of truth and veracity, and as a monument to the value of ideas, cannot be overrated; but Mr. Arnold as a religious leader, leaves us nothing but the morality of Jesus, and no very great obligation to obey that except good taste and conventional usage. We are pleased to find in this number a republication from the *Homiletic Review* of Dr. G. R. Crooks's article, "Is the New Theology Better than the Old?" It is delightful to see how very clearly Dr. Crooks points out the danger of the new doctrine of the supremacy of Christian consciousness as interpreting spiritual truth. As he puts it, "We Methodists do not forget the performance of George Bell and his party, who, following in regard to Perfection what they considered as the teaching of the Christian consciousness, and neglecting the New Testament, went straight to the devil."

If the new theologians were settled in their opinions as to whether it is the consciousness of the individual believer or of the Christian community which is to be the ultimate ground of certainty in doctrine, it would be easier to consider their position and meet it. They shrink naturally from the doctrine that the consciousness of the Christian community is the standard, because that implies logically the authority of councils or of gatherings which shall formulate the expressions of that community, and the way is open to endless difficulty and uncertainty, for who shall determine whether it shall be the consciousness of the educated priesthood or ministry, or the consciousness of the laity and ministry combined; the consciousness of the ignorant or the consciousness of the learned? We thoroughly believe that this basis of the new theology will be found to be less and less satisfactory as the sole foundation for Christian belief. The position of the Methodist Episcopal Church seems to us more and more invulnerable as these discussions go on. Instead of making the Christian consciousness the test of what in the Bible is Scripture and what is not, we take the full revelation in Jesus Christ and his apostles as the absolute standard in doctrine, and all that precedes it as preparatory and subordinate thereto. Dr. Crooks puts it admirably when he says: "It is the same divine light that shines through Scripture, but in the Old Testament all over the foreground are deep masses of shadow, but in Christ we have the fullness of the day, and the shadows retire to the background, where they will remain till we know as we are known." The subjective standard must be always a variable one. By this process we secure an objective and permanent standard of doctrine.

This number concludes with a highly valuable paper on "The Relations of Art and Morality," covering a very broad ground, and it is very full and clear in its teachings. We could wish that all those who allow themselves to be confused as to the propriety of supporting a notoriously immoral character in the exhibition of his or her art might study this paper. It is impossible that the moral personality of an actor shall not color his conceptions of the reproduced characters. But there remains behind all

this the serious fact, that, wherever evil conduct is forgiven for the sake of genius, the doctrine is taught, to the demoralization of the young, that genius excuses vice, and that immoral genius can have a high reward from the world—higher, indeed, than pure genius. The matter is summed up in the question, Is evil infection or education?

Those who are interested in that marvelous development of Christian charity, "The Red Cross Society" in Europe, will find almost the only intelligent account of it which has appeared on this side of the water in the November *New Englander.* The work of the Red Cross Society seems to be a combination of our Sanitary and Christian Commissions, and possibly an outgrowth from them. A very intelligent account of the political, social, and religious importance of the struggle in Bulgaria is given in this number by Alexander Van Millingen, of Robert College, Constantinople. This article is well worthy the study of all our laymen and ministers who have found, in our missionary administration, the Bulgarian Mission the source of anxiety, uncertainty, large expense, and little result. The victory of Russia in Bulgaria will, in the judgment of the writer, prove a misfortune to onward movements in that part of the world. An anecdote worth preservation concludes this article. A Russian embassador once told a distinguished American missionary, "My imperial master will not allow what you preach to be established in Turkey." Rising to his feet, the missionary replied, "May it please your Excellency, my divine Master will not ask leave to set up his kingdom at the hands of any man."

The education of the Negro, the necessary sequence of his enfranchisement, is a question that is by no means settled. Edmund Kirke, in the November *North American*, believes that the problem has been best solved in Knoxville, Tenn. In no northern town, it is declared, have the colored people larger liberty to develop whatever of manhood or womanhood is in them. In street-cars and in places of public gathering they mingle freely with the whites; on the steam railways they are restricted to separate cars or apartments, and they have their own schools and churches by preference. Mr. Kirke believes that every candid person will admit that the effect of freedom upon nearly all who have had the previous discipline of slavery is to improve their physical condition and elevate their moral character, this remark not applying, however, so generally to the Georgia and Carolina field-hands. Laziness seems to belong to the Negro in his prime; as he becomes older industry and frugality seem to be born in him. Town Negroes and plantation hands from Virginia and the upper Carolinas work as well as any white people. The letters here published from a slave-trader's letter-book seem almost impossible relics of long-gone times. These letters show that the slave trade was carried on by the citizens of the United States from 1857 to the beginning of the war, and the methods are here detailed with an openness which is astonishing.

Bishop Dudley, of Kentucky, tells in this number why he is a Churchman. It seems strange to one who looks at the facts of the case, and

especially at the actual growth of the Anglican idea, that any one should say, considering how long its experiment has been tried, that he believes that by the agency of the doctrine, discipline, and worship to which her ministers are pledged to conform, there is, *a priori*, the largest prospect that the victory shall be gained for which the battle has been set in array. It would appear that such a state of mind could only be reached by a willful shutting of the eyes to facts that are admitted by many ministers of the Anglican communion. He plants himself upon the doctrine of succession, and, as is the habit of ministers of his communion, speaks of the harmony, peace, and unity of the body to which he belongs. How astonishing it is that, in the face of the decay in England of faith in the doctrine of apostolic succession, and of the fact that there is not a single eminent historical scholar in the Anglican Church who does not scout it, and of the other important fact that all other bodies claiming apostolic succession deny that it exists in the English Church, any one can be found to make the statement (on page 493), that the Anglican speaks with no uncertain voice as to the necessity for an authorized and apostolic ministry.

The secular magazines make it more and more evident that the tide of materialistic negation is ebbing. In many magazines there are articles which would have been impossible ten years ago, for limitations of the amount of knowledge to be gained by scientific methods were not then understood as they are now. As usual in the progress of thought, a residuum of value will remain after the destruction of the extravagant claims of the scientific method. Christians have studied these matters far enough to see that in certain lines Christian doctrine is to be largely re-enforced by scientific teaching, and far enough to see, as is the case with W. S. Lilley in the leading article in the December *Forum*, on "The Present Outlook for Christianity," that the world cannot do, even in its science and philosophy, without a spiritual and righteous and personal First Cause. Existence presents two problems, the How and the Why. Physical science deals with the *how*, and metaphysical science with the *why*, and when the universe is interrogated by scientific methods as to the why, no sufficient answer is heard covering the entire nature of man.

The Rev. Dr. L. W. Bacon exhibits the peculiar Baconian mental twist which seems to keep some of the younger members of his family strangely out of harmony with the movement of the popular mind. In this number of the *Forum* he discusses the "Alternative of Prohibition," holding that it is in the line of well regulated license. With some of his observations as to the lack of political wisdom on the part of Prohibitionists many will sympathize. It is due, however, to Dr. Bacon to say, that there is a good deal of wisdom in his statement that it is better to separate the question of licensing the traffic from the taxing of the traffic: "Let the licensing board receive no fee whatever from the licensee, but decide the question of licensing simply on the grounds of the fitness of the candidate and the public necessity, and in complete independence of any question of license let the taxing power levy its contributions on all places where liquor is

sold. Thus the public revenue would suffer no loss, and the police function would be executed with vastly increased advantage."

All those who read the "Confessions of a Methodist" in this number will, if intelligent, be compelled to admit that on account of many omissions of qualifying facts and provisions the writer has not made a true confession. Our weekly journals have so thoroughly pointed this out, that we need here only say that while the writer is intelligent the article bears evidence of haste, and shows how he has been impressed, from the use of the term "confessions," with the necessity of noting all possible grounds of criticism without setting forth the existing grounds for approval.

The recent discussion in the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, with regard to the name of that denomination, has illustration in the November number of the *Church Review* in a paper on "The American Church and its Name," by the Hon. L. Bradford Prince. Mr. Prince traces the history of this Church as it was organized in this country after the Revolution, and seems to emphatically rejoice in the growth of the party which is anxious to drop out the words that connect it with Protestant Christianity. Those who read the famous sermon of Phillips Brooks upon this matter will find in this article a very strong contrast to the breadth and scholarship of that eminent preacher. If the best that can be said for this change is said by Mr. Prince, the change ought to be very slow in coming; and yet it is quite likely to come, and for the same reason that the popish doctrine of Infallibility was promulgated, that in the providence of God it may destroy the very pretensions which it was set up to maintain.

How strange it is to find also in this number an article by the Rev. Wm. H. Platt, D.D., attempting to show that the orders of the ministry in the Roman Catholic Church are invalid. The value of this article may be judged by the second paragraph thereof: "But, in the line of descent, are not Anglican orders more certain and valid through the prelacy, where there has been no break, than those of Rome through the papacy, where there has been a break of forty years? The Church of Christ, planted by the apostles, began with the orders of co-equal bishops." It is amazing, in the face of the present state of historical knowledge, that the two statements, that there has been no break in the bishopric, and that the Church of Christ began with the orders of co-equal bishops, can be publicly made, apparently with the expectation of belief.

On the subject of the "Obstacles to Christian Unity," the Rev. G. W. Shinn, D.D., finds that there is a growing interest in the subject, particularly manifested by the broader view of what the Church of Christ is; by fresh investigation and free utterance of opinion without exposing speakers and writers to the charge of disloyalty to their own denomination. This article is noteworthy for its attempt to answer the statement that the division of Christianity into denominations has been really helpful to progress, and this in spite of the fact that wherever a new Christian denomination has come in to compete with older established bodies it has inva-

riably increased the energy of the established bodies and enlarged all the material evidences of religion before the community. This is, however, a very different question from that of bigoted competition. Competition may exist without bigotry and without trickery. Rivalry in good works is consistent with Christian love. The increased purity of the Roman Church in all countries where it competes with Protestant bodies is a fact established beyond question. The increased activity of the Church of England since the growth of dissent is known to all the world. The enlarged activity of the Congregational body in Connecticut since it lost its establishment by the competition of the other Churches is a fact to which Congregational authorities have again and again borne willing testimony; and in all countries where competition is excluded or rendered difficult by legal penalty, the predominant Church becomes sluggish, indifferent; and decaying in respect of its hold upon the popular mind.

We commend the article on "The Millennium," by the Rev. G. A. Cleveland, in the October *Baptist Quarterly Review*, to the attention of all those who hold the doctrine of pre-millenarianism, and especially the following statements contained therein: "There is no passage in the Bible which connects the Lord's coming with the thousand years' reign of the saints, and the earth is not represented as being the scene of the millennium reign, and only a certain class—those who have suffered martyrdom—are said to participate in it." The passage, "And they shall reign on the earth," taken from Rev. v, 10, is a large part of the foundation of the pre-millennial theory, but the proper translation is, "They are reigning over the earth;" that is to say, though the time shall come when the rule of the saints shall be exercised over the affairs of all the nations of the earth, it does not say that they dwell on the earth while they are reigning.

There is a very interesting and valuable article by J. H. Hyslop in the November *Andover*, under the title, "A Decade of Ethics," in which a summary of the discussions of the last ten years is given, with a very clear result that the relations of pleasure and pain to conduct are more clearly defined than before. "Pleasure and pain may be necessary to our knowledge of the right means to an end that is desirable or approvable, but they are not that end itself; they are relative to other ends which they serve, and which are more important than they for that very reason; they can be only a *ratio cognescendi*, not a *ratio agendi*. Pleasure may be an index to tell us which way we are to go, but is not the goal of our journey."

The evidences abound that the intelligent activity of the Roman Catholic priesthood in this country is increasing. The Romanist periodicals which reach us do not merely devote themselves, as was their wont at one time, to correcting what they believe to be Protestant misrepresentation of their history and doctrine, but to the discussion of topics which require large scholarship, a wide view of the present state of religious thought, and the interests of general Christianity. This intellectual re-

vival is undoubtedly due to the Protestant environment in which they are compelled to compete, not by the force of prescription and authority, but by their claim to the position of Christian truth and Christian character. Thus, in the October *American Quarterly* (Catholic) *Review*, there is a paper on "Nature Worship" as the new religion, by Rev. R. J. Meyer, S.J., that would be helpful to the Christian of any Church as showing the limitations which must invariably affect the minds of those who turn away from the divine to the human ideal. It is refreshing to find this priest denouncing the wickedness of Catholic courts, and showing how the reduction of the religious life of the French court from Catholic severity to the apotheosis of the vilest passions was due to a kind of nature worship that had eliminated the idea of responsibility to a personal God; and as for present effects, how refreshing it is to find this sentence: "In some families the old family Bible that formerly lay upon the center-table in the sitting-room or parlor has been replaced by one of the many editions of the new gospel by Zola and other prophets of culture; the rudely carved crucifix that stood upon the mantel by an artistic statuette of a pagan Venus or Cupid." In this way the writer says, "Religion comes to be regarded by them as a respectable adjunct to social usages." There is here also a very vigorous protest against the spread of luxury, and against the family and school life which does not give definite religious principle to the scholar. This whole paper, though strictly Romanistic in its tone, is full of valuable suggestions to Protestant Christians. In the *Catholic World* for December there is a paper well worth the study of all who are interested in the political and moral condition of the Negro. Here the Rev. Mr. Slattery declares that the Negro problem is becoming local. From the census of 1880 it is plain that the whites are gradually removing from the black belt, and the Negroes are as surely moving into the black belt. The main stream of whites is toward the south-west, with a branch to the west. There is a black stream which is bearing our population southward, where the hot sun makes life more attractive and companionship more genial. We are evidently to have a new Africa in the south.

The November issue of the *Contemporary Review* continues to show that that periodical has an eye wide open to all those questions which may be included under the name of the higher politics. Thus, besides a timely paper on "The Situation in the East," by Emile de Laeveleye, Prof. Sidgwick discusses "Economic Socialism." He holds that there is a general agreement among observers that socialism is "flowing in with a full tide." This may be true, but there is a grave difference of opinion as to whether there is a "good time coming," or whether we are to hold, with Herbert Spencer, that a new form of slavery is about to appear. Whatever else is true, it is plainly evident that the socialistic movement is in every particular antagonistic to accepted political economy, and so far as it prevails it will enlarge governmental interference with the affairs of private members of the community. Professor Sidgwick is not ready to

admit that this antagonism is as great as many suppose it to be, and attempts in this paper to define the limits of this opposition. "Political economy attempts to show that wealth tends to be produced most amply in a society where government leaves industry alone—that is, where government confines itself to the protection of personal property and the enforcement of contracts not obtained by force or fraud." The principle which underlies this is, that regard for self-interest on the part of consumers will lead to an effectual demand for the commodities that are most useful to society, and regard for self-interest on the part of producers will lead to the production of such commodities at the least cost. We strongly hold that no socialistic reformer has discovered any adequate substitute for these motives, either as impulsive or regulating forces. Yet, with the writer, we see that modern civilized society admits numerous exceptions to the rule of "let alone," which is the basis of the above position. Government, for instance, is obliged to make exception with regard to the education and employment of children, while it leaves adults free. Government, also, is obliged to modify political economy by subordinating considerations of wealth to the conditions of physical and moral well-being. Government cannot afford to permit, in the interest of political economy, an employer or employe to work himself to death in a few years at a dangerous employment. It is also plain that, if there can be found a mode of government intervention which will reduce inequalities of distribution without materially diminishing motives to self-help, a valuable force will be injected into society; and, without accepting socialistic ideas, it may be said that the government efforts to benefit the poor in such a way as to make them more instead of less self-helpful are to be welcomed. Thus, all provision for education and all concentration of instruments of knowledge, like libraries and technical museums, are in this direction. There is certainly a large drift in all countries toward the idea that the whole community may be taxed for the benefit of the community as a whole; and in the United States there is a growing disposition to subject private rights to the public good, as manifested in the sanitary laws of large cities, in the extension of the right of eminent domain with respect to the means of communication and open places for public recreation. Again, as private or corporate banking companies have never yet given absolute security for savings, it seems likely that in the near future the Government will be called upon to give to these results of labor the absolute security which cannot be given under present management. It also seems probable that where competition in transportation or in the provision of the necessaries of life, such as water and light, fails to work for the interests of the public, Government will properly undertake the destruction of corporate interests for the larger good of the people, but not without compensation to private owners. With regard to the distinction which is attempted by some political leaders between owners of land and owners of other property, Professor Sidgwick holds that such a distinction cannot be maintained. To carry out the principles of those who are against property in land, in his view, inevitably shows that prop-

erty in the raw materials of movables is as much usurpation as property in land. With regard to the efforts being made in some countries to improve the condition of the wage-earner, the writer remarks, "You can make it illegal for a man to pay a certain price for the use of money, but you cannot thus secure him the use of money he wants at the legal rate; you can make it illegal to employ a man under a certain rate of wages, but you cannot secure his employment at that rate, unless the community will undertake to provide work for an indefinite number of claimants, remunerated at more than its market value, in which case its action will tend to remove the ordinary motives to vigorous and efficient labor."

There is in this number, also, a very full and able review of temperance legislation in England. Yet the conclusion which the writer reaches is distinctly English: "We must beware of heroic legislation." Mrs. Millicent Fawcett has a noble paper on "The Use of Higher Education to Women," the effect of which, in her mind, is to clear away the artificial obstructions to development of their faculties, giving them the blessing of civil liberty, and bringing about a more generous view of their rights and duties. She holds that it is disastrous to society to look upon the higher education of women from merely economic or wage-earning grounds.

F. W. H. Myers, in the November *Nineteenth Century*, has a remarkable paper upon multiplex personality. Under the name Lewis V. he reports a case where a child, born in 1863 of a turbulent mother, was sent to a reformatory at ten years old, and was quiet, well-behaved, and obedient. At fourteen he had a great fright from a snake, which threw him off his balance, and started the series of psychical oscillations on which he has been tossed ever since. At first the symptoms were only physical, epilepsy and hysterical paralysis of the legs. During two months in an asylum he worked at tailoring steadily, and then suddenly had an attack of fifty hours of convulsions and ecstasy, and when he awoke he was no longer paralyzed, knew nothing about tailoring, and was no longer virtuous. His memory was set back to the moment of the viper's appearance. His character had become violent, greedy, quarrelsome, and his tastes were radically changed. He has gone through various changes since then, and at present is under the watchful care of physicians, who are studying the case. He remembers recent events during his residence at the asylum, but only two scraps of his life before that day. Experimenting upon him by the little known but wonderful method of provoking transfer of hysterical hemiplegia by contact with metals, it was found that lead, silver, and zinc had no effect; copper produced a slight return of sensibility in the paralyzed arm; steel applied to the right arm transferred the whole insensibility to the left side of the body. But what puzzled the physicians is, that with the change of sensibility there was a change of character; the insolence, the impulsiveness disappeared. The patient is now gentle, modest, and respectful; speaks clearly, but only when spoken to. Morally and intellectually, the patient's cure seems complete; but now, when one tries

to recall his memory of the asylum at Rochefort and hie experience in a regiment of marines, he answers that he knows nothing of Rochefort, and was never a soldier in his life. Thus he has the memory of two short periods of life different from those he remembers when his right side is paralyzed. If he is placed in an electric bath, or if a magnet be placed on his head, all paralysis disappears, his expression is gentle and timid; but if he is asked where he is, he has gone back to a boy of fourteen; he is at Saint Urbain, his first reformatory, his memory embraces his years of childhood and stops short of the day when he had the fright from the viper, and if he is pressed to recollect the incident of the viper, a violent epileptiform crisis puts a sudden end to this phase of his personality. This whole article is one of the most remarkable of recent publications; and other cases are given, with conclusions drawn therefrom, which will excite the profoundest thought and interest on the part of all who are familiar with them.

The reappearance of fatalistic philosophy, and the revival in some quarters of fatalistic Calvinism, are very well met in an article which appears in *Christian Thought* for December, taken from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, on "Heredity not Fatalism." The writer holds that heredity is an influence, not a fatality. Save in morbid cases, it does not so eliminate the moral personality as to dispossess it of itself and create irresponsibility. The writer maintains that in every living human being there is an element of individuality which escapes the law of heredity, and which in man exalts itself to personality. Heredity is the power of conservatism, not of acquisition. The difficulty instantly suggests itself on reading this paper, What is the criterion of the morbid?

In the December *New Englander* Professor W. M. Barbour, who has just resigned the pastorate of the college Church, writes of "Religion in Yale University." This paper sets forth the religious provisions which are made for the edification of the students, and those who know the college will admit that, so far as the externals are concerned, ample provision is made, especially since the opening of Dwight Hall; and yet there is a feeling very strongly manifested by the students themselves, and possessing with greater strength those who are near enough to the university to know its inner religious working, that the practical results of present methods are very far from being what they should be; and the almost unparalleled protest against the quality of the preaching in the college chapel, which recently appeared in one of the university papers, and which has apparently led to the resignation of the writer of this article, gives large emphasis to all that has gone before. The trouble with the religious influences of Yale lies in the exaggeration of the intellectual, the philosophical, the contemplative phases of religion, and in the hardly concealed contempt for the experimental. When Leonard Bacon was living he would often preach powerful sermons in favor of a revival of religion; but when pressed to define his idea of a revival, he eliminated almost every element

of emotion or enthusiasm necessary thereto. He appeared to want a revival if he could have it in his own way. This spirit seems to us very largely characteristic of the religious administration of Yale, both in the academic departments and in the theological seminary. If love to God is the basis of religion it is certainly an emotion, and this emotion is not to be kindled into practical activity, showing itself in repentance and good works, without the stirring of other emotions; and something must be risked with regard to excess in order that there should be that depth of conviction which leads to the beginnings of a religious life, and which sustains enthusiasm in well doing. The tone of mind alluded to in the case of Leonard Bacon finds illustration in this article of Dr. Barbour's. He makes much of the difficulties that are in the way, but does not seem to see that all these difficulties would melt out of sight under a baptism of Christian enthusiasm sufficiently strong to make the Christian professors of that institution anxious for the conversion of the students, and sufficiently strong to make the students willing to be led to Christ by those who are as anxious for their souls as they are for the intellectual credit of Yale University. It would appear from this paper that Dr. Barbour certainly believes in the "still, small voice," and very much more largely believes in it than in the "rushing mighty wind." The true Christian position is, that God may come in both ways. The practical position of Yale is, that he must come only in one, and that certainly is not as a rushing mighty wind. We feel that Dr. Barbour overestimates the temperance sentiment in Yale. If he will take pains to know what those know who live near some of the great society buildings, he will easily see that his statement that "as one daily resident on the college grounds during the entering and the graduating of several relays of students can testify, in all these years not one of them has been in a drunken state—that is, helplessly or even annoyingly drunk with intoxicating drink"—must be taken with some degree of allowance.

Professor Richards enthusiastically defends intercollegiate football in an article in this number *apropos* of the late Yale-Princeton game. When Professor Richards states that pushing and striking is all with the open hand he states what multitudes who have witnessed these games, both on the Yale Athletic Grounds and elsewhere, know not to be true. Many have seen the arm stiffly extended, the fist doubled, and the opposite player, if not actually struck, compelled, by the momentum which he had gained, to receive all the effects of a blow in the face by this sudden extension of the arm and fist. It would seem that only a man blinded by the advertisements given to a college by a successful football team could write such a defense of intercollegiate football as appears in the *New Englander*.

We wish well to all the efforts which are made to popularize art in a country where the artistic has had, and is now having, late development, but where the lateness is in part made up by rapidity. We have not yet any American art publication which equals those of England and France.

The two numbers of *American Art Illustrated*, a monthly magazine, appear as the most promising of recent efforts in this direction. Devoted to painting, engraving, sculpture, architecture, and industrial arts, the two numbers seem to be wisely made up and sufficiently well illustrated, do not descend to mere decorative instruction, and deserve success. The increase of the art-loving public ought to make this success possible. American Art Magazine Co., Boston. $2 50 per annum.

The January number of the *English Illustrated Magazine* (Macmillan & Co.) contains the first of a series of illustrated papers by the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, descriptive of a recent visit to Ireland. Among the other articles are "The Daughters of George III.," by Mr. W. Outram Tristram, with illustrations; and a series of illustrations to Fouqué's "Undine," by Mr. Heywood Sumner, with an article on the romance by Miss Julia Cartwright. The illustrations in this magazine are generally good, and its reading matter of a high order.

The *Art Journal* (Virtue & Co.), London, International News Co., New York, is a publication of high merit, both artistically and as a vehicle of a high grade of literature. Among its engravings for the past year are some of the best that have been issued. Price, fifty cents per monthly number.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Clark's Foreign Theological Library. New Series. Vol. XXVII. Commentary on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. By F. GODET, Professor of the Faculty of the Independent Church of Neuchatel. Translated from the French. by Rev. A. CUSIN, M.A., Edinburgh. Vol. I. (Chap. I–VIII.) 8vo, pp. 428. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

PROFESSOR GODET has won for himself, by his abundant, fruitful, and conscientious labors, a place among the highest class of biblical scholars and exegetes; and the present volume will, in no inconsiderable degree, add to his heretofore well-established reputation. His place among modern commentators is that of an evangelical expositor, bold without recklessness, conservative without narrowness, and also rational without being rationalistic. The author's method is first of all critical, for he aims specially to fix the meaning of the text, and this leads him to make free use of the original, which is in fact the text upon which he comments; and yet by means of literal and concise translations of both words and phrases the course of thought is brought within the range of the "unlearned," that is, of those who use only the English language. In this feature of his work he is brought into comparison with Meyer, in respect to both likeness and contrast—the latter apparently arising from differences in their national modes of thought; the German being more rigidly literal, and the Frenchman freer and using larger liberty of the imagination—in

their several expositions and uses of the sacred text, and also in their distinctive doctrinal deductions.

The doctrinal character of the work is specifically Pauline, bringing prominently to the front that phrase "of righteousness" which is so fully asserted and defended in the epistles to the Romans and the Galatians, combining with this, as its inseparable concomitant and consequent, a mystical union with Christ ("in Christ") and active obedience, the fruits of the faith of justification—which form of belief, he seems to think, is "a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort."

The Introduction, which is in many instances among the most significant and instructive parts of a commentary on any given book of the Bible, is in this case simply what the name imports, sufficiently full to properly prepare the way for the body of the work, without either anticipating its matter or attempting any exhaustive disquisitions on collateral subjects. It briefly relates the well-known account of the founding of the Corinthian Church, tells of the external circumstances, the environments, of that Church; the condition in which it had come down to the time of the writing of this epistle; and lastly, a general *syllabus*, or plan of the epistle. Of kindred commentaries, he names, among "recent works," that of Beet (a British Wesleyan minister), author of a commentary on Romans, of whom he says: "He seems to me to possess in a high degree the gift of expounding the course of the apostle's ideas in a simple, clear, and judicious way;" and also that of Edwards (1885), principal of a university college in Wales, who, he says, "possesses high philological culture." This last book has escaped our attention.

As a specimen of book-making, designed to answer the requirements of utility, this volume deserves high praise. Its binding is embossed cloth, its paper is fine, white and firm, its letters are sufficiently large and well-defined, and the lines are separated by broad "leads," altogether presenting a page that allures to its perusal.

Clark's Foreign Theological Library. New Series. Vol. XXVIII. System of Christian Certainty. By Dr. FR. H. R. FRANK, Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Second Edition. Revised and Improved Throughout. Translated from the German, by Rev. MAURICE J. EVANS, B.A. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 482. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

The task undertaken by the author of this volume is to show that the principal truths and doctrines of Christ are so well ascertained, by rationally indubitable proofs, that they belong to the category of things certainly known. It is not a treatise on apologetics, nor a philosophy of religion, but an appeal first to the consciousness of the individual, and then to the consensus of believers as expressed in the analogy of the faith of the Church—genuine catholic orthodoxy. The certainty in this case must, of course, be adapted to both the object to be known and to the knowing subject; and since the object is neither material nor mathematical, so neither sense nor exact science can be applied to it. But because essential Christianity subsists entirely aside from both of these, and has its own

modes of self-manifestation, to respond to which the spiritual nature of man is adapted, the conceptions arising from the interaction of the subject and its object become self-assuring, just as the results of physical perceptions or of logical deductions enforce convictions. These positions the author presents with scientific accuracy, and then he elaborates their proof with admirable force and fullness, and from them, so fortified, he carries the assault against the more subtle forms of unbelief—rationalism and pantheism.

In pursuing these acute discussions the simple Christian believer, who has attained to the best forms of Christian knowledge in the scriptural way of faith and obedience, will often be gratified to meet his own assurances in Christ clothed in a philosophical dress, but not in any essential matter any thing else than the "assurance of faith," the "witness of the Spirit," the sense of acceptance in Christ, the assured hope of eternal life.

The Christian Platonists of Alexandria. Eight Lectures Preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1886, on the Foundation of the Late Rev. John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury. By CHARLES BIGG, D.D., Assistant Chaplain of Corpus Christi College, etc. Oxford: Clarendon Press. New York: Macmillan & Co. 12mo, pp. 304.

The appearance of the annual *Bampton Lectures* has come to be expected with the regularity and the certainty of the changes of the seasons. Those for the past year, as described in the title given above, will fairly maintain the high average that has been established for the volumes of the series. The subject chosen and discussed has a pleasant history and character, which will attract readers to this somewhat sketchy discussion. The specific subjects of some of the individual lectures are, 1. Philo and the Gnostics; 2, 3. Clement; 4, 5, 6. Origen; 7. The Reformed Paganism; 8. Summary—the last touching upon Clement in respect to his after history and relations, and Origen among his successors, the Alexandrian Exegesis, Special Doctrines, Paulinism, Quietism, and, lastly, the General Merits of the Alexandrians. The discussion is learned, yet easy, and remarkably free from slavish devotion to *pater-olatry*. If these learned churchmen continue their discussions, the world will find out that the authority of the primitive Church is at best a doubtful quantity, leaving only the Scriptures as a safe guide in matters of both doctrines and ecclesiastical orders.

The Book of Revelation: An Exposition; Based on Principles of Prof. Stuart's Commentary, and Designed to Familiarize those Principles to the Minds of Non-professional Readers. By ISRAEL P. WARREN, D.D., Editor of the *Christian Mirror*, Portland, Me. 12mo, pp. 300. Cloth, $1. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The author of this became known as a biblical scholar and writer by his *Parousia*, published a few years since. He there shows himself adroit and powerful in casting down old fabrics built of "hay, wood, and stubble," and upon sandy foundations; but when he attempted the work of reconstruction he evidently went beyond his calling, for his structures are as fanciful in form and as far away from the rock as any of those that he so

effectually demolished. The scheme for the "exposition" or interpretation of the Book of Revelation is substantially that of Professor Stuart, for which perhaps as good a case can be made as for any other; and although that scheme, with able and scholarly arguments in its favor, has been before the Christian public for more than half a century, it has not found a general acceptance. The extent of the knowledge of history, both civil and ecclesiastical, required to enable one to have an intelligent opinion of the subjects discussed is such as to make it essentially *esoteric;* only specialists can know any thing at all trustworthy, and, unhappily, scarcely two of these are agreed. We confess that we are not of the number of those to whom the Apocalypse has ceased to be a sealed book; and yet we find not a little to admire and approve in Dr. Warren's exposition.

Religion: A Revelation and a Rule of Life. By Rev. WILLIAM KIRKUS, M.A., LL.B., University of London, Rector of the Church of St. Michael and All Angels, Baltimore, Md. 12 mo, pp. 365. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

This book is made up of thirteen elaborate essays, most of them having also the distinctive features of sermons, preceded by a thoughtful preface. As a whole they are apologetic, but none the less belligerent and aggressive. The author sets himself the task of restating and defending the old faith, as held and taught by the "historic" Church, against the attacks of open enemies and of the misled, and therefore misleading, nominal friends of religion. The work is apparently as much intended to assert Church-ianity as Christianity, and in favor of both much learning and forceful argumentation is used. As a defense of the religion of the New Testament it is worthy of great praise, and while we should dissent from much of its ecclesiology, even that may be not without its use in counterworking the excess of the liberalism, falsely so-called, of the times.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Westchester County, New York, during the American Revolution By HENRY B. DAWSON, Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Morrisania, New York. 1886.

The city of New York during the incipiency of the war of the Revolution occupied a peculiar position, and its action appears, at this distance of time, the more interesting because of its midway position between the East and the South, Massachusetts and Virginia, and also the uncertainty that seemed at first to attend the question as to what would be its action respecting the dispute of the Colonies with the British Government; and the county of Westchester was simply part and parcel with the city in all these things. There was no lack of the spirit of opposition, nor of headlong violence in that opposition; and yet it is evident that at first there was no wish on the part of the men of character and substance to push things to extremities. There was much real loyalty to the crown, and the

presence of a considerable number of royal officers gave a kind of loyalist flavor to society, and men of social standing and property were not in haste to risk these in a conflict with the Government.

But these were numerically not a very considerable proportion of the whole population, and, among the more numerous and less conservative class, leaders were not wanting who were ready to precipitate a collision with the Government. It is very well known that the men with whose names we are most familiar as leaders, in the actions by which New York became at length fully committed to the revolutionary movement, were not at first the leaders in that movement, and that the provincial assembly which placed the colony in the attitude of rebellion was elected for just the opposite purpose. But the whirlwind of events was too powerful for them to resist.

Mr. Dawson's method of writing history, as is seen here and elsewhere, is to set down the facts as he finds them in original and authentic documents, without "cooking" them to suit any body's palate, either by suppressing a part of the truth or by mingling with them foreign ingredients. By this process it happens that occasionally some popular idol is toppled from his pedestal, and the painted masks are torn from long-admired faces. The deftness with which this work of demolition is done seems to indicate that the writer enjoys his work, and, like other iconoclasts, he is sometimes not less passionate than severely just. That our popular histories, even the best of them, are partial in their statements, and often garbled and purposely one-sided, cannot be disputed, but it is quite possible in attempting to correct these errors to pass over to the opposite extreme. Of our author's use of his facts his readers will form their own judgment; of the correctness of the facts themselves the proof is given by references to original authorities of which even generally well-informed persons have very little knowledge.

The Westchester county (N. Y.) of the revolutionary period was, as to its inhabitants, two nations. Along the Hudson were the descendants of the original Dutch colonists, constituting, except the chief proprietors, a rude and extremely illiterate peasantry, among whom were mingled a later arrived infusion of English and Scotch.

In the eastern towns the Connecticut element prevailed, for these towns, as far down as Eastchester, were largely settled from the New Haven colony, of which they were, for awhile, claimed to be integral parts. These were inclined to sympathize with their eastern kinfolks in their opposition to the British Government, while their more quiet and phlegmatic Dutch neighbors would have preferred less violent methods. But the times were revolutionary, and very soon any possible middle ground became untenable. It is ascertained by satisfactory proofs that till after the Declaration of Independence was made at least three fourths of the people of the river towns were opposed to any violent opposition to the royal colonial government; but the wild blunder of the British at Concord and Lexington so inflamed the revolutionary spirit that moderate counsels became impossible, and even many who had hitherto been

loyalists were swept into its current. The picture of these stirring events, with their entails of sacrifice and sufferings, is given in a good degree of fullness, and with minute exactness, in Mr. Dawson's pages.

The history here given redeems the promise of the title only so far as the beginnings and the inauguration of the revolutionary struggle are concerned, for it ends with the battle of White Plains, in October, 1776. It is well, however, that in such a monograph fullness in respect to the subjects discussed should be preferred to mere comprehensiveness of observations. Such works, while they have a special local interest, are valuable contributions to the general history of the country, and they are beyond all account valuable to the real student of history, who looks beneath the surface of things to discover their secret causes and the philosophy of their action. All such, therefore, owe to Mr. Dawson a hearty vote of thanks.

The People's Atlas of the World, and Geographical and Statistical Hand-Book. Astronomical, Geographical, Historical, Political, Chronological, Commercial, Statistical, Agricultural, and Descriptive. Furnishing the latest and most instructive Maps, Charts, and Diagrams, and the most comprehensive, practical, and helpful Information. Edited and Compiled by W. H. De Puy, D.D., LL.D., Editor of *The People's Cyclopedia*, etc., etc. 4to, pp. 582. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

The very full and accurately descriptive title given above of this noble work presents a fair inventory of its contents; but only a thorough examination of parts can enable one to properly appreciate its abundant and wisely selected matter. Its name, "Atlas," indicates its leading feature, its maps, which are many and well executed. The Astronomical section is good for its extent, which is necessarily very brief—twenty-five pages. Then follows, in a rapid sketch, an outline of Historical Geography, and next the changes made in the world's map by the rise and fall of governments and dynasties. The outline of Physical Geography is a lucid presentation of that important department of science. The department of Statistics contains very comprehensive summaries of the peoples of the whole world, their industries and productions and wealth; and the table giving the dates of the great historical events in the world's progress is itself a miniature universal history. There are maps of all the chief divisions of the earth, and special maps of the principal countries and of each of the States of the Union, with colored designation for counties, and also plans and diagrams of important localities.

METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1887.

ART. I.—JOHN PRICE DURBIN, D.D., LL.D.

WHEN one has well and nobly served his generation by the will of God, Christian affection and admiration demand that we gather up the facts that made him illustrious, and thus impress lessons of wisdom upon those who survive.

As no man "liveth to himself," so "no man dieth to himself." The noble acts of our predecessors may lure us from paths of indolence, and awaken a just ambition to receive their spirit and reproduce their deeds. Of such a one we have now to write. Few men in any Church have occupied so many important positions and filled them with such advantage to the cause of Christ as the subject of this article.

JOHN PRICE DURBIN was born in Bourbon County, Ky., October 10, 1800. His parents were Methodists. His grandfather was a pioneer of our Church in Kentucky. The early life of our subject was spent on a farm. When fourteen years old he was apprenticed to a cabinet-maker, with whom he remained three years. He then worked one year at his trade. In his eighteenth year he was converted. While hesitating about joining the Church he was impressed with the duty of preaching. A week after he joined the Church he was licensed by the Quarterly Conference to preach, and the presiding elder at once sent him to Limestone Circuit. Such action showed remarkable confidence in his character and talent, and also illustrates the practices of the times. From his vehemence in delivery his voice and health failed him. He left his circuit and returned home, and his ministry seemed brought to a close.

Then, as advised, he visited the cabins of the colored people and *talked* religion to them. He did so, and in six months his voice could fill the largest house, and soon after he resumed regular work. In 1820 the old Western Conference was divided, and that year he became a member in the Ohio Conference, and was sent to Greenville Circuit. It contained about one hundred and fifty members, and extended two hundred miles through a wilderness where the red man still roved. From August, 1819, to August, 1820, he received a salary of less than fifty dollars. His education was exceedingly limited. He had learned something in a district school, but his real education began when he entered the ministry in Ohio. During the day he pursued his study in the saddle or the forest; at night, in the cabins where he stopped. He read Wesley's and Fletcher's works, and even transcribed much of Clarke's Commentary. While stationed at Lawrenceburg, Ind., in 1821, he undertook the study of English grammar with the help of his associate on the circuit, Rev. James Collard, afterward of the Methodist Book Concern at New York. Of this fact Dr. Durbin often spoke, confessing his great indebtedness to his junior colleague. In a short time, by the direction and aid of Dr. Martin Ruter, he commenced the study of Latin and Greek. In 1822 he was ordained deacon and sent to Hamilton and Rossville. This was about twelve miles from Oxford, the seat of Miami University. Despite the opposition of his official members he entered it as a student. He went on Mondays and returned to his charge on Fridays. In 1823 he was sent to Zanesville, O. In 1824 he was ordained elder and stationed in Lebanon, O. Here again he had the help of the scholarly Ruter. In 1825 he was appointed to Cincinnati and entered the Cincinnati College, where he was encouraged in his course by Gen. William H. Harrison, afterward President of the United States. He completed his studies, and as a special reward of diligence and scholarship received at once the degree of "Master of Arts." Thus amid the toils and cares and changes of the itinerancy he secured a college course, was graduated, and laid the foundation of his future reputation in the department of education.

The richest resources of man are in himself, and their depth and fullness are never so revealed as when, under the pressure of adverse circumstances, he is roused to the most vigorous and

persistent effort. A great soul may show its impatience of restraint, but difficulties do not conquer conviction. There are great possibilities, both of success and failure, in all great natures, and it is for their possessors to determine whether difficulties shall destroy or develop them; whether they shall be as water to extinguish the fires of genius, or as wind to fan them to a flame. Young Durbin knew that the college would help him in the purposes of a sanctified ambition, and therefore he availed himself of its advantages, in spite of difficulties. We speak of self-made men. None are great who are not *so* made. No one receives enough from ancestry or environments to make him *truly great.*

After seven years in the regular ministry, at the age of twenty-five he was elected Professor of Ancient Languages in Augusta College, Ky. Here he continued two years, and when his health failed he accepted the agency for the college, and in that work first came east. This he did also a second time, when his visit revealed the might of his eloquence. Although his early labors were thought by some persons to give no promise of future usefulness, and one of the fathers went so far as to say, "He may as well go home, as there is not much in the young man," only a short time elapsed before it was seen that there was a great deal in him.

As his ability became known he was requested by the presiding elder to preach at a camp-meeting near Lebanon, O. The occasion was greater than he had supposed. The day came, and the preacher pondered his theme and asked God to prepare his heart. The plan was formed and his mind was filled with the subject. He returned to the preachers' tent, and was "lying upon the straw," as if he had already learned one of the most important lessons in connection with pulpit preparation; namely, to allow the intellect *rest* before it makes the greatest effort. The elder seeing him at ease said, "John, are you ready to preach to the crowds that are pouring in to hear you?" "This," said he in after life, "gave me the first intimation that any would come twenty miles to hear me," as he was told they were then doing. The result of that sermon is not yet forgotten. Preachers and people were in transports. None came too far, nor did Durbin study too long to prepare, nor rest too long to deliver, that discourse. While yet in the West he was requested to

preach at another camp-meeting. He was impressed to deliver a sermon on the deity of Christ. His mind and heart were full of the subject. It took possession of him. Awed by his theme and stirred by the demands of the occasion, he entered upon his duty with faith in God. There was nothing vague in his thoughts—nothing dubious in his language—nothing indifferent in his manner. His expressions were vigorous, his convictions profound and active. Sentence after sentence shot forth with convincing force, and the strength of every opposing argument was broken. He brought his proofs from two worlds. He showed the infinite attributes of Jehovah, as illustrated by Christ in time, and Christ's own glories as the Son of the Highest, "God manifested in the flesh," and now seated with the Father on his throne, with the redeemed casting their crowns at his feet and saying, "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honor and power: for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created."

The reputation then and afterward gained rested upon nothing meretricious or sensational, but upon the wise, the weighty, and the eloquent presentation of essential truth. The people who were so impressed were not strangers to able and popular preaching. It was the West, the country of William Beauchamp, of Russel Bigelow, of William B. Christian, of David Young, and of Samuel Parker. It was the land of James Quinn and James B. Finley and William H. Raper, men of might, among whom John P. Durbin rose and stood the acknowledged prince. And such was the reputation gained in those years that, whenever in after years he visited the West, people of all Churches and conditions flocked to his ministry and sat with rapture under his discourses.

In 1829 he was nominated to the chaplaincy of the United States Senate. There was a tie vote, and John C. Calhoun, President of the Senate, gave the casting vote against him. On receiving additional information he regretted his action, and sent for Mr. Durbin and apologized, and some of the political friends of Calhoun told him he had made the mistake of his life. Mr. Calhoun assured Mr. Durbin he voted for the other candidate only because he was a minister of the same Church to which his mother belonged.

The next year Mr. Durbin was elected to the place. It was in the days of Clay and Webster and Benton, and his ministry was not only commended for the eloquence that obtained for him the chaplaincy, but for its "pungency and power." It made an impression on the people of Washington that many years did not efface. His sermon in the Capitol on the centennial of Washington's birthday was regarded as one of his most successful efforts.

In 1830 he returned to Augusta College as Professor of Languages. In 1832 he was elected Professor of Natural Sciences in the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Conn., which position he declined. Early the same year he was, by the General Conference, elected Editor of *The Christian Advocate and Journal.* While editor his literary taste, his mental endowments, and his Christian spirit gave a paper worthy the Church that assigned him the place.

In 1834 he was elected to the presidency of Dickinson College, which had just come into Methodist hands from the Presbyterian Church. For a time it had been under the charge of that prince of Presbyterian preachers, Dr. John M. Mason. But despite the erudition, eloquence, and experience of Dr. Mason the college finally failed. Dr. Durbin was by a "unanimous and enthusiastic vote elected" under the Methodist reorganization. He accepted the post as one of duty. It is just to history to say that as editor his salary was only one thousand two hundred dollars, and Dr. Durbin said he was unable to live on it. When complaint is made of the high salaries of some of our most distinguished preachers and officers in the Church, it were well to ask if any in our ministry lose more financially than do those whose talents elsewhere would secure them double the support they receive.

If it is instructive and salutary to watch the progress of mind in its struggle upward to the goal, it should not yield less interest and pleasure to witness its achievements when it has attained the place for the full exhibition of its powers and skill; to know that past efforts are rewarded by the grandeur of present results.

Dr. Durbin was now in a most responsible, not to say critical, position. He was but thirty-four years old. Dickinson was among the earliest of our colleges. With us they had not been

popular. This institution, with ablest men, had failed under the great Presbyterian body. Dr. Durbin, though a graduate, was a Methodist preacher; his training had been in the itinerancy; and for such a man under the circumstances to hope for success shows no little faith and determination. It required a great heart and uncommon capabilities to engage with wisdom in this work. But he at once showed himself master of the situation. He was remarkable for his knowledge of men, as is shown by the character of those whom he secured for the various chairs of the institution. At the beginning of his presidency, Robert Emory was elected Professor of Ancient Languages. He had graduated at Columbia College, New York, with the first honors, and perhaps no man of his age in our history was of greater weight and worth than this honored son of Bishop Emory. He was elected president when Dr. Durbin resigned. Rev. John McClintock, who was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, was elected Professor of Mathematics, and it was said his education fitted him for any chair in the college. William H. Allen, graduate of Bowdoin, who was subsequently and for many years the distinguished President of Girard College, was called to the chair of Chemistry and Natural History. Merritt Caldwell, also a graduate of Bowdoin, was Professor of Metaphysics and Political Economy. Who will wonder that with such a faculty Dickinson College at once obtained sympathy and support? The sagacity of the president was as manifest in the conduct of the institution as in the selection of men. By his prudence and suavity he maintained discipline, as he imparted to the students a self-respect that was a glory to Dickinson. Sympathy in the patronizing Conferences induced many of the ministers to subscribe for its pecuniary needs, and in every way the president sought the improvement of its finances.

Notwithstanding the prejudice in many minds at that day against colleges for the Church, he attained an annual collection through the Conferences, and secured the appointment of Charles Pitman and Edmund S. Janes as agents for the Philadelphia Conference, to travel through its bounds and obtain subscriptions to aid the rejuvenated institution. Ministers of the best talent were secured for the same purpose in the Baltimore Conference, to achieve like results. To accomplish

this when these ministers were in the greatest demand in the strongest churches required no little influence. He appealed to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, and received from year to year an appropriation of $1,000. Members of Conference sometimes said the President of Dickinson did not know their trials. Once he replied, "If the brother thinks I know nothing of the difficulties of his life I shall be pleased at a proper time to exchange notes with him on ministerial privations."

To Dickinson College Dr. Durbin gave what he called eleven of the best years of his life, and while through its entire history it has done noble work for the Church, its friends fail not to recall the days of his connection with it as a palmy period.

Some of the finest scholars and most eloquent ministers came thence under Dr. Durbin's administration. Not to name laymen that have made their impress at the bar or on the bench, in the American Congress, in different professions and positions, the Church can boast in the pulpit the names of Rev. T. V. Moore, of Richmond, Va., of Bishop Bowman, Dr. Charles F. Deems, and Dr. George R. Crooks. After eight years of confinement to college duties, he deemed it desirable to have relief from his cares, and also leisure to increase the stores of his knowledge by travel. In 1842 he went abroad. On returning from his tour he published in 1844 his *Observations in Europe*, principally France and Great Britain (2 vols., 12mo); also, shortly after, *Observations in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor* (2 vols., 12mo). These books are written with excellence of style, fascination of narrative, philosophic breadth and vigor of statement that commend them to the intelligent and thoughtful reader. They met with a most flattering demand.

Dr. Durbin was delegate to the memorable General Conference of 1844. No fact of his history is more worthy of notice and commendation than his heroic conduct in that great crisis. The case of Bishop Andrew had precipitated upon the Church a difficulty that it had not anticipated, and though the bishop expressed readiness to resign his office, his Southern friends forbade him. For successive weeks this was the burning question of the body. The strongest ministers delivered their greatest speeches in the debate. Bishop Soule, though originally of the North, had lived and performed most of his episco-

pal labors in the South. He was a preacher of great ability, and was remarkable for personal dignity. When Robert Newton, as delegate from the Wesleyan body, attended the General Conference in Baltimore, in 1840, and delivered his farewell words, he expressed the wish that Bishop Soule be sent as delegate. The selection was made accordingly, and Bishop Soule chose the late Dr. T. B. Sargent as traveling companion, and two years later went to England in his official character. His preaching received great commendation. In person and manners he was compared to the Duke of Wellington. He was the first bishop sent in this relation. The high honor rendered him at home and abroad would naturally add to the influence of his office and give weight to his opinions and deliverances.

At the opening of the debate concerning Bishop Andrew's case, Bishop Soule, who was in the chair, suggested that they "use soft words and hard arguments." After this he took what he called a favorable moment to offer to the Conference a few remarks before final action on the subject pending before the Conference. His remarks were neither few nor feeble. They were multiplied, direct, and vigorous, making large claims for the episcopacy, and denying the power of the General Conference over the case in hand. Dr. Durbin rose to reply, and expressed the embarrassment of the hour, but stood in the serene dignity of conscious right. His mien was modest, but his courage was commensurate with his convictions, and no dignity of office or weight of character on the part of an opponent deterred him from duty. Besides, he was from a Conference that contained slave-holding territory. He was president of a college that from the South derived much of its patronage. Four out of the six delegates from his Conference sympathized and voted with the South, and only one, the late Bishop Scott, stood with him. His was a "border Conference," the whole of the State of Delaware, and the eastern shore of Maryland and of Virginia being included. No harder battles were fought in the division of the Church than on that ground. But he was intent on his purpose. Though one of the most prudent men, he squarely met the issue with Bishop Soule, and gave him "soft words and hard arguments"—arguments certainly *hard enough*, exposing the error of the bishop

by the highest authorities of Methodism and by the most forcible logic. He said:

It has been maintained here that the General Conference has no power to remove a bishop, or to suspend the exercise of his functions, unless by impeachment and trial in regular form for some offense regularly charged. If this be true, I have greatly misunderstood the nature of our episcopacy. From whence is its power derived? Solely from the suffrages of the General Conference. There, and there only, is the source of episcopal power in our Church. And the same power that conferred the authority can remove it if they see it necessary. . . . The Minutes of 1785 declare that at the organization of the Church the "episcopal office was made elective, and the elected superintendent or bishop amenable to the body of ministers and preachers." Coke and Asbury's notes to the Discipline assert that the bishops are "*perfectly subject* to the General Conference; their power, their usefulness, themselves, are entirely at the mercy" of that body. Again, sir, I bring you the authority of a witness sanctioned by the Conference of 1792 and by Bishop Asbury, and whose doctrine is indorsed by our late beloved Bishop Emory. . . . The Rev. John Dickins, the most intimate friend of Bishop Asbury, in a pamphlet published in 1792, with the sanction of the General Conference, thus answered a question put by Mr. Hammett in reference to this very point. "Now who ever said the superiority of the bishops was by virtue of a separate ordination? If this gave them their superiority, how came they to be removable by the Conference?" "We all know Mr. Asbury derived his official power from the Conference, both before and after he was ordained a bishop, and he is still considered as the person of their choice by being responsible to the Conference, who have power to remove him and fill his place with another if they see it necessary. And as he is liable every year to be removed, he may be considered their annual choice." Bishop Emory states that this may be considered as expressing the views of Bishop Asbury in relation to the true and original character of Methodist Episcopacy, and gives it the sanction of his own authority, by quoting and using it in the twelfth section of the *Defense of our Fathers.**

In the speech of Dr. Durbin the *orator* as well as the logician appeared. As he drew toward a close, he exclaimed:

O! sir, when we were left to infer this morning, from the remarks of the chair, that the passage of this substitute would affect not only Bishop Andrew, but perhaps others of our bishops, I could not but feel that a momentary cloud gathered before my eyes to dim the clearness of my vision. The feelings which that remark excited were not calculated to give greater freedom to the action

* Journal of General Conference, 1844, pp. 174–76. (Appendix).

of my reason, or greater precision to my judgment. But, strong as were and are those feelings, they cannot stifle my conscience or darken my understanding. I have read in the public reports of the proceedings during my absence some things that gave me great pain. Mention has been made here of proceedings at law—of the possibility of obtaining an "injunction" upon the Book Concern, and stopping our presses. I am sorry such words have been uttered here. Perhaps such an injunction might be issued. I do not know but a judge or chancellor might be found (though I do not believe it) wicked enough to rejoice in our difficulties and exult over our strife. Ah, sir, wicked men would indeed exult in it! Satan would exult in it. Perhaps, I say, such an injunction might be obtained, but what then? You may lay an injunction upon types, and presses, and newspapers, but, thank God! no injunction can be laid upon an honest conscience and an upright mind. The Book Concern! There is no man here, I am sure, whose soul is so mean and paltry as to be influenced by such a motive. Sir, that Book Concern was burned down *once*, and I grieved over its destruction; but gladly would I see it destroyed again this night—gladly would I welcome the first flash of light that might burst into that window, even though in the conflagration buildings, types, presses, paper, plates, and all were this night to be destroyed—if it could place the Church back where she was only six months ago.

Afterward, as chairman of the committee consisting of J. P. Durbin, George Peck, and Charles Elliott, to reply to the protest of the Southern delegates made by their committee through Dr. Bascom as chairman, Dr. Durbin declares:

> The doctrine [advocated in the "Protest"] is novel and dangerous in the Methodist Church, that such difficulties cannot be corrected unless the person objected to be formally arraigned under some specific law, to be found in the concise code of the Discipline—doctrine not the less dangerous because it is applied where "objections" unimportant in others might be productive of the most disastrous consequences.*

The speech of Dr. Durbin and the answer to the "Protest," together with that most powerful and convincing speech of Dr. L. L. Hamline, have gone into our history as the most intelligent vindication of our economy; and the action taken shows the inflexible purpose of the denomination to keep its episcopacy clear from the evil of American slavery, though at so great a cost as the division of the body.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has passed through three periods of great perplexity and peril. The first in 1792, when

* General Conference Journal, 1844, p. 235 (Appendix).

James O'Kelly made a schism. Then John Dickins was a power to preserve. In 1828 occurred the conflict out of which the Protestant Methodist Church arose. And in 1844, because of the decision in the case of Bishop Andrew. It was the glory of the Church in 1828 that Dr. John Emory and Dr. Thomas E. Bond were equal to her defense; nor can the time ever come when the Church will forget the service rendered her in 1844 by L. L. Hamline and J. P. Durbin. The difficulty of 1792 was a *burning fever;* the secession of 1828 was a *lancinating pain;* but Bishop Andrew's case in 1844 rent the body and covered the Church with enervating gloom. But Drs. Hamline and Durbin then threw around our economy a breastwork of argument that the heaviest artillery failed to impair.

That Dr. Durbin then only forty-four years old, should have had the position of chairman of the most important committee of the General Conference where there were also such men as Alfred Griffith, J. B. Finley, J. F. Wright, Peter Akers, William H. Raper, J. B. Stratten, Fitch Reed, C. W. Ruter, P. P. Sandford, G. Pickering, Stephen Olin, and Nathan Bangs—that amid such mighty men he should have such responsibility laid upon him, and that he performed his part so satisfactorily, is one of the clearest proofs of his exalted reputation and of ability justifying the confidence reposed in him.

In 1845, having resigned the presidency of Dickinson College, he returned, after the absence of twenty-five years, to the pastorate, and was stationed at the "Union," Philadelphia. Some believed that for his reputation this was a mistake. He had been in great demand on special occasions, and his sermons, addresses, and lectures had made him a peerless preacher. It was thought impossible to sustain himself with two sermons every Sabbath. He had said that no man should be expected to preach more than once a day to the same congregation. Two such as he preached on extra occasions no man could deliver. They were often an hour and a quarter, or possibly an hour and a half, in length, and with a physical expenditure as well as mental tax that would break down the strongest man. On entering upon this charge he displayed the practical wisdom that distinguished him in every place. This was shown in the disposition of his time, in the devotion of his talents, and

in the direction of his resources to the best results. There was a ready recognition of all departments of his work, and he addressed himself to every duty with an interest and energy that assured success. From the beginning to the end he commanded a congregation that filled and thronged the church, and his sermons were regarded as incomparable in excellence and power. He was also conscientiously faithful to all the duties of a pastor. He would have necessary time for his studies, and if disturbed would appear and stand, and, if no business was expressed, ask: "Is there any thing I can do for you?" If there was no duty in the call there was one in his study, and he resumed it. To be able to deliver two sermons to please and profit the people, as well as to dispose with judgment his material, he cut his sermons down to fifty minutes, and divided *one day into two* by retiring after the morning sermon, just as he did at night, and took such rest as nature demanded, that he might come to his work at night with the freshness of the morning. These sermons were listened to by many students of the university and medical colleges, as well as by his own people, with delight and profit. He delivered special discourses to young men, and was honored in seeing many of them come into the Church, of whom quite a number entered the ministry. An extensive revival followed his preaching, and he was loved as well as honored.

He was full of work. His character as a preacher was maintained, while as a student he was constantly making valuable accessions to the stores of his knowledge. He kept himself up in the literature of the day, and in all his reading was the thinker and the critic. The physiologists have a theory that the human body so changes in every seven years as to present a new one; so Dr. Durbin gained enough knowledge every seven years to make another great man. The first seven years of his ministry raised the uneducated youth to the professor of languages; other sevens were appropriated with equal judgment. He could not live without work. No day was too cold and no storm too heavy to prevent his preaching sermons that filled the people with rapture. The same wisdom of conduct and grace of intercourse that had distinguished him in college relations marked his intercourse with the people. His plans were accepted as his ministry was commended and

sought. Having served the "Union" the full period, he was appointed to "Trinity" in Philadelphia. Here he sustained the same reputation. In the outer world he was known by his eloquence in the pulpit, on the platform, and wherever he appeared. Besides the studies for the improvement and better furnishing of his own mind, he was in his own house as a professor to his children, training them in their studies and giving them the results of his observation and skill. During his pastorate in the city, amid the pulpits of Albert Barnes, Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, Dr. G. W. Bethune, and Dr. Thomas H. Stockton, he was an ascendant attraction. Amid such popular lecturers as Judge Conrad, Morton McMichael, and Joseph R. Chandler, he commanded an eminent place. His pastorate in Philadelphia did not impair his reputation as a man of mental and theological resources, nor was his eloquence in less repute. At the end of four years in the pastorate he was appointed presiding elder of the North Philadelphia District. The position was not pleasant to him, but his great sermons were an untold power. One on "The Resurrection," preached at the Attleborough Camp-meeting, is still spoken of as overwhelming in its effects. At this time it was well understood that one of the strong churches of another denomination in the city was making vigorous efforts to secure him as pastor. He remained but one year on the district as presiding elder. His intercourse with people and preachers was respectful and conservative; if need demanded, he was tender to the young and the erring.

In 1850, on the failure of the health of Dr. Pitman, Corresponding Secretary of our Missionary Society, the bishops unanimously called Dr. Durbin to fill the vacancy. The General Conference of 1852 elected him to this office, and successive General Conferences continued him there till 1872, when bodily infirmities necessitated his resignation. To this position Dr. Durbin came in his physical vigor, his mental strength, and in the full knowledge and discipline of all his powers. His executive ability, superior judgment of men, as well as his remarkable eloquence, commended him to the Church as a most suitable person for this high office. By travel in foreign lands he had added to his intellectual resources, and become familiar with the moral wants of the world. The place was

most congenial to his tastes. He entered upon his work with the force of conviction and the inspiration of hope. He formed his plans, adopted his policy, and, as far as possible, reduced every thing to system. He called to his support competent men, and exercised a supervision at once general and minute. His alertness was equal to any exigency, his oversight often seemed like prescience. He impressed pastors with the obligation of enlightening and inspiring our people. For this he urged monthly missionary concerts for prayer and the diffusion of appropriate literature. He insisted that with such zeal and effort the people would be educated to giving. He guarded against spasmodic action as sure to *react;* he discouraged collections at the Annual Conferences, exhorting the preachers to give with their people, that their charges might have both the inspiration and credit of their offerings. He organized auxiliary societies, and directed streams to the proper treasury.

In the public anniversaries he made it a study to put the greatest amount of matter in the smallest space, and to render it the most vital. The addresses on these occasions were such as gave the broadest views and the brightest prospect. They increased liberality and awoke a higher ambition. He studied every question of the foreign work in its relation to country, government, and race. He considered the obstacles and the inducements to missionary service. With the statesman he was the statesman ecclesiastic, wisely presenting the condition, showing the triumphs, and securing the protection that the comity of nations demands. In the monthly meetings of the Board of Managers, and in the committees on various mission fields, he showed his perfect grasp of all details and knowledge of the cases to be considered. Himself the center of intelligence, he threw light on every subject. His reports to the Board were so clear and just as to allow little discussion, as they carried with them the force of a logical statement and of an inevitable conclusion. In the Board were business men and ministers accustomed to independent thought and expression, but it was difficult to make an issue with the secretary. But who can tell his service to the Church in his keen discrimination of character, his ready perception of the qualification of candidates for the diverse fields, the education demanded, the

abilities possessed, the grace enjoyed, and the subjection to discipline required? His correspondence with them in the work, his recognition of their cases, his estimate of their difficulties, his generous judgment of their mistakes, the sympathy he expressed in their sorrows, his words of cheer in their successes, and his perpetual anxiety to succor and strengthen—these are beyond the power of words; while loyalty to the interest that he was to guard and direct compelled a strictness that is the offspring of inflexible integrity.

With a heart so full of the cause, it was natural that he should wish to visit the missions that he might better understand their needs. The society approved his proposition. He went, and made such observations and reached such conclusions as were of permanent profit. He lived, he wrote, he gave addresses, preached sermons, and kindled his own ardor in hearts as cold as icebergs. Parsimony unlocked its coffers, and mines of unbroken breadth were discovered. Many a saint nearing the celestial city remembered in his will the cause that would "bring many sons unto glory." Churches felt their dignity increased by the munificence of their offerings, and the Philadelphia Conference, of which Dr. Durbin was a member, became, and continues to be in its collections, the banner Conference.

What character, what church, what Conference could be cold when he showed the "sizes of the views?" Will the spectacle ever vanish? Will the reasons ever cease to operate?

Under his administration the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society was organized, and received his sanction and support; thus securing to the cause the benefit that has come through its intelligent adaptation of labors to the ends proposed. When he entered upon this office the Methodist Episcopal Church had a mission in Liberia, and had just established one in China. Under him its missions were extended into China, India, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Bulgaria, and Italy. When he took his place as secretary the receipts of the society were $100,000 a year, but before he retired they had increased sevenfold.

To this sublime work Dr. Durbin gave twenty-two of the best years of his life. He came to it in the ripeness of his intellect, the maturity of his wisdom, and in the height of his fame. If ever his unreserved powers were given to an interest

they were to this. When, in 1852, much was said about making him bishop, he expressed his conviction that another work had superior claim on his energies, and one that he preferred.

From its origin Methodism has been distinguished for the ability and popularity of some of its preachers. But in the first quarter of this century *three ministers* arose whom we may denominate the triumvirate of eloquence in the Methodist Episcopal Church: Bascom, Summerfield, and Durbin. Of the eloquence of Bascom it was said by one, himself a remarkable genius, "The model of his sermons is not found in libraries of the world. He is a pure original. His shining dims no other star; he is the solitary star that fills with a flood of effulgence the skies of his own creation." Of Summerfield we may speak in the language that Izaak Walton employed to describe Dr. Donne: "He was a preacher in earnest; weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them; always preaching to himself like an angel *from* a cloud, but *in* none; carrying some, as St. Paul was, to heaven in holy raptures, and enticing others by a sacred art and courtship to amend their lives; here picturing a vice so as to make it ugly to those that practiced it, and a virtue so as to make it beloved even by those who loved it not; and all this with a most particular grace and an inexpressible addition of comeliness. His life was a shining light." Between Bascom and Summerfield as preachers there was a great contrast. Bascom was all grandeur, Summerfield was simplicity, pathos, and a flowing stream of silvery eloquence. Durbin was unlike them both, but had some of the elements of each. What was said by the English poet Dryden, in reference to Milton as compared to Homer and Virgil, might be asserted of Durbin as associated with Bascom and Summerfield:

> "The force of nature could not further go,
> To make a third she joined the former two."

In studying Dr. Durbin's power in the pulpit we should first consider the general character of his sermons. He preached on great themes, such as "The Omnipotence of God," "The Character and Mission of Jesus Christ," "The Atonement," "The Conversion of St. Paul," "The Resurrection," "The Word of God Abiding in Us," "The Signs of the Times." Some of his discourses were highly expository. He loved the topical, and frequently made his sermon on a theme before selecting his text.

Analysis was the habit of his mind, yet the synthetical found large place in his preaching. He was fond of a psychological treatment of subjects. He looked at principles that, though unconsciously to ourselves, influence conduct—principles that are as real, though not recognized, as the intuitions. By close observation, by natural tendency, and by rational processes he detected and exposed the springs of moral action. His sermon in *Pulpit Eloquence of the Nineteenth Century* shows this characteristic of his preaching. It requires a high order of intellect to produce its proper power. But here Dr. Durbin was a master. He reasoned like Paley, he searched like Butler, he probed like Wesley. As if to give variety to thought and awaken interesting inquiry, it was quite common for him to indulge some quaint or novel speculation, but never to disturb faith in the revelation of God.

His preparation for the pulpit was reduced to a system. Early in the week he meditated his next theme and read upon the subject. He then made a sketch that he took into the pulpit and held up or turned over at will. Having prepared this outline he laid it aside, and brought it before his mind on Sabbath morning in the freshness of his theme and thoughts. Though he did not write sermons for delivery, he was far from the reproach that Owen Feltham cast on ministers. He says: "I admire the labor of some men that before studies done ascend the pulpit and there do take more pains than they have done in the library. . . . And this makes some such fugitive divines that like cowards they run away from the text."

Amid his many labors while pastor in Philadelphia he formed a preachers' class in elocution. The writer was a member, and recalls with what earnestness he insisted on having the mind stored with the best passages of poetry and prose, so as to be able to throw them off at will. By them he could sustain a statement, strengthen an argument, or form a climax.

In the pulpit his aspect was uniformly grave and thoughtful. There was nothing in his personal appearance to indicate the compass of his knowledge or his ability as a speaker. He was of medium size, his head was not large, his forehead was low, narrow, and receding, his eye was small and hazel, but capable of great expression, his mouth was that of an orator. His dress was faultless. He scrupulously adhered to the purpose

of worship. As a rhetorician, he knew all styles and could command any. He adopted for the time that which best suited his purpose, but believed with Seneca that "fit words are better than fine ones."

It has been said a good orator should "pierce the ear, allure the eye, and invade the mind of the hearer." All these Dr. Durbin did; his subjects containing matter of importance both for discussion and declamation. The introductions to his discourses were simple and appropriate. His first utterances were measured, and seemed to be sluggish, but his sentences were fraught with meaning, and the paragraphs showed progress, and when he reached his theme the subject was opened. At the beginning his whole manner was quiet, and he was without gesture. He could be heard in all parts of the house. Though there was no display, there was something tranquilizing and assuring in his speech and manner. After a little while genius began to flash. A bright thought lightens up the subject. The hand is drawn from the bosom and the soul is tender; style is diversified, a beautiful figure is employed. He had "pierced the ear" and it was all attention. He was an excellent teacher. Now he allures the eyes. They see in him more than instructor. He *pleases;* his voice, manner, spirit, show he is becoming more exalted by his theme. The people rise with him. Such is the mental absorption that he does not see his best friend sitting right before the pulpit. But if one in the congregation looks listless, him he sees. He is intent upon effect. If he saw the congregation was under the influence of the word, he would not lose his hold. On a certain occasion he was making a platform speech in Columbus, O., and giving statistics as the report of missions demanded. His array of figures was not the eloquence which they wanted. Perceiving this, he turned to the chair, made a polite bow, and said, "When I entered this Conference two days ago I looked upon the faces of those before me, and saw only two of all that were here forty-and-four years ago when, a stripling, I joined the Conference. I felt lonely; I felt sad;" and drawing his coat closer round him he said, "I felt like some oak riven of its branches." By this time, said our informant, the house was in tears, and then he resumed his subject with the undivided attention of the people.

He excelled in narrative. It was his boast that his mother had taught him that part of preaching. Using her "large spinning-wheel," she would tell him stories which made him ask for more. If at any time he saw the need of a story in preaching he had one at command.

Illustration was also one of his favorite methods of impressing truth. He thought, with Thomas Fuller, that if reasons are the pillars that sustain the temple of Christianity, illustrations are the windows that let in the light. His illustrations were from all departments of knowledge. He used art, science, and history, and he especially made much use of his travels in the holy land. But his illustrations only helped; they did not take the place of the Gospel.

Dr. Durbin's sermon on Naaman shows the accuracy and vividness of his word-painting and the effect of the familiar. He showed this great captain of his day in honor next the king, yet a loathsome leper. Of all loathsome diseases the most loathsome. Of all living men the most dying. Going to the king of Israel for a cure and exciting his wrath, then to the prophet, and, insulted at his conduct and directions, going away in a rage—for even a leper may be proud! Finally, trying the means and dipping seven times. We saw him do it, and saw his flesh come again, "not as the flesh of an old man," but as the flesh of a little child.

When not serving as pastor he used but few subjects, but took those best adapted and most easily treated. It is said, Bossuet, when asked what was his best sermon, replied, "The one I know best." Dr. Durbin said he was like the old Roman, who never threw away his sword while it would cut. He "better" knew its point, its edge, its temper, its weight, and its sweep. It was better for execution.

His pronunciation of a sentence or his emphasis upon a word was sometimes an amazing power. An elocutionist gave an example in a speech of Senator Preston. It was in the presidential campaign of 1840. Crittenden had spoken. Webster had occupied about two hours, but the people were still attentive. Preston rose, and uttered but the name "Martin Van Buren!" This he thrice did. The first time with the accent of incredulity. The people shouted. The second time with an accent of scorn. The people stormed. But when the third

time he exclaimed "Martin Van Buren!" with an accent of contempt, the vast assembly was wild. They clapped, they stamped, they threw their hats into the air, and were at a loss for any adequate demonstration. It was climax on a word. David Garrick, who would give so many pounds to pronounce "O!" like Whitefield, understood this power.

But in my analysis of Dr. Durbin's eloquence his voice and elocution demand particular notice. As words convey thought, so the voice may show the soul. Authority, emotion, *unction*, are there. A teacher of the art of speaking has given three voices, that he severally distinguishes as the English, Roman, and Attic. Of the propriety of such designation we say nothing, but for our purpose accept them.

The *English* is that employed in conversation and in good reading. It makes the colloquial preacher. This, like John Wesley or William Jay, we may suppose Summerfield, from his physical condition, was compelled to use exclusively. The *Roman voice* is full, round, commanding. In this voice Bascom spoke his entire sermon. The *Attic* is of greatest compass, and expresses the strongest excitement. Such we may assume was the voice of Patrick Henry, as certainly it was of Edward Everett. Daniel Webster was excellent in the English, was grand in the Roman, but when his passion carried him to the Attic his voice broke and the effect was unequal. Dr. Durbin began in the English, advanced to the Roman, and culminated in the Attic. He could be commanding in the utterance of grand thought, but when he was most dramatic it was in the Attic. If *unction* can be predicated of the human voice, Dr. Durbin had it in a remarkable degree. It not only as to compass and key obeyed every mandate, but carried emotion, and with it seemed to convey the soul. It could awaken terror or draw tears. It could kindle rapture, and rouse to the sublimest purposes and noblest deeds. This was seen in pleading the cause of missions, and in the preaching of the word. A United States Senator of Virginia, years after his chaplaincy, declared that he had never heard a voice that so affected him, and he could never forget its tones. It could shoot out like light to dispel doubt, or *explode* like a shell to accomplish its design, but, unlike the shell, it did its work without destroying its own integrity.

But Dr. Durbin was pre-eminently the sacred orator, and felt that the Gospel was the great commission. The object that he sought, the spirit he possessed, and the effort that he made showed that his eloquence was a virtue. No sermon that he published, however grand the theme, or excellent the plan, or appropriate the diction, or logical the reasoning, nothing that he ever wrote, or that others can ever write of him, will give his voice or exhibit his spirit. Eloquence cannot be printed. Like the soul, it is never found by dissecting.

In the use of choice literature, Dr. Durbin did as he advised others to do. The climax of his sermon at the dedication of Trinity, Philadelphia, in 1841, was in a quotation. The service was on a week-day. It is doubtful whether we ever had such a congregation as at this time. Men of all professions were there. Ministers of various Churches were present in great numbers. When the preacher had so far shown the sins of men and the word of grace—when the audience had hung on his words, though in profound silence—he gave vent to the strongest emotion and the most burning passion in the familiar and almost trite lines from Cowper:

> "O for a lodge in some vast wilderness,
> Some boundless contiguity of shade,
> Where rumor of oppression and deceit,
> Of unsuccessful or successful war,
> Might never reach me more! My ear is pained,
> My soul is sick with every day's report
> Of wrong and outrage with which earth is filled."

It is impossible to tell the power of that passage as he uttered it. When he laid his emphasis on "My ear is pained" we felt disgusted at wickedness; when he pronounced "wrong and outrage," we knew not how to meet the enormity. With the first, it was as if a *shingle started;* when he uttered "outrage," as if the *roof rose.* It was as if a stone spoke out of the wall, and a beam out of the timber answered it; as if material things were shocked at such unexampled sin; as if the very temple became vocal with accusations, and filled with revolt, while virtuous nature sought sanctuary from sin in some far-off hiding-place. Dr. George B. Ide, the brilliant preacher of the First Baptist Church, was present, and afterward remarked, "Parts were inimitable." We had often

heard that language *quoted*, never before *rendered*. It was not the quotation; it was not the words, but the speaker in them. He had no need to go to authors for either elegance, elevation, or eloquence, but he did it to support the grand truths that he presented.

The passage that we have heard quoted from Bascom more than any other is from S. T. Coleridge. Speaking of Christianity, he asks, "But whence did this happy organization first come? Was it a tree transplanted from paradise, with all its branches in full fruitage? or was it reared in sunshine. . . . With blood was it planted; it was rocked with tempests; the goat, the ass, and the stag, gnawed at it; the wild boar has whetted his trunk in its bark. . . . The path of lightning may be traced among its higher branches. . . . The whirlwind has more than once forced its stately top to touch the ground; it has bent like a bow, and sprung back like a shaft."

It was a saying of the renowned Dr. Nott that "No man can be eloquent for more than five minutes." He argued this as a philosophical fact. The influences on speaker or hearer could not be sustained for a longer period. Like violent diseases, they cannot be both acute and protracted. However this statement may fail to apply to certain styles of oratory, it is true of Dr. Durbin's. He might have two or three moving passages, sometimes none very marked. No orator is always eloquent. "This power," to use his own language, "does not always come, and I don't go after it, nor fret for it; when it comes to me I give it to the people." But when under this mighty influence, he said, it seemed the earth was too small for him. The might of his eloquence would sometimes be in a page, a paragraph, a sentence, and even a *word*. For pungency, for pathos, or for power, a well-couched sentence cannot be too brief. It is a mistake, however, to think because Dr. Durbin's eloquent passages were brief that that which went before was not an essential part. There was eloquence in his power to still the thoughts and keep minds in eager receptivity to the truth. It prepared the way and held the mind. The result was the work of a moment, but there had been *preparation*.

To exhibit Dr. Durbin's claim to the highest style of eloquence, we name a sermon delivered in the "Union," Philadelphia, on Sabbath morning during Conference in 1836.

The text was one of the grandest in the Bible; Heb. vi, 17–19: "Wherein God, willing more abundantly to show unto the heirs of promise the immutability of his counsel, confirmed it by an oath: that by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us: which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, . . . cast within the veil." Difficult as it now is to write of that sermon, it was then more difficult to speak of it. The people heard with attention, delight, and transport. He showed that the Christian has real, strong, everlasting consolation in Christ; that we are in the world as the ship is in the sea; that we as really need an anchor for the soul, and that we as truly have it. Storms arise, dangers threaten. Satan allows no "sea of glass" in the present state. Our anchor is hope; its ground the promise and the oath of God. It is "cast within the veil" of the upper temple, and as the anchor holds the ship, so this holds the soul. Then the preacher seemed to seize the anchor of our hope, as if it were of iron, and flesh was equal to spirit. The apparent accuracy of the aim, the force manifested in the heaving, and the direction taken, gave a kind of reality to the whole movement, to which all assented. Like a mighty Samson, with gesture and posture answering to his purpose, he gave one tremendous heave and shouted, "Brethren, it is within the veil." Then he further declared, "The ground is good, and there is no dragging of the anchor." He began to draw on the cable; the people joined him. It was as if every one in the congregation would lay hold. The preacher was more than himself. His eyes, like orbs of light, rolled and flashed, as if kindled by celestial fires. His countenance radiated. Every feature spoke. Every fiber of his frame seemed charged with electrifying power. It was as one of the days of his triumph.

Had Vinet been there he might have quoted this as one of the most perfect demonstrations of the power of "*dramatismia*" in the pulpit. All that enters into the sublime was present in that discourse. There was "grandeur of strength," "pathos that melted the heart and raised the passions." None will deny that there was skillful application of figure, or that there was a "noble manner of expression, and the structure of periods in dignity and grandeur."

Durbin and Bascom were simultaneously achieving the wonderful displays of eloquence by which each in his own way became famous; and yet even as orators the two were widely unlike. In some things few men could compare with Bascom; in some others Durbin stood alone. In form, in feature, in bearing, Bascom was a prince; Durbin had no external attraction, except in refined taste and manly bearing. Bascom's style was gorgeous; Durbin's luminous. Only the personality of Bascom saved his oratory from the charge of bombast; Durbin's language is its own vindication. Bascom labored as if the body was the engine to give power to the soul; Durbin as if the soul only used the body to show itself in its heat and intensity. The first paragraph of Bascom's discourse was a burst of eloquence; Durbin closed with an electrifying shock. Bascom began as if a few minutes were to do the work; Durbin as if preparing a foundation for a pyramid. Under Bascom infidels hid for very shame; under Durbin they threw down their weapons and sued for pardon. From first to last Bascom was vehement; Durbin restrained his vehemence for cumulative force. Bascom was Niagara with the rapids behind it; Durbin was the Hudson, with mountains and vale, with highlands and palisades crowned with villas, and pediments gleaming like diamonds upon crests of beauty. The effect of the preaching of these two men was dissimilar. On listening to Bascom almost any minister would feel as did the musician, when listening to a great master, who said, "I will bury my instrument;" on hearing Durbin he would say, "I will dig it up, for now I have learned to play better." They were both men of rare qualities and endowments. They are still great in their posthumous reputations. For either to have attempted the other would have been to do violence to nature and mar the economy of God.

Dr. Durbin's case formed an exception to the rule, as some say it exists, that great sermonizers usually fail in public extempore prayer. His were remarkable for their earnestness, solemnity, and fitness. While President of Dickinson College, in a season of revival he was at times so drawn out in prayer that he seemed to be alike unmindful of time or the expenditure of strength, so that he afterward felt the reaction for days. So, too, his prayers in public worship were only less effective than his most eloquent discourses.

The relations of life and the Christian character of Dr. Durbin strongly re-enforced his ministerial influence. In personal intercourse he had a quiet dignity, and, though never austere, rarely relaxed. In receiving and extending hospitality he was without display. In every place he was recognized in his superior talents and position, but in no instance did he display any show of vanity. Who ever knew him to be arrogant with the weak or supple with the strong? If at any time he was subjected as a writer, or in any way, to criticism, he let it pass, and it was his rule to allow no concern for the results of duty.

He was twice married, in both instances to a daughter of Alexander Cook, Esq., of Philadelphia. By his former wife he had three sons and two daughters. Only one of his sons survives him. One of his daughters married William Whittacar, Esq., of Philadelphia, the other Fletcher Harper, Esq., of New York. Within the present year the tears of the Church and humanity have fallen upon her grave. All the wealth of Dr. Durbin came through his marriage. It is doubtful if his salary ever more than supported him. In ecclesiastical matters he was called a "prudent progressive." Many years before lay delegation was introduced into the Church he was its advocate. Seven times successively he was elected a delegate to the General Conference, and his Conference never ceased thus to honor him till the infirmities of age forbade. When he resigned his place as Corresponding Secretary of the Missionary Society, in appreciation of his services and to retain his counsels the General Conference that accepted his resignation elected him Honorary Secretary of the Missionary Society. Then he whose life had been so full of labor, and whose labor had been so full of grand results, withdrew from the active services that had so long been his delight. Needful as rest had seemed to him, it was soon found that out of his accustomed work the powers of his mind and body more rapidly failed. He rarely appeared on the platform or in the pulpit, and after a serene and happy old age he was stricken with paralysis, and on October 18, 1876, at his residence in New York city, surrounded by his children and grandchildren, he saw the last of earth and first of heaven. A short time before his death, Bishop Janes, the Missionary Secretaries, and the Book Agents called on him to present a resolution passed by the bishops at

their last meeting. On hearing it read he replied, "he could recollect but one paper of the sort in all his life that was not distasteful to him," adding, "this paper was so evidently sincere, and was expressed in such terms, that he received it with gladness, and would cherish it among his pleasant memories." He alluded to his Christian experience. At first, he said, "the fact that he had not the joys which other Christians had gave rise to questioning doubts. But he afterward had learned better, and, though he had never been demonstrative, his experience as a Christian had been and still was satisfactory to his heart."

More than thirty years ago Dr. Abel Stevens, the historian of Methodism, pronounced Dr. Durbin "the most interesting preacher in the Methodist pulpit." Learned men we may have had of a more accurate if not a broader scholarship, writers of more fruitful, if not more facile, pens; but scarcely one whose mind was better disciplined, whose faculties were better directed, whose resources were more fully at the Church's command, or by whom more was accomplished in the diverse and responsible positions that he filled. When was learning, genius, culture, devotion to duty, turned to better account, or when did good common sense, his richest inheritance, show itself to greater advantage?

American Methodism has always had its men adapted to her stations; but who, from her origin, has filled so many distinguished charges and for so long a time? Is there one of all those various positions that he did not exalt by his talents and his skill and his moral worth? If as a Church we can boast a greater name than John Price Durbin, then indeed we are honored. In the senate, cabinet, diplomatic corps, judiciary, or chair of the executive he might have worthily filled the first place in the nation.

To the glory of Christ's kingdom he laid his talents at the foot of the cross and gave his life to the duties of the ministry of reconciliation. To the young Methodist preacher the life of J. P. Durbin is a vast folio for study, but on its title-page is the motto that formed the theme of one of his first baccalaureate discourses at Dickinson College: "The High Purpose and Firm Resolve." This is the key to his greatness, and grace furnishes that key.

Art. II.—THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

Our Lord's eschatological discourse to a few disciples "as he sat on the Mount of Olives, over against the temple" (Mark xiii, 3), is professedly a prophecy of things that were about to be accomplished. It has been understood and explained in most opposite ways, and yet there is, perhaps, no other sermon of Jesus on record the occasion and scope of which are so clearly exhibited in the immediate context. Perhaps, also, there is no other Scripture in the exposition of which dogmatic assumptions have exerted greater influence.

It will facilitate our study of this prophecy to present in tabular form all the statements of our Lord, in substance, as they appear in the three synoptic gospels. On comparing these three records we observe that Matthew gives the discourse in fullest form, and in a style conspicuously Hebraic. Our Lord probably uttered this sermon in the Aramaic language, and therefore no one of these evangelists has preserved the very words (*ipsissima verba*) he employed. Each one gives his own independent version, and they all agree in substance.

Matthew xxiv and xxv.	Mark xiii.	Luke xxi.
I.	I.	I.
Four things before the End, xxiv, 4–14.	*Four things before the End*, xiii, 5–13.	*Three things before the End*, xxi, 8–19.
1. False Christs and a great apostasy, 4, 5.	1. False Christs and a great apostasy, 5, 6.	1. False Christs, 8.
2. Wars, commotion of nations, famines, and earthquakes, 6–8.	2. Wars, famines, and earthquakes, 7, 8.	2. Wars, tumults, earthquakes, famines, pestilence, terrors, and signs from heaven, 9–11.
3. Persecution, death, offenses, betrayals, hatred, false prophets, and great wickedness, 9–13.	3. Persecution, . . . afflictions, betrayals, hatred, and putting to death, 9, 11–13.	3. Persecution, betrayals, putting to death, and hatred, 12–19.
4. The Gospel in all the world—ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, 14.	4. The Gospel to all the nations—εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, 10.	
II.	II.	II.
Three signs when the End (Consummation) *is close at hand*, 15–28.	*Three signs when the End is close at hand*, 14–23.	*Two signs when the End is close at hand*, 20–24.
1. The abomination of desolation, 15–18.	1. The abomination of desolation, 14–17.	1. Jerusalem compassed with armies, 20, 21.
2. The great tribulation, 19–22.	2. The great tribulation, 18–20.	2. The great tribulation, 22–24.
3. False Christs and prophets doing signs and wonders, 23–28.	3. False Christs and prophets doing signs and wonders, 21–23.	

III. *Apocalyptic picture of the End and the Parousia*, 29–31. 1. Sun and moon darkened, stars fall, and powers of heaven shaken, 29. 2. Sign of Son of man in heaven, and coming in clouds with power and glory, 30. 3. Angel ministries, trumpet, gathering the elect, 31.	III. *Apocalyptic picture of the End and the Parousia*, 24–27. 1. Sun and moon darkened, stars fall, and powers of heaven shaken, 24, 25. 2. Son of man in clouds with power and glory, 26. 3. Angel ministries, gathering of the elect, 27.	III. *Apocalyptic picture of the End and the Parousia*, 25–28. 1. Signs in the sun, moon, and stars, distress and terror on earth, powers of heaven shaken, 25, 26. 2. Son of man in clouds with power and glory, 27. 3. Redemption at hand, 28.
IV. *Counsels and Warnings*, 32–51. 1. Similitude of the fig-tree, 32, 33. 2. All to occur in this generation, 34, 35. 3. Day and hour unknown, 36. 4. Like the flood, 37–39. 5. Sudden separations, 40, 41. 6. Admonition to watch, 42–51.	IV. *Counsels and Warnings*, 28–37. 1. Similitude of the fig-tree, 28, 29. 2. All to occur in this generation, 30, 31. 3. Day and hour unknown, 32. 4. Admonition to watch, 33–37.	IV. *Counsels and Warnings*, 29–36. 1. Similitude of the fig-tree, 29–31. 2. All to occur in this generation, 32, 33. 3. Admonition to watch, 34–36.
V. *Parable of the ten Virgins*, xxv, 1–13.		
VI. *Parable of the Talents*, 14–30.		Compare parable of the Pounds, Luke xix, 11–27.
VII. *Prophecy of the Messianic Judgment*, 31–46.		

Occasion and Scope of the Sermon.

On what particular occasion and for what purpose did our Lord utter this discourse? According to Matthew, it was spoken in connection with his terrible denunciation of Jerusalem. (Matt. xxiii, 34–39.) The disciples, awe-struck by the Master's words, called his attention to the magnificent buildings and great stones; but this act of theirs only drew from him additional words of fearful import: "Verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down." (Matt. xxiv, 2.) Mark has no record of the words of denunciation, and Luke places them in another connection (Luke xi, 49–51; xiii, 34, 35), but all three synoptists

agree in declaring that this great prophecy was called forth at the request of the disciples as a fuller explanation of his words touching the overthrow of the temple. (Luke xxi, 6; Matt. xxiv, 2; Mark xiii, 2.) He went forth and seated himself on a part of the Mount of Olives directly opposite the temple, when, according to Mark (xiii, 3, 4), four disciples, Peter, James, John, and Andrew, asked him, privately (*κατ' ἰδίαν*): "Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign when these things are all about to be accomplished?" Luke records this inquiry in nearly the same words, but in Matthew we find the question stated in the following form: "Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy presence (*τῆς σῆς παρουσίας*) and of the consummation of the age" [dispensation] (*συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος*)? The whole prophecy purports to be an answer to that question. He mentions a number of things which must first take place, and also some things by which they may know when the end [catastrophe] is close upon them, but the day and hour of its consummation, he assures them, are known only to the Father. Nevertheless, he affirms, that day and hour will fall within the period of a [the then living] generation. No assertion throughout the entire discourse is more positive and emphatic than this: "Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, till all these things be accomplished." (Matt. xxiv, 34; Mark xiii, 30; Luke xxi, 32.) The scope of the prophecy would seem, therefore, to be clear beyond controversy. It had explicit reference to the overthrow of the temple and the fall of Jerusalem, and was designed to answer the disciples' question, and inform them of the certainty and the nearness of that great catastrophe.

Many interpreters, however, have maintained that our Lord here prophesies of two different events, widely apart from each other in time. All admit that a great part of what he said had primary, if not sole, reference to the fall of Jerusalem; but there are a number of passages which are believed by some to refer to another and yet future consummation. A basis for this double import of the prophecy is supposed to be found in the form of the question which the disciples asked. As recorded by Mark and Luke, the question is twofold, touching, first, the *time* (*πότε*, *when*), and secondly, the *sign* (*τὸ σημεῖον*) of accomplishment or consummation. As we have observed above, the

form of the question as given by Matthew differs somewhat, and has been thought to contain a threefold implication, touching respectively the *time* of these things, the *sign* of the *parousia*, and the *end* of the age. But Matthew's language really involves only two points of inquiry, for "the sign of the *parousia*" is also the sign "of the consummation of the age."

How far may this double form of the question indicate or determine the scope of our Lord's answer? Did he regard the question as involving two distinct subjects, and in his answer distinguish between them so as to teach those disciples, and us who read these records, that the consummation of the age was to be something entirely different and far distant from the time of Jerusalem's overthrow? Is there any thing in this prophetic sermon, whether as recorded by Matthew, Mark, or Luke, which warrants the opinion that Jesus spoke of two distinct events, separated from each other by untold ages?

We must make our appeal to the records. In the tabular outline given above we have aimed to incorporate every important statement. The admonitions of Matt. xxv stand by themselves, but the rest of the discourse has in each of the gospels four parts: 1. Events to come before the end. 2. Signs of the nearness of the end. 3. The coming of the Son of man. 4. Admonitions for the disciples. All that is stated under these several heads has pertinency and force when understood as referring to a great event to come within the life-time of that generation; but we look in vain for any word or statement which appears designed to convey the idea that the *parousia* and the ruin of the temple would be events widely separated in time. It is most positively affirmed that the desolation of Jerusalem would be accompanied by unparalleled tribulations, that the sign of the *parousia* of the Son of man would appear immediately afterward, and that all these things would be accomplished before that generation passed away. If Jesus intended to distinguish and contrast two events, he was singularly unfortunate in his use of language. Can the faithful exegete allow that in answering his awe-stricken disciples he "paltered with them in a double sense?"

As illustrating how some able expositors find distinctions and contrasts where others can see none, we adduce the follow-

ing from Whedon's Commentary on Matthew (page 278). Holding that Matt. xxiv, 4–42, consists of series of paragraphs "in which the downfall of the city and state is described, and distinguished from the second coming," he says that verses 4–6 contain "a caution not to confound the *destruction* of the city with the *end* of the world." Not to speak at present of the misleading phrase, "end of the world," we appeal to the lan guage of those two verses. "Take heed," said Jesus, "that no man lead you astray." Lead them astray about what? About confounding Jerusalem's ruin with the end of the world? Nothing in the context suggests such a thought. On the contrary, the next verse shows that he had in mind the danger of their being led astray by false pretenders claiming to be the Christ; but not the remotest allusion to a danger of their mistaking the destruction of the city for something else. So again, in verse 6, they are told that wars and rumors of wars will come; yea, they must needs come; "but the end is not yet." Here is no distinguishing the end from the fall of the city. On the contrary, these things, and much besides, as the verses immediately following show, will come to pass before the destruction of Jerusalem.

Again, says Dr. Whedon, in verses 7–14 we have "the commotions and *persecutions* preceding the destruction of the city described, and then contrasted with the *evangelization* of the world before the end." We submit, however, to the judgment of the unbiased reader, that the preaching of the Gospel of the kingdom, mentioned in verse 14, so far from being put in contrast with the persecutions and other troubles that must precede the end, is most clearly placed among them. It was, like the hatred, and betrayals, and defections, among the things which must take place before the end; but this is something very different from contrasting "the end" with the fall of the city and temple.

Verses 23–27 do, indeed, present a contrast between the false Christs and the Son of man. The manner of their coming is very different. But in these verses we can discover no trace of the proposition that the coming of the Son of man is to be centuries and millenniums distant from the appearance of the pseudo-Christs. So again, when verse 34 states that all these things shall be accomplished in that generation, and

verse 36 that no one but the Father knows the day and hour, there is no contrasting of events far separated from each other. To maintain that the day and hour might be ages after the life time of that generation involves absurdities which will be noticed further on.

We submit, therefore, that the occasion and scope of our Lord's apocalyptic prophecy do not warrant an expectation of finding in it either a double sense or a description of two distinct events remote from each other in time. On the contrary, it purports to be throughout an answer to the question of the disciples, foretells a number of events that would take place before the overthrow of the city, and others that would mark the end of the age. As to the WHEN of their inquiry, it assures them that ALL THESE THINGS would occur in their generation, although the particular day and hour were known to none but the Father. Moreover, the numerous counsels and admonitions addressed privately and yet so solemnly to the disciples, to watch and be ready for the great event, are emptied of all naturalness and propriety by the supposition that the things spoken of would occur centuries after their time.

IMPORT OF THE LANGUAGE EMPLOYED.

If the occasion and scope of a prophecy are to control the interpreter, it would seem that the foregoing considerations must determine the main questions in our exposition of this important Scripture. But to many readers the specific time-limit of the prophecy seems inconsistent with the import of a number of the terms employed. This is affirmed especially of the language in Matt. xxiv, 29–31, the treading down of Jerusalem by the Gentiles (Luke xxi, 24), the preaching of the Gospel in the whole world (Matt. xxiv, 14, Mark xiii, 10), the end of the age, the *parousia*, and the picture of judgment in Matt. xxv, 31–46. We must examine these passages in detail.

The language of Matt. xxiv, 29–31, is cast in the form of Hebrew parallelism, and is accurately translated as follows:

> But immediately after the tribulation of those days
> The sun shall be darkened,
> And the moon shall not give forth her light,
> And the stars shall fall from the heaven,
> And the powers of the heavens shall be shaken;

And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven;
And then shall all the tribes of the land mourn,
And they shall see the Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory.
And he shall send forth his angels with a great sound of a trumpet,
And they shall gather together his elect from the four winds,
From one extremity of heaven unto the other.

The parallels of this in Mark xiii, 24–27, and Luke xxi, 25–28, are not materially different, and the first question here to answer is, Was this style of language familiar with our Lord? Another and a fundamental question is, whether such language must be literally understood. It would display a great want of critical judgment for one to presume to answer these questions by dogmatic assertions. Appeal must be taken to the language and style of analogous prophecies. What have we in other prophecies to help determine the import of such forms of speech?

In Isaiah xiii, we have an oracle on the impending destruction of Babylon, which in verses 9–13 reads as follows:

Behold, the day of Jehovah comes,
Cruel—and wrath, and burning of anger,
To make the land a desolation;
And he will destroy her sinners out of her.
For the stars of the heavens and their constellations shall not shed forth their light;
Dark is the sun in his going forth,
And the moon will not cause her light to shine;
And I will visit evil upon the world,
And upon the wicked their iniquity.
And I will cause the arrogance of the proud to cease,
And the haughtiness of the lawless I will bring low;
I will make men rarer than refined gold,
And mankind than the gold of Ophir.
Therefore will I make the heavens tremble,
And the earth shall shake out of her place,
In the overflowing wrath of Jehovah of hosts,
And in the day of the burning of his anger.

Both the heading of the chapter and the specific statements of verses 17 and 19 show that this passage is a prophetic picture of the overthrow of Babylon by the Medes. This is admitted by all the best interpreters. The ruin, according to the prophet, is to be wrought by Jehovah, who musters his

host of mighty heroes from the end of the heavens (verses 4, 5), causes a tumultuous noise of "kingdoms of nations," fills human hearts with trembling, shakes heaven and earth, and blots out sun, and moon, and stars. "Babylon, the beauty of the Chaldeans' pride, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah." (Verse 19.) The terrible destruction of the cities of the plain (comp. Gen. xix, 24–28) suggested some of the imagery of Isaiah's picture, but Babylon was not destroyed in like manner. It needed not literal fire and brimstone out of heaven to fulfill this prophecy. The overwhelming wrath and burning anger of Jehovah employed the Medes and Persians to accomplish on Babylon what had been accomplished by the elements of nature on Sodom and Gomorrah. The great prophetic thought in such descriptions is: The terrible judgment will be executed by Him who holds all the forces of earth and heaven in his hand. So, again, in Isa. xix, 1, the impending judgment of Egypt is portrayed in the same style of speech:

Behold, Jehovah riding upon a swift cloud,
And he will come into Egypt,
And the idols of Egypt shall tremble at his presence,
And the heart of Egypt shall melt in the midst of it.

Again, in chapter xxxiv, 4, 5, the same prophet foretells the desolation of Edom in the following strain:

All the hosts of the heavens shall be melted,
And the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll,
And all their host shall fall,
As falls a leaf from the vine,
And as a fallen fig from the fig-tree.
For my sword shall be sated in the heavens;
Behold, upon Edom it shall come down,
And upon the people of my curse, for judgment.

The prophet Micah (i, 3, 4) proclaims the approaching ruin of Samaria in these words:

Behold, Jehovah goeth forth out of his place,
And he will come down and tread upon the high places of the land;
And the mountains shall melt under him,
And the valleys shall be cleft,
Like wax before the fire,
Like waters poured down a steep place.

Ezekiel takes up his lamentation over the destruction about to fall on Egypt, and, among many other images of fearful judgment, has the following, chapter xxxii, 7, 8:

In quenching thee I will cover the heavens,
And I will darken the stars,
The sun with a cloud will I cover,
And the moon shall not give forth her light;
All the luminaries in the heavens will I darken over thee,
And I will put darkness upon thy land,
Saith the Lord Jehovah.

In Matthew xxiv, 15, Jesus speaks familiarly of "Daniel the prophet," and quotes one of his peculiar expressions. Among the written visions of this same prophet (chapter vii, 13, 14) occurs the following passage:

I gazed in the visions of the night,
And behold, with the clouds of heaven,
One like the Son of man was coming,
And to the Ancient of Days he approached,
And into his presence they brought him;
And to him was given dominion, honor, and a kingdom;
And all the nations, peoples, and tongues shall serve him.
His dominion is an eternal dominion, which shall not pass away,
And his kingdom one that shall not be destroyed.

Just before this passage (verses 9, 10) the prophet thus describes the Ancient of Days, enthroned for the purpose of executing judgment:

His raiment was white as snow,
And the hair of his head like pure wool;
His throne, flames of fire;
His wheels, burning fire.
A stream of fire flowed forth and went out from before him;
Thousand thousands ministered unto him,
And myriad myriads before him were standing;
The judgment was set, and the books were opened.

Such is the style of language constantly employed by the Old Testament prophets in announcing the judgments of God upon cities and nations. There is scarcely a word or phrase in Matt. xxiv, 29–31, and the parallels in Mark and Luke, which has not its exact equivalent in one or more of the passages above quoted. Jesus was speaking to a select company who, from childhood, had been made familiar with the prophets, hearing

them, like the books of Moses, "read in the synagogue every Sabbath." (Acts xiii, 27; xv, 21.) Whether they understood what they read we need not here inquire; but on what rational principles of consistent interpretation can it be claimed that the prophetic language, admitted by all exegetes to be symbolical and figurative in the Old Testament, must be understood literally when used by Jesus in depicting a similar catastrophe? Is it not proper to believe that those holy oracles, being inspired of God (2 Tim. iii, 16), were divinely chosen forms of prophetic teaching? If so, why should Jesus employ other forms, or why employ these in a different sense from that in which they were first intended? The Jewish historian declares that the multitude of those who perished amid the ruin of Jerusalem exceeded that of all similar calamities, whether wrought by human or divine agency, and he reckons the number of the slain at eleven hundred thousand, and the captives at ninety-seven thousand.* Jesus himself represents the tribulation as surpassing any thing of like character in history. (Matt. xxiv, 21.) Was it not fitting, then, that he should speak of it in the lofty tone of prophecy, and employ the same style of language as other prophets had used in foretelling the ruin of Babylon, and Edom, and Samaria, and Egypt?

It should be observed that the highly wrought poetic language of prophecy is frequently interwoven with details of fact. Every one of the Old Testament passages above cited is connected with statements which all readers and expositors have understood literally. So there is no ground for the notion of some writers, who tell us that if we interpret Matt. xxiv, 29–31, as poetic prophecy, we must interpret all the rest of the chapter as poetry. The superficial plea, that if sun and moon and heavens in verse 29 are not to be understood literally then we cannot take the words "Judea" and "mountains" in verse 16 in a literal sense, is unworthy of respectful notice. An intelligent reader's common sense, may be trusted to determine between plain prosaic statements and the tone and manner of such a passage as the one in question. It would be folly to attempt to construct a vocabulary of prophetic metaphors, and bring rigid definitions to the exposition of such highly wrought poetic Scriptures as those we have quoted from

* Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, book vi; ix, 3, 4.

the prophets. No set of rules can be drawn up to govern every case, but, in distinguishing between poetry and prose, appeal must ever be had to the reader's critical and rational judgment. Two extremes are to be avoided in explaining the Hebrew prophets: one is the allegorical and spiritualizing process, by which each word and figure is made to yield a distinct and special significance; the other is a bald verbalism, which insists on the literal meaning of each expression of the prophet. Jesus unquestionably appropriated Old Testament prophetic language and style in Matt. xxiv, 29–31. Even the mourning of "all the tribes of the land" (verse 30, not *all the nations of the world*) is mentioned in language appropriated from Zechariah xii, 11, 12.

Leaving particular questions to be discussed further on, we next examine the words of Luke xxi, 24, which are supposed to contemplate events which could not have taken place in that generation. Referring to the great wrath about to be poured upon the Jewish people, Jesus says: "They shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all the nations, and Jerusalem shall be trodden down by nations until the times of the Gentiles [or nations] be fulfilled."

There are different explanations of the phrase "times of the Gentiles." Some regard it as equivalent to "the fullness of the Gentiles," spoken of in Rom. xi, 25, or, rather, to the times and opportunities of grace afforded the Gentiles under the Gospel. But this interpretation, as Van Oosterzee well observes, interpolates a thought entirely foreign to the context.* The times of the Gentiles are much more naturally understood as the period allotted to the Gentiles to fulfill the divine judgments of which the passage speaks. So the phrase is explained by Bengel, Meyer, and Van Oosterzee. The most natural and obvious parallel, however, is Rev. xi, 2, where the outer court of the temple is said to be given over to the Gentiles, by whom the holy city is to be trodden down forty-two months, a period equivalent [some think] to the "time and times and half a time" of Rev. xii, 14. In Rev. xii, 6, [perhaps] this same period is spoken of as twelve hundred and sixty days, which would be three years and a half, reckoning three hundred and sixty days to a year. This number is constantly associated with

* See his Commentary on Luke xvi, 24, in Lange's *Bibelwork*.

a period of woe and disaster to the city or people of God. The time, times, and half a time, or three and a half times, is a suggestive symbolical number, a divided seven (comp. Dan. ix, 27), significant of a broken covenant, an interrupted sacrifice, a triumph of some heathen enemy, a short but signal period of woe. These *καιροί*, *times*, (comp. the Sept. and Theodotion on Dan. vii, 25, xii, 7), are accordingly best understood as times of judgment upon Jerusalem, rather than times of salvation for the Gentiles. But there is nothing in the words or the context to warrant the comment of Bengel, that the treading down of Jerusalem by Romans, Persians, Saracens, Franks, and Turks is to be understood. The legitimate import of the words is amply met by explaining the "times of the Gentiles" as the three and a half times, approximating three and a half years, during which the Gentile armies besieged and trampled down Jerusalem.

But if one accept the view that "times of the Gentiles" denote a long period, either of grace or of judgment, the *terminus a quo* must needs be the beginning of that siege in which a million Jews perished (alas! how many "by the edge of the sword"), and ninety-seven thousand were led into captivity. How does it in the least conflict with the time-limits of the prophecy to say that the desecration of the city would continue centuries after its fall? This is at most an incidental statement, and it would be a singular procedure of exegesis to make it, unless manifestly necessary, antagonize the occasion and scope of the whole discourse. Who would think of finding any such difficulty in Isa. xiii, 20–22, or of construing the specified perpetual desolation of Babylon as inconsistent with the thought that the terrible day of her judgment was close at hand? "It shall never be inhabited," says the prophet; "wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, wolves shall cry in their castles, and jackals in the palaces; and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged." Had the prophet explicitly declared that the overthrow would occur within forty days, it would not in the least degree have been inconsistent with his statement that it would not have been inhabited "from generation to generation." It was not within the scope of our Lord's discourse, in answering the disciples' question, to tell them of all that would follow the ruin of the city, and the incidental mention of a long tread-

ing down of Jerusalem should no more affect the interpretation of his sermon than if he had added, after Luke xxi, 27, "I will reign until I have put all enemies under my feet."

But, according to Matt. xxiv, 14, the Gospel of the kingdom is to be preached "in the whole world for a testimony unto all the nations," before the end, or consummation of the age. Compare, also, Mark xiii, 10. This has quite generally been understood of the propagation of the Gospel, and the evangelization of all nations by the agencies of the Christian Church; and it is often said that more than half of the human race now existing have not heard of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Therefore "the end" here spoken of must be in the far future.

Surely, if such a preaching of the Gospel of the kingdom as will effect the thorough Christianizing of the world is here intended, "the end" was very far off from Jesus and his disciples; and how, with knowledge of such a future as awaited the Gospel in all lands of the habitable globe, Jesus could have said, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, This generation shall not pass until all these things be accomplished," is to us utterly inexplicable. But here again we have need to interpret Scripture by Scripture. May not the words here employed be capable of another interpretation, in strict accord with the usage of New Testament writers, and at the same time in strict harmony with the time-limit of this prophecy? The following passages ought to settle this question with all candid inquirers. According to Luke ii, 1, all this same world (*οἰκουμένη*) was enrolled by a decree of Augustus Cæsar. In Acts xi, 28, mention is made of a great famine "over all the world" in the days of Claudius. In Acts xvii, 6, Paul and Silas are spoken of as those who had "turned the world upside down:" and in Acts xxiv, 5, Paul is accused as being "a pest, and a mover of insurrections among all the Jews throughout the world." From these passages it is clear that the word *οἰκουμένη, world*, was commonly applied to the inhabited regions of the Roman Empire, [or to Judea] and this is conceded by all competent authorities.

The language of the parallel text in Mark (xiii, 10) is: "Unto all the nations first the Gospel must be preached," and here again we have New Testament usage to show the import of such a statement. In Col. i, 5, 6, the apostle speaks of "the word of the truth . . . which is come unto you; even as it is also in all the

world (ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ) it is bearing fruit, and increasing, as *it doth* in you also," and in verse 23 of the same chapter he says this Gospel was "preached in all creation, ἐν πάσῃ κτίσει, under the heaven." Here are terms more comprehensive in their nature than those used by our Lord, and yet they are applied to the preaching of the Gospel as it had already been done in the apostolic times. In explaining such terms, one must keep in mind the stand-point and usage of the sacred writers, and remember that "all the nations," and "all the world," did not mean to Galilean fishermen, or to learned Jewish rabbis, what they do to a modern reader, familiar every hour with telegraphic communications from remotest continents and islands.

If one ask why the Gospel must needs have been preached throughout the Roman world before the end of the Mosaic *cultus*, it may be answered, Because it was necessary that the new doctrine should be immovably established among men before the old *cultus* was shaken down, and made to pass away. The meaning of our Lord in this discourse was not that the world would be entirely converted to the new faith previously to "the end" of which he spoke. It was for a testimony, or evidence (μαρτύριον), to all the nations that a new light had come into the world. The conversion of the world, and the subduing of all things in it to the reign of Christ, was another and greater work, to be accomplished after the overthrow of Jerusalem, and the end of the Mosaic dispensation.

Nevertheless, it is urged, there are other terms employed by our Lord in this prophecy which forbid the reference of it all to the fall of Jerusalem and the temple. Chief among these is the much-abused and widely misunderstood phrase, "the end of the age." The common translation, "end of the world," has been a delusion to many readers of the English Bible, and this could hardly have been otherwise. But it is very strange that so many learned writers, who have properly translated and explained συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος, *consummation of the age*, should have paid so little regard to the question, What *age* is intended? They generally assume without question that the Gospel or Messianic age is meant. But, according to the whole trend of Gospel teaching, that age had not come when Jesus uttered this prophecy. It was only "near," or "at hand." The *consummation* or *end* of the age is equivalent to the Hebrew

phrase אַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים, *end of the days*, commonly rendered in the Septuagint by *αἱ ἔσχαται ἡμέραι, the last days*. Now, the uniform teaching of the New Testament is, that Christ's whole ministry fell in the end of the days, or last days of an *αἰών*, or age. But surely it was not in the end of the Messianic age; that age still stretches on into the indefinite future. It was toward the close of the Mosaic, Jewish, or pre-Messianic *eon*, and near the beginning of the Christian *eon*, that God brought life and immortality to light by the Gospel revelation. Accordingly, in Heb. ix, 26, we read: "Now, once, at the end of the ages (*ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων*), hath he been manifested to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself." So, too, in chapter i, 1, of the same epistle, "God . . . hath at the end of these days (*ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων*) spoken unto us in his Son." Peter also speaks of Christ as "foreknown before the foundation of the world (*κόσμου*), but manifested at the end of the times (*ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν χρόνων*) for your sake" (1 Pet. i, 20); and that Paul considered himself as living near the consummation of an *eon* appears from his words to the Corinthians: "These things happened unto them by way of example; and they were written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the ages (*τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰωνων*) are come." (1 Cor. x, 11.) If, now, Christ and his apostles lived and labored near the close of an *eon*, or of *eons*, it is obviously an error to represent them as living in an *eon* which had not yet fully opened in their day, and which they spoke of as about to come.

Here, then, arises a most important question in this discussion; namely, What was the end of the age of which Jesus spoke? *The age itself was the pre-Messianic*, as the passages just cited show; for the New Testament writers never represent themselves as in the first days, or the beginning of the age, but in its last days. At what point, then, are we to understand the end (*τὸ τέλος*)? Some have said, at the crucifixion, when Jesus said, Τετέλεσται, *It is finished:* others designate the resurrection of Jesus; a few fix upon his ascension; but many teach that the day of Pentecost was the transition point where we must fix the end of the old dispensation and the beginning of the new. To all these theories alike there are two fatal objections: 1. That they are irreconcilable with the statement of Jesus that the Gospel must be first preached unto all the nations

before the end; and 2. That the apostles, long after the day of Pentecost, represent themselves as living in the last days, and near the end of the age. It is a begging of the whole question, and a dogmatic assumption, to say, as Stuart does, that the last days in the New Testament denote "the period of the Christian dispensation," and, "like other appellations brought into use in a similar way (comp. Luke vii, 20), it continued to be employed after the *last days*, that is, the Christian dispensation, had commenced; and it is employed to designate any part of the time which this dispensation comprises." * Such a misuse of the phrase has no warrant in the New Testament, and the reference to Luke vii, 20, has no relevancy, for to John the Baptist the Messiah and his kingdom were yet to come. By the teaching of Christ and the gift of the Holy Spirit the disciples truly tasted of "the powers of the age to come." (Heb. vi, 5), but they recognized themselves as in the last times of an *eon* that was to be succeeded by the kingdom and glory of their Lord. At what point, then, shall we understand *the end?* Was there any great crisis to mark such a consummation, or any notable sign by which the end of the pre-Messianic age might be known?

Is it not strange that any careful student of our Lord's words should fail to understand his answer to this very question? The disciples asked, πότε, WHEN shall it be? Jesus proceeded to foretell a variety of things which they would live to see; he also foretold the horrors of the siege of Jerusalem, which we know to have been most accurately fulfilled; no prophecy of the downfall of the Jewish temple and metropolis could have been more explicit; but, having told them of all these things, he added: "When ye see these things coming to pass, know ye that it [or he] is nigh—at the door. Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away until all these things be accomplished." The ruin of the temple and its *cultus* was the great sign which marked the end of the pre-Messianic age.

But even in the face of these most positive utterances of our Lord, many writers have gone about to nullify the obvious meaning of the phrase "this generation" (ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη). Even if these words were of doubtful import, such parallel texts as the following would seem amply sufficient to determine it:

* *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 266. Andover, 1860.

"The Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels; and then shall he render unto every man according to his deeds. Verily I say unto you, There be some of them that stand here who shall not taste of death until they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom." (Matt. xvi, 27, 28; comp. Mark ix, 1; Luke ix, 27.) To suppose that two different comings are here intended is virtually to assume that our Lord was willing to confuse the minds of his disciples. What sensible teacher, desiring to make himself understood, would thus mix up statements of two events centuries apart. If Jesus meant thus sharply to distinguish between coming *in his glory* and coming *in his kingdom*, he might certainly have employed less ambiguous language. He is not careful to keep up such a distinction in Matt. xxv, 31, *ff.*, where he says that "when the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him," he will say to the righteous, "Come, inherit the *kingdom* prepared for you from the foundation of the world." So, too, in Luke xix, 11, *ff.*, when he would instruct certain ones who "supposed that the *kingdom* of God was immediately to appear," he indulged in no such fine-spun subtleties as that his *kingdom* and his *glory* were two distinct ideas, to be kept widely apart. Then, if ever, it would have been pertinent to have made such a distinction. But, as in the parable of the talents (Matt. xxv, 14–31), he admonished his disciples that his kingdom might be so delayed that it was of the first importance for them to improve the intervening time. We are slow to believe that any careful student, not influenced by preconceived dogma, would seriously suppose that Jesus, in Matt. xvi, 27, 28, contrasts two different comings, centuries apart. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that the disciples were so well informed of such a distinction as to understand which particular coming he meant when he said, according to Matt. x, 23: "Verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have finished (τελέσητε, *completed*, gone the round of) the cities of Israel until the Son of man be come."

The significations which, under the pressure of a dogmatic exigency, have been put upon the phrase "this generation," in Matt. xxiv, 34, and its parallels, must appear in the highest degree absurd to an unbiased critic. It has been explained as meaning the human race (Jerome), the Jewish race (Clarke,

Dorner, Auberlen), and the race of Christian believers (Chrysostom, Lange). But what a senseless platitude for any one, and especially for Jesus, to say: "The human race (or the Jewish nation, or Christian people) will not pass away until all these things be accomplished!" Who could ever be thought to have entertained a different opinion? The evident meaning of the word is seen in such texts as Matt. i, 17, xvii, 17, Acts xiv, 16, xv, 21 (by-gone generations, generations of old), and nothing in New Testament exegesis is capable of more convincing proof than that *γενεά* is the Greek equivalent of our word *generation*, that is, the mass or great body of people living at one period—the period of average life-time. Even in such passages as Matt. xi, 16, Luke xvi, 8, where the thought of a class of people is implied, the persons referred to are contemplated as contemporaries. Manifestly, the statement that "this generation shall not pass away until all these things be fulfilled," indicates substantially the same time-limit as the statement that "there are some standing here who shall not taste of death until they see the kingdom of God."

The word PAROUSIA is so constantly associated, in current dogmatics, with the ultimate goal of human history—the final crisis of the world, that ordinary readers lose sight of its simple meaning in the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament. The word means *presence* as opposed to *absence*. One of the best illustrations of its usage is seen in Philippians ii, 12: "So then, my beloved, even as ye have always obeyed, not as in my presence (*ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ μου*) only, but now much more in my absence (*ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ μου*), work out your own salvation with fear and trembling." But as the personal presence of any one implies a previous coming, so this word is not improperly rendered *coming* in many passages, and the verb *ἔρχομαι*, to *come*, is often employed to denote the appearance and kingdom of Christ. (Comp. Matt. xvi, 27, 28; xxiv, 30; xxv, 31, etc.) But to assume that the coming or the presence of Christ must needs be fleshly, or visible to mortal eyes, is to involve his doctrine in great confusion. Whatever the form or nature of his *parousia*, as taught in this prophetic discourse, our Lord unmistakably associates it with the destruction of the temple and city, which he represents as the signal termination of the pre-Messianic age. His coming in the clouds, accompanied by

the angels, darkening the heavens, and shaking the elements, are, as we have seen above, forms of speech borrowed from the Old Testament prophets. They are part and parcel of the genius of prophetic discourse, and are to be explained in the same way that we explain such forms of expression in Joel or in Isaiah. Why should the coming of the Son of man on the clouds, to execute judgment on that wicked generation, be understood or explained differently from Jehovah's "riding upon a swift cloud," and coming to execute judgment upon Egypt? (Isa. xix, 1.) The language of Matt. xxiv, 30, concerning "the Son of man coming in the clouds," is taken from Daniel's night vision (Dan. vii, 13), in which he saw the Son of man coming in the clouds to the "Ancient of Days," and receiving from him a kingdom and dominion and glory. The kingdom thus received was no other than the one symbolized by the stone cut out of the mountain (Dan. ii, 34, 35), which became a great mountain and filled all the earth. It is the same kingdom which Jesus compared to a grain of mustard seed, and to leaven. (Matt. xiii, 31–33.) It "comes not with observation" (Luke xvii, 20), so that men can point to it as a scenic display, and say, "Lo, it is yonder," or "Lo, it is here." Why insist, then, that the coming of the Son of man in the clouds must mean more on the lips of Jesus than in the writings of Daniel? It denotes in both places a sublime and glorious reality, the greatest event in human history, but not a natural phenomenon of such a character as to be a matter of display to the eyes of men. The Son of man came in heavenly power and glory to supplant Judaism by a better covenant, and to make the kingdoms of the world his own, and that *parousia* dates from the fall of the Jewish temple and metropolis.

We cannot see how human language is capable of making any thing more definite than Matt. xxiv, 29, does that the sign of the Son of man's coming in heaven would follow *immediately after* the unparalleled sufferings of the siege of Jerusalem. Jesus affirmed that the tribulation (θλίψις) of that time would surpass any thing of its kind ever known before or to occur thereafter (verse 21), and Josephus (*Wars*, Preface, 4) declares that, in his judgment, the misfortunes of all men from the beginning of time were scarcely equal to those of the Jews during this fearful war. The effort of some writers to get rid

of the obvious meaning and force of the word εὐθέως, *immediately*, is truly pitiable. Some have borrowed Luke xxi, 24 as a context, and assumed that the tribulation of Matt. xxiv, 29, is to be understood of a tribulation subsequent to the untold ages or times during which Jerusalem is to be trodden down of the Gentiles.* Facts or statements recorded in one gospel may, indeed, help us to understand difficult passages in another, and what is obscure in one writer is often made clear by the manner in which another presents it. But to appropriate a *context* from another book, especially for the purpose of changing the obvious import of an emphatic word, is not permissible. No reader of Matt. xxiv, unless beset by a preconceived opinion, would ever imagine that the "tribulation" of verse 29 was other than that of the whole preceding context, (verses 15–28;) and to interpolate a passage at a point where it would change the essential meaning, and make Matthew's record inconsistent with itself, is to treat that evangelist's intelligence with singular disrespect. Others have taken the word εὐθέως to mean *suddenly*. But how does this help the case? If the "tribulation of those days" refers to the tribulation of which the preceding context has been speaking, what boots it to say *suddenly*, rather than *immediately* after, the sun shall be darkened? To foist in the idea of another tribulation, which should come thousands of years later than the one of which the writer has been speaking, is a procedure too violent to be allowed by any careful exegete. Moreover, Mark's language expressly declares that the apocalyptic signs shall be "in those very days after that tribulation" (Mark xiii, 24), and all the gospels agree in affirming as the solemn words of Christ himself that all these things were to be accomplished before that generation passed away.

Those writers who find two different events in this prophecy lay great stress on the words, "of that day and hour no one knows, neither the angels of the heavens, nor the Son, but the Father only." (Matt. xxiv, 36; Mark xiii, 32.) This statement, however, in no way contravenes the time-limit named in the immediate context. The two statements must be taken together, and are simply these: 1) that all these things of which he had been speaking would be accomplished before

* See Whedon's Commentary on Matthew, p. 277.

that generation passed away, and 2) that the particular day and hour were unknown to any but the Father. To assume that *the day* and *hour* belong to a period ages later than the time of that generation is very much like accusing our Lord of solemn trifling. How does it essentially differ from saying: "All these things shall assuredly come to pass in the life-time of this generation, but the day and the hour may be thousands of years in the future! Watch ye, therefore, for ye know not what day your Lord is coming!!" No evangelical believer should be willing to attribute such prophesying to the Lord Jesus Christ. What he did say, and all that his words legitimately imply, may be stated thus: "I most solemnly assure you that all these things will occur before this generation shall have passed away, and I give you signs by which ye may know when the end is close upon you, but of the particular day and hour, it is not given me to make known. Therefore, it behooves you to watch and be ready at every hour."

The admonition to watch is emphasized in Matt. xxv by the three parables of the virgins, the talents, and the judgment. These additions are peculiar to Matthew's gospel, but they are all associated with the coming of the Son of man. In the last of the three the Great Teacher transcends the form of parable, and assumes the lofty style of didactic prophecy. This picture of divine judgment forms a magnificent and appropriate conclusion to the sermon on the Mount of Olives. The faithful student of Old Testament prophecy will not fail to recognize its analogy with Joel's picture of the assembling of all nations in the valley of Jehoshaphat. "There," said Jehovah, "will I sit to judge all the nations round about." (Joel iii, 11, 12; comp. Zech. xiv, 1–7.) How natural that our Lord, sitting on the mountain above the valley thus designated by the prophet, should have appropriated both the language and imagery of Joel. The connection of such a sublime portrayal of judgment with the overthrow of Jerusalem, and the opening of the new Messianic *eon*, was eminently appropriate. For by the principles of judgment here set forth the Son of man, to whom all judgment has been given, must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet. Matthew xxv, 31–46, is a most impressive picture of the administration of the Lord Jesus Christ, from the hour of the signal overthrow

of Judaism until he shall have delivered up the kingdom to the Father. (1 Cor. xv, 24.) We miss the true scriptural doctrine of judgment (מִשְׁפָּט, κρίσις) when we conceive it as confined to one last day, and consisting of a formal rehearsal of every act of human history before a tribunal at which the individuals of all nations and times are to be simultaneously assembled. The mediatorial reign of Christ may, indeed, appropriately end in some such sublime review, and this has been the common belief of the Church; but God is judge of the living as well as of the dead, and it is a grave fallacy of interpretation to represent "the day of the Lord," or "the day of judgment," as something deferred to the close of human history. The Old Testament doctrine is, that "the kingdom is Jehovah's, and he is ruler among the nations." (Psa. xxii, 28.) "Say among the nations, Jehovah reigneth; he shall judge the peoples with equity. He cometh, he cometh to judge the earth; he shall judge the world in righteousness, and the peoples in his truth." (Psa. xcvi, 10–13.) The Old Testament is full of such teaching, and the day of judgment for any wicked nation, city, or individual is the day on which the penal visitation falls. The judgment of God's saints is manifest in every signal event which magnifies goodness and condemns iniquity. This divine administration of the world, which in the Hebrew Scriptures is the work of Jehovah, is represented as now committed unto Christ. The Father has given him "authority to execute judgment, because he is the Son of man." (John v, 27.) This great truth was specially foretold in the prophecies of Messiah's work. (Isa. xi, 3–5; Dan. vii, 13, 14; Mic. iv, 3, 4.) The Son of man came in signal judgment upon the apostate nation when Jerusalem fell. That was the first conspicuous exhibition of his judicial work, and marked the crisis and end of the pre-Messianic age. The judgment scene of Matt. xxv, 31–46 should, therefore, be understood not of a single scene to be witnessed ages hence, but of a divine procedure which had its formal beginning at that crisis of dispensations, and is going on with the progress of the Messianic age. Christ is now King and Judge, but all things are not yet subjected to him, and he must reign until he shall have put all things in subjection under his feet. (1 Cor. xv, 25–27.)

We need not assume to say how far and in what manner Christ executes his judgments or gathers his elect by the ministry of angels. He who "makes the clouds his chariot, who walks upon the wings of the wind, making his angels winds, and his ministers a flame of fire" (Psa. civ, 3, 4, comp. Heb. i, 7), is imminently present in all the great crises of this world's history, and he makes his angels ministering spirits to serve such as are to inherit salvation. (Heb. i, 14.) Our Lord represented Lazarus as carried away (*ἀπενεχθῆναι*) by the angels into Abraham's bosom. (Luke xvi, 22.) But there is no warrant in Scripture for the notion that when the angels are sent forth on missions of mercy or of judgment their operations must needs be visible to mortal eyes. When the impious Herod Agrippa allowed himself to be honored as a god, "immediately an angel of God smote him, and, becoming eaten of worms, he breathed out his spirit." (Acts xii, 22, 23) Human eyes saw nothing but the curse of a foul disease, or a terrible plague; but Scripture sees back of it the potent ministry of a destroying angel. (Comp. Exod. xii, 23; 2 Sam. xxiv, 16.) So the visible *effects* of divine judgment were terribly manifest in the unparalleled miseries of Jerusalem. The righteous blood of unnumbered martyrs was visited upon that generation (Matt. xxiii, 35, 36); and where the Jewish historian saw and made record of appalling tribulation and woe, the word of prophecy discerned a "revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven, with the angels of his power [personal or natural] in flaming fire, rendering vengeance to them that know not God, and to them that obey not the Gospel." (2 Thess. i, 7, 8.)

The language of our Lord in Matt. xxiv, 40, 41, implies that his *parousia* would not involve the cessation of the human race on earth. THEN, said he (*τότε*, that is, at the time of the *παρουσία τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* mentioned in the verse immediately preceding), "there shall be two men in the field; one is taken and one is left; two women shall be grinding at the mill; one is taken and one is left." That this cannot naturally be understood of being *taken captive* (as A. Clarke, Wetstein, and others) is generally maintained by the best critics. It seems much more appropriately explained of the gathering of the elect mentioned in verse 31, and as referring to the same rapture of living saints as that of which Paul speaks in 1 Thess. iv,

16, 17; 1 Cor. xv, 51, 52. But this, as the apostle admonishes, is "a mystery." * (1 Cor. xv, 51.) The most obvious thought suggested is that of a translation to heaven without seeing death. That any such sudden translations occurred in that generation, or that any number of the saints who had fallen asleep were then raised up, we have no record or evidence outside of these prophecies themselves. But it is pertinent to ask whether this class of events, any more than the ministry of angels, was of a nature to be witnessed by mortals in the flesh? It was a special favor to Elisha that he was permitted to behold Elijah when the latter was taken up. (2 Kings ii, 9–12.) A similar favor enabled Elisha's servant to see the mountain full of horses and chariots of fire. (2 Kings vi, 17.) So there appears no sufficient reason to assume, as a matter of course, that if such supernatural events had occurred in connection with the fall of Jerusalem, they would necessarily have been witnessed and recorded by men. The nearest approach we have to a record of any such event is the statement of Matt. xxvii, 52, 53, that, at the time of Jesus's death and resurrection, "many bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep were raised, and, coming forth out of the tombs, they entered into the holy city, and appeared unto many." That was a most wonderful fact, but it was not a phenomenon recognized by the world of the living. Human history has made no note of it. No other one of the New Testament writers has made any allusion to it. But there is no shadow of evidence that the statement is an interpolation or a falsehood. Nothing but a dogmatic bias or prepossession stands in the way of accepting it according to its most obvious import. If it be true that such a remarkable resurrection of many saints occurred at the time of Jesus's resurrection, but made no sensation in the world, and received but one small notice in the Scripture, may it not be that other similar, or even greater, events took place at the time of that crisis of ages described in Matt. xxiv, 29–31? If that crisis came "immediately after the tribulation of those days," and before

* In the twenty-seven passages of the New Testament where this word (*μυστήριον*) occurs it always denotes some hidden thing, a mystic relation, or a spiritual truth, which, though withheld from the many, is yet made known to some. It never refers to physical phenomena, or to any thing perceptible to the natural senses of mankind. Hence the impropriety of assuming or implying that in 1 Cor. xv, 51, it must needs be a spectacle before the eyes of the world.

that generation passed away, as Jesus most solemnly affirmed, why should we insist that the supernatural events accompanying it must needs have been attested by men? Is it not quite possible that many prevalent conceptions of the resurrection and glorification of God's elect are too materialistic to be reconciled with a faithful interpretation of the Scripture? Is it so much harder to believe that God glorified many of his saints at the beginning of the gospel period than to believe that he will do so at the close of the present dispensation? Either opinion must be received by faith in the word of Scripture revelation.*

The American editor of Meyer's Commentary on Matthew (p. 435) opposes our interpretation of this prophecy with the following: "It strains the sense of the passage, especially verse 30, quite as much as the forced construction of *εὐθέως*, in verse 29. For, 1. The whole tenor of Scripture is against the thought that the second coming of Christ will be without the consciousness and knowledge of mankind. 2. To establish this interpretation, verse 30—'and they (all the tribes of the earth) shall see the Son of man coming'—must be taken wholly out of its obvious meaning. 3. In order to make this theory hold good, the formal judgments of the human race, described in chapter xxv, must be conceived as beginning with the fall of Jerusalem. (See chapter xxv, 31.) But the last verses of chapter xxv are a description of the closing scene which marks the end of the Messianic reign."

Taking these points in their order, we observe, 1. That our

* In Dr. Clarke's Commentary, *in loco*, we find the following rather suggestive note: "It is difficult to account for the transaction mentioned in verses 52 and 53. Some have thought that these two verses have been introduced into the text of Matthew from the Gospel of the Nazarenes. [The account is also found in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus.] Others think that the simple meaning is this: By the earthquake several bodies that had been buried were thrown up and exposed to view, and continued above ground till after Christ's resurrection, and were seen by many persons in the city. [Meyer favors this view, with the additional suggestion that this rending of the graves was afterward construed into a symbol of the general resurrection, and that at length the legend came to be accepted as an historical fact.] Why the graves should be opened on *Friday* and the bodies not be raised to life until the following Sunday is difficult to be conceived. *The place is extremely obscure.*" We think so; and therefore its value as either a proof or an illustration of any Christian doctrine is correspondingly small —*nil.*—EDITOR.

interpretation does not pretend that the *parousia* of Christ, spoken of in Matt. xxiv, is "without the consciousness and knowledge of mankind." On the contrary, it maintains that it was the greatest event in human history, the decisive crisis between the Old and New Testament dispensations. Where does our exegesis even suggest the idea that this coming was unknown to man? Like Christ's birth at Bethlehem, and his death on the cross, and his resurrection and ascension, it was, indeed, not known to the whole world at the time of its occurrence. The name of Christ is not thus known to the world now, and never has been since the Gospel first went forth from Jerusalem; but there is nothing in "the whole tenor of Scripture," nor in any particular text, which requires the belief that the *parousia*, any more than the crucifixion, is without the knowledge of men. What is affirmed is, that such supernatural events as the resurrection and translation of saints are not of a nature to be seen by the natural eye. What Scripture disproves this proposition? 2. As for the interpretation of verse 30, we think we have fully shown above that "its obvious meaning" will depend upon the hermeneutical principles we adopt. If the passage must be literally explained, then, of course, not only verse 30, but verses 29–31 must be pressed to yield their similar, obvious meaning. And then all the parallel passages of the prophets quoted above must be treated the same way, and the obvious meaning of Isa. xix, 1, will be, that when Jehovah rode into Egypt on a swift cloud all the Egyptians saw him with the naked eye, and their hearts literally "melted" and their idols "trembled at his presence." Again we ask the question, to which we have hitherto failed to get any reply: Why should the language of Isaiah and Ezekiel and Daniel, allowed by all the best exegetes to be metaphorical or symbolical as employed in the Hebrew Scriptures, be literally understood when quoted and used, as here, by the Lord Jesus? We know that an erroneous allegorical interpretation dominated the Church for a thousand years; may it not be that an opposite extreme of dogmatic literalism has been similarly misleading? Finally, 3. The judgment described in Matt. xxv, 31–46, while "beginning with the fall of Jerusalem," does not, according to our interpretation, end there, but continues necessarily until all things are subjected to Christ, and he deliv-

ers up the kingdom to the Father. How can it, then, exclude any scene either at the beginning or end of the Messianic reign?

We submit the foregoing exegesis to the candid judgment of thoughtful men. This Scripture has ever been recognized as beset with difficulties, and eminent divines in all the Churches have differed in opinion touching its meaning. We have aimed to show that most, if not all, of the difficulties arise from dogmatic prepossessions. He who under holy vows is "ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word"—who, with profound reverence for the Holy Scriptures, believes "that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith"—will not be content to let others do his thinking for him. He will prayerfully search for "the true understanding" of the divine word, allow fullest liberty in non-essentials, and condemn the requiring of any man to believe what God's word has not made unmistakably clear.

NOTE.—At the end of Matt. xxiv, Dr. Clarke, who finds the fulfillment of all its predictions in the destruction of Jerusalem, makes this general reflection: "The reader has no doubt observed in the preceding chapter a series of most striking and solemn predictions, [which were] fulfilled in a very literal, awful, and dreadful manner. Christ has foretold the ruin of the Jewish people and the destruction of their polity, and in such a circumstantial manner as none else could do but He under whose eye are all events, and in whose hands are the government and direction of all things. . . . And the fulfillment has been as circumstantial as the predictions." And Alford, as the end of chap. xxv, says: "Without raising any question respecting the doctrine of a future, general, simultaneous judgment of all men, with scenic and spectacular accompaniments, as it is supposed to be taught in later portions of Scripture, it may be safely averred that it is at least very questionable whether there is, in either of the three parables of chap. xxv, any reference to such an event."—EDITOR.

Art. III.—CHARLES LAMB'S ESSAYS.

Southey, writing to his friend Caroline Bowles concerning Charles Lamb's genius, said: "There are some reputations which will not keep, but Lamb's is not of that kind. His memory will retain its fragrance as long as the best spice that ever was expended upon one of the Pharaohs." In contrast with this high estimate of Lamb's literary work and of this strong faith in the indestructibility of his fame, stands the contemptuous opinion of the grim philosopher of Chelsea, who said of Lamb: "I saw him once; once I gradually felt to have been enough for me. Poor Lamb! Such a 'divine genius' you could find in the London world only." At another time, when the humor of Lamb's essays was praised in his hearing, he exclaimed, in a tone of ineffable contempt: "Humor! he has no humor. It was only a thin streak of cockney wit. I have known scores of Scotch moorland farmers who for *humor* could have blown Lamb to the zenith!" "The pictorial effect of this figure," says Mr. Wylie in his *Personal Reminiscences of Carlyle*, "delivered in a high Annandale key, especially when the speaker came to the last clause of the sentence, it is impossible for print to convey—the listener saw poor Lamb spinning off into space, propelled thither by the contemptuous kick of a lusty Dandie Dinmont, in hodden-gray, from the moors of Galloway or Ayrshire."

Lamb has been dead but little more than half a century. It is too soon, therefore, to determine whether Southey's prediction of the perpetuity of his fame will become a prophecy fulfilled, or whether the caprice of the reading public will finally imbibe Carlyle's scorn and blow the reputation of the gentle Elia "to the zenith." At present probabilities favor Southey's anticipations, since the popular demand in England for Lamb's writings is so pronounced that Mr. Alfred Ainger has recently edited a new edition of his works, and written a condensed sketch of his life for Mr. Morley's admirable series of biographies, "English Men of Letters." Mr. Ainger has enriched his edition of Lamb with numerous explanatory notes, which, says an English critic, "make capital reading, and tell us all we ought or want to know." These notes are aids to the enjoy-

ment of the essays, because they identify the persons hidden beneath manifold pseudonyms, elucidate their numerous and sometimes uncertain allusions and citations, and bring certain biographical details from their hiding-places into the light.* It is Mr. Ainger's purpose to annotate Lamb's very charming letters in like manner, and to publish them in a volume uniform with this edition of his works. The justification of this speculation, if speculation it can be called, is in the fact stated by a recent well-informed English writer, that "Lamb's popularity shows no signs of waning. Even that most extraordinary compound, the rising generation of readers, whose taste in literature is as erratic as it is pronounced, . . . the dogs of whose criticism, not yet full grown, will, when let loose, as some day they must be, cry havoc among established reputations—read their Lamb, letters as well as essays, with laughter and with love." It would appear, therefore, that at least another generation of readers will contribute to the falsification of Carlyle's opinion and to the fulfillment of Southey's prophecy.

Lamb's first literary ventures included a tragedy, a farce, the story of *Rosamund Gray*, several sonnets, and sundry miscellaneous poems. But though the poetic portions of these productions entitle him to a place among the minor poets of England, their merits are not such as would have, of themselves, preserved his memory from that greedy oblivion which remorselessly devours the names of the vast majority of writers. Of his tragedy *John Woodvil*, Mr. Taine says: "It is an archaic tragedy which we might fancy to have been written during Elizabeth's reign." His friend Coleridge called it "an over-imitation of the antique in style." The *Edinburgh Review* condemned it most unmercifully, and without fair discrimination. Kemble, then manager of Drury Lane Theater, declined it as unsuited to the stage. Nevertheless, though lacking in plot, in well-sustained dialogue, and in the individuality of its characters, the resemblance of its diction to that of the writers of the time of Shakespeare drew the attention of literary men to the half-forgotten excellencies of the old dramatists. It contained one or two passages, however, of such rare beauty that Godwin, the author of *Caleb Williams*, *Political Justice*, etc., supposed them to be borrowed from some unknown dramatist of Eliza-

* An American edition of these annotated volumes is in the market.

beth's time, and wrote him, inquiring who he might be. His farce, *Mr. H——*, was hissed from the stage, Lamb himself, with characteristic candor, indorsing the popular verdict by hissing with the rest. *Rosamund Gray*, though, as Shelley called it, "a lovely thing, characterized by exquisite delicacy of feeling, deep pathos, religious emotion," and by what Mr. Ainger very properly calls "an indefinable charm of style," is yet so improbable in its incidents, so incongruous in its parts, and so lacking in that thread of continuity which is essential to a well-constructed tale, that it indicated latent rather than developed genius. His poems and sonnets attracted the attention of Coleridge, Lloyd, Southey, and other distinguished men, but would scarcely have outlived his own time but for their association with his delightful essays, which, with his charming letters, bid fair, as stated above, to be the trumpeters of his reputation to posterity. Or, to cite the language of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, they form "the chief corner-stone in the small but classic temple of his fame."

These essays, most of which are known to all readers of English literature as the "Essays of Elia," contain the fruits of Lamb's early familiarity with such old English authors as the dramatists of Shakespeare's times, Jeremy Taylor, Sir Thomas Browne, Thomas Fuller, etc. It is supposed that he and his sister found such books as these in the library of Mr. Salt, who was their father's employer. Writing of her, he says: "She was tumbled early, by accident or design, into a spacious closet of good old English reading, without much selection or prohibition, and browsed at will upon that fair and wholesome pasturage." The thoughts absorbed and begotten by that miscellaneous reading, his impressions of the men and things he had met, his fantastic conceits, his shrewd observations on society, and the sad experiences of his own life were freely poured into his essays, making them a transcript of his singularly constituted self. Following the example of Sir Thomas Browne, who in this thing was an imitator of Montaigne, as well as of Addison, the prince of English essayists, Lamb wrote his essays in the first person, thereby giving them a somewhat egotistic aspect. But his egotism was not, like Montaigne's, the expression of offensive vanity, but only of a genial friend talking to you about matters of common interest, with a good-

natured familiarity which puts you at your ease and commands your confidence. In kindliness of temper Elia reminds one of the *Spectator*, as he does also in the quiet humor which exhales from every page like fragrance from flowers, and which, though rarely provoking a downright laugh, yet keeps the lips of an appreciative reader constantly rippling with smiles. Elia's genius was not creative like Addison's. Hence in his essays there is no such realistic embodiment of humor as the immortal Sir Roger de Coverley. Neither is there any thing so deeply thoughtful as Addison's essays on the "Immateriality of the Soul," on "Good Intentions," etc.; for though Elia had flashes of deep thought, he was neither a profound nor a continuous thinker. Continuity "teased" him, he said. To instruct, to moralize, or to reform society was not his aim. But he loved to ramble in the realm of his eccentric fancy, and to gather such facts and fictions, light jests, shrewd observations, and tender recollections as might, says Mrs. Oliphant, "transport his readers in a moment all unwittingly from laughter into weeping, and to play upon all the strings of their hearts." Hence the charm of his essays lies in the quaintness of his fancies, in the oddity of his phrases, in the tenderness of his pathos, in the perspicuity and variety of his style, in his humorous delineations of character, in occasional gleams of penetrative thought, in keen criticism, and in his power of graphic description. These qualities, animated by a sweet, gentle, and sometimes frolicsome spirit, make his essays delightful reading, not perhaps to general and superficial readers, but to such as have the sympathies and the tastes, intellectual and esthetic, necessary to the appreciation of their peculiarities.

Southey, notwithstanding his strong attachment to Lamb, objected to his essays that they lacked "sound (or *sane*, as Southey wrote) religious feeling." No candid admirer of our essayist can satisfactorily meet this objection of the poet further than to say that it is true of only a few of his papers. Lamb did not profess to be a religious man, as evangelical Protestants understand that phrase. In his early manhood, at the time he was stricken by the tragic event which shadowed his whole after life—the insanity of his sister and the sad death of his mother—he held the belief of the Unitarians, and wrote to Coleridge, saying: "God be praised, Coleridge, . . . that in the

midst of the terrible scene I preserved a tranquillity not of despair. Is it folly or sin in me to say that it was a religious principle that most supported me?" But a few years later we find him writing to his friend Walter Wilson: "I have had a time of seriousness, and I have known the importance and reality of a religious belief. Latterly I acknowledge much of my seriousness has gone off, . . . but I still retain at bottom a conviction of the truth and a certainty of the usefulness of religion." Beyond this conviction, which did not control either his feelings or conduct, Lamb never went. As Talfourd, his biographer, reluctantly confesses, Lamb lived in the present, striving to alleviate the great griefs of his sad life, not by seeking the rich consolations of a Christian faith and hope, which he so greatly needed, but by "living entirely in the present, enjoying with tremulous zest the scene, and making some genial but sad amends for wanting all the prospective of life by cleaving with fondness to its nearest objects." This determination to find relief from the unending sorrow occasioned by the constantly recurring insanity of his sister, in literary occupation, in the excitement of strong drink, and in the companionship of witty convivialists, begot in him a deep and abiding dread of death. Had this shrinking originated in a fear of what would come after death, it might have led him into the possession of that Christian feeling the absence of which, in his essays, Southey regrets. An illustration of this lack, and also of his unsound, not to say insane, treatment at times of religious themes, is to be found in the essay entitled *New Year's Eve.* In this paper, after giving strong and sinewy expression to his dread of dying, he closes with a reckless laugh at "those puling fears of death," and with a wild bacchanalian call "for another cup of wine." This odd admixture of levity with seriousness was probably the occasion, as it is the justification, of Southey's regret. It was indeed characteristic of Lamb in his convivial hours. Happily, however, it only appears occasionally in his essays. That it crops out in them at all every lover of the gentle Elia must join with Southey in regretting, seeing that it is the dead fly in a pot of precious ointment.

Coleridge, in his *Table Talk*, refers apologetically to a marked *moral* defect in Lamb's essays, especially conspicuous in the one *On the Artificial Comedy of the Last Century*, and in an-

other *On Some of the Old Actors.* In these papers, as in some others, though in lesser degree, he shows that tolerance of evil both in men and books which, says Sara Coleridge, "was so much remarked in Charles Lamb, and was in so good a man really remarkable." In the first of the essays just named, while admitting the immorality of the dramas of Wycherly and Congreve, he nevertheless advocates their occasional presentation on the stage on the flimsy plea that spectators, knowing the unreality of the characters before them, are not morally injured by the impure actions simulated and the vile sentiments uttered by the performers. It requires a very tolerant charity to concede that a man so acutely observant of men and things as Charles Lamb was, could really believe men and women could witness scenic representations of loose conduct and listen to impure dialogues without having their imaginations defiled and their hearts stimulated toward evil. Coleridge tries to excuse this sophistical plea by saying of its author, that "Nothing ever left a stain on the gentle creature's mind, which looked upon the degraded men and things around him like moonshine on a dunghill, which shines and takes no pollution. All things are shadows to him, except those which move his affections." This apology implies, that Lamb could sit as the spectator of an impure play with a mind so absorbed in its intellectual features, and in the archaic diction of its dialogue, as to be morally and emotionally insensible to those parts from which a truly good man's moral instincts naturally recoil with disgust. This, though scarcely credible, may be the philosophy of the fact in Lamb's case, seeing that he was a singularly constituted being. But men generally are not unconscious moonbeams, but creatures with passions and imaginations predisposed to evil, and cannot therefore voluntarily look on scenic representations of wickedness without absorbing its infection. Hence the Christian moralist, who appreciates the many excellences of Elia, cannot easily suppress a wish that his essay *On the Artificial Comedy* had never been written. The other essay named above is in its first part an admirable specimen of that Shakespearean criticism in which Lamb excelled; but its final paragraphs contain the same pernicious theory, and no sound moralist can approve them.

Talfourd says that Lamb "did not merely love his friends in

spite of their errors, but he loved them errors and all; *so near to him was every thing human.*" After this latter statement one might logically expect to find the philanthropic spirit breathing throughout Elia's essays. Yet it is not to be found in them at all, and Judge Talfourd affirms that "perhaps he had less sympathy with philanthropic schemers for the improvement of the world than with any other class of men." To unhappy *individuals* with whom he was brought into personal contact he was kind even to a fault, but the range of his affections, like the sphere in which he moved, was narrow. It comprehended individuals, not classes. He was humane, but not a humanitarian. We see this limitation in his essay entitled, *The Praise of Chimney Sweepers*, and also in one on *The Decay of Beggars in the Metropolis.* In the former he revels with frolicsome delight over the humorous side of the wretched lives of the child sweeps, whom he designates "dim specks, poor blots, innocent blacknesses," and describes an annual feast given them by his merry friend, James White, in London; but, unlike Sydney Smith in his essay on the same subject, he utters no protest against that heartlessness of society which suffered little boys to be subjected to the tortures inseparable from their daily task of ascending blindfold the crooked flues of soot-begrimed chimneys. He makes no plea for a law forbidding such unpardonable cruelty. Not that he is without sympathy with the unhappy little wretches. He looks upon them kindly. He seeks to stir like sympathies in the breast of his reader, saying to him, "If thou meetest one of these small gentry in thy early rambles, it is good to give him a penny. It is better to give him twopence. If it be starving weather, and to the proper troubles of his hard occupation a pair of kibed heels (no unusual accompaniment) be superadded, the demand on thy humanity will surely rise to a tester." This is the language of a kind heart stirred to feeling by the actual sight of individual suffering, but it is not the expression of a mind that sees humanity degraded in the subjugation of little children to such shocking treatment. Moreover, by making merry over the ludicrous side of the poor sweep's character, Lamb fails to call forth more than superficial sympathy with his woes. His humor did not ally itself to the broad aims of philanthropy.

In like manner, his essay *On the Decay of Beggars*, viewed

as a bit of humor, is exquisite. It clothes the mendicant in the robes of Harlequin, transmutes his rags into the toga of a freeman, and with unreasoning short-sightedness denounces the laws framed to prevent mendicity as edicts for the persecution of innocents! It is not, therefore, the utterance of a philanthropic mind seeking to reform and elevate humanity, but of a mind whose sense of the grotesque was stronger than its repugnance to a habit of vagrancy which was as demoralizing to those who adopted it as it was annoying to the community which permitted it.

But though these objections hold good against a few of his essays, yet, taken as a whole, they are as sound and healthful as they are entertaining. In a literary sense they are also profitable reading. If not deeply thoughtful, they yet quicken thought by their many suggestive observations. If they add little to one's stores of knowledge, they do nevertheless warm the imagination, mellow the sympathies, excite kindly affections, and give birth to pleasant emotions. They relieve the weary mind and beguile it into a condition of pleasant restfulness. Their spirit, now quaintly playful and then tenderly pathetic, is infectious, and he who once learns to appreciate their peculiar qualities never loses his relish for them. He turns to them again and again as Lamb's friends were wont to repeat their visits to his hospitable hearthside, seeking mental refreshment from his sprightly conversation, playful puns, and original observations.

Chief, perhaps, among his more serious essays is the *Confessions of a Drunkard.* As is too well known, poor Lamb was addicted to drinking; not, Talfourd assures us, because he loved the contents of the ale tankard or the spirit bottle, but partly because he fancied that "it lighted up his fading fancy, enriched his humor, and impelled the struggling thought or beautiful image into day;" partly because he sought amid the gloom of afflictions which environed him to "snatch a fearful joy;" and partly because, as at the commencement of the evil habit, he was moved by the tendencies of his constitution to inherited insanity, and by his struggles to overcome his native bashfulness and to control his stuttering tongue.

Of the effect of the intoxicating cup in setting Lamb's mental machinery in motion, Mr. Ainger, while admitting that it

sometimes stimulated him to talk brilliantly, testifies that it "often set free less lovable springs of fancy" within him. At such times he was perverse, contradictory, and discourteous. Then, says Mr. Patmore, one of his warmest admirers, "to those who did not know him . . . Lamb often passed for something between an imbecile, a brute, and a buffoon." It is indeed pitiful that so gifted and so generous a soul should have been enslaved to such a vice. Yet he certainly was so, though not so absolutely as to be completely wrecked by it. Perhaps it was because of this partial enslavement that he was able to write the terrible picture of a drunkard's struggle contained in his *Confessions of a Drunkard*. The iron hand of the merciless enchanter held him in its pitiless grip. He wrote, therefore, from experience, albeit he had not then tasted, nor did he ever taste, all the woes he so graphically describes in this famous essay. By what he did know himself, and by what he had seen in others, he was able to conceive of the agonies, the remorse, the imbecility, the buffoonery, which lie in wait for the slave of the wine-cup. Hence his essay is perhaps as strong a plea for total abstinence from strong drink as can be found in English literature.

Among the most touchingly beautiful but least humorous of these essays are the *Dream Children*, and *The Child Angel*. The former he calls a "revery," the latter "a dream." Both are remarkable for simplicity of statement and delicacy of feeling. Professor Shaw does not overpraise them in saying that they are "inexpressibly beautiful, and worthy of Jean Paul."

In *Grace before Meat* Lamb gives us a humorous satire on the irreverence involved in asking the divine blessing at a richly laden table while the thoughts of the hungry guests are more intent on the steaming viands than on Him whose approval they affect to crave. But for the doubt it casts on the propriety and duty of an ancient and beautiful Christian custom, this essay might be esteemed as a deserving rebuke of those to whom asking a blessing at the table is little else than a form of thankful speech which, not being begotten of gratitude, is irreverent mockery. In *Imperfect Sympathies* we have what Mr. Ainger designates that "famous analysis of Scotch character, perhaps the cleverest passage, in its union of fine ob-

servation and felicity of phrase, in the whole of Lamb's writings." It has also disquisitions on Jews and Quakers which, though less searching and brilliant, are excellent and diverting. Of Jews he says, with sly humor, "I have, *in the abstract*, no disrespect for the Jews." Concerning Quakers he says, "I love Quaker principles. It does me good for the rest of the day when I meet any of their people in my path. . . . But I cannot like the Quakers (as Desdemona would say) to live with them."

Among Lamb's most humorous essays must be reckoned that almost universally known bundle of incongruities called *A Dissertation upon Roast Pig.* Equally amusing, perhaps, though less grotesque in its humor, is his sketch of *Captain Jackson*, whose philosophy taught him, though "steeped in poverty up to the lips, to fancy himself all the while chin-deep in riches." His essay on *Modern Gallantry* is a sharp satire on men who, while conventionally polite to women of wealth and social standing, habitually treat poor women with contemptuous disrespect, thereby showing that they have not that genuine reverence for womanhood itself which breathes in the spirit of this essay.

He who would rightly appreciate these Essays as a whole should first read either those of them which are autobiographical, or Lamb's biography. As Mr. Ainger justly remarks, "It is the man, Charles Lamb, that contributes the enduring charm of his written words." And Lamb, while apparently intending to write for the amusement of his readers, has with seeming unconsciousness given them, at least in part, the story of his life in his essays. In *The Old Benchers of the Inner Temple*, for example, one finds a fine picture of the place of his birth, the law courts of London, where his father lived as the servant and clerk of one of the "benchers," named Samuel Salt, whom he delineates, as he does other leading barristers, with a graphic pen. Under the name of Lovell, he describes the remarkable character of his intelligent father with the pencil of an artist and the admiring affection of a son. In his *Recollections of Christ's Hospital*, and its sequel, *Christ's Hospital Five-and-Thirty Years Ago*, we see him at the school where he spent seven years acquiring the education by which his rare native qualities were developed, and where he began that friendship with the "inspired charity boy," Coleridge,

which had such an important influence on his own subsequent literary associations and pursuits, and where, despite the unfeeling nature of his boy associates, the severity and heartlessness of the school discipline, of his own stuttering speech and delicate frame, he won the sympathy of all, and the reputation of being a fair student and "a gentle and amiable boy." In *The South Sea House* we have a sketch of the house of trade where, at fifteen, he began his long career of clerkship in the companionship of one Evans, the cashier, who, he says, "was melancholy as a gib-cat over his counter;" of Thomas Tame, who "had the air and stoop of a nobleman;" of John Tipp, who thought "an accountant the greatest character in the world and himself the greatest accountant in it;" of Henry Man, the wit, the polished man of letters and the *author* of the South Sea House; also of "the obstreperous, rattling, rattle-headed Plumer." These characters with fictitious names were real personages whom he describes with the same unique skill in delineation which we find in *The Old Benchers.*

His essay entitled *My Relations* pretends to give a descriptive sketch of his cousin James Elia, but really contains a masterly analysis of his brother John's character. He calls him "an inexplicable cousin, made up of contradictory principles, the genuine child of impulse, the frigid philosopher of prudence. With always some fire-new project in his brain, he is the systematic opponent of innovation; . . . determined by his own sense in every thing, he commends *you* to the guidance of common sense on all occasions. With a touch of the eccentric in all which he does and says, he is only anxious that *you* should not commit yourself by doing any thing absurd or singular. He is as courageous as Charles of Sweden, upon instinct; chary of his person, upon principle, as a traveling Quaker." Rambling on in this style, he completes the portrait of his "broad, burly, jovial" brother, who was as selfish as he was plausible and pretentious of all the proprieties. In doing this he, insensibly, perhaps, made him an admirably drawn type of a class of men who persuade themselves that they possess all the virtues and all practical wisdom, but who are in reality the embodiments of an all-absorbing selfishness, of vanity so full-blown that it deludes them into a belief that their controlling vice is a splendid virtue!

Not many months after the death of this brother, Lamb wrote the *Dream Children*, mentioned above, in which, among other kind words, he says, "I bore his death, as I thought, pretty well at first, but afterward it haunted and haunted me; and though I did not cry and take it to heart as some do, and as I think he would have done if I had died, yet I missed him all day long, and knew not till then how much I had loved him. I missed his kindness, I missed his crossness, and I wished him alive again, to be quarreling with him—for we quarreled sometimes—rather than not have him again." To estimate these kind words aright, one needs to recollect that they were written of a brother who, though in affluent circumstances, had so shirked his filial and fraternal obligations as to leave Charles when in receipt of only a pitifully meager income to take sole care of their decrepit father and insane sister. Read in the light of this discreditable, not to say shameful, conduct of his selfish brother, the words become strong proof that his gentle spirit was a rich fountain of affectionate and forgiving kindness.

Mackery End in Hertfordshire, Blakesmoor in H—shire, and *Old China* also contain touching memories of his family connections and of his own life. Our space permits remark only on the last named essay, which is a delightful picture of himself and his sister. It describes him and his "Cousin Bridget," his *nom de plume* for Mary his sister, sitting at the tea-table drinking their "hyson" for the first time from a new set of China recently purchased. Having spoken to Bridget of the improvement in their circumstances which enabled them to buy this elegant set of china, that charming woman is made to say:

> I wish the good old times would come again, when we were not quite so rich. I do not mean that I want to be poor, but there was a middle state in which I am sure we were a great deal happier. A purchase is but a purchase, now that you have money enough and to spare. Formerly it used to be a triumph. When we coveted a cheap luxury—and O, how much ado I had to get you to consent in those times!—we were used to have a debate two or three days before, and to weigh the *for* and *against*, and think what we might spare it out of, and what saving we could hit upon that should be an equivalent. A thing was worth buying then, when we felt the money that we paid for it.
>
> Do you remember the brown suit which you made to hang upon you till all your friends cried shame upon you, it grew so

threadbare? and all because of that folio *Beaumont and Fletcher*, which you dragged home late at night from Baker's in Covent Garden? Do you remember how we eyed it for weeks before we made up our minds to the purchase, and had not come to a determination till it was near ten o'clock of the Saturday night when you set off from Islington fearing you should be too late—and when the old book-seller with some grumbling opened his shop and by the twinkling taper (for he was setting bedwards) lighted out the relic from his dusty treasures, and when you lugged it home wishing it were twice as cumbersome, and when you presented it to me, and when we were exploring the perfectness of it (*collating*, you called it), and while I was repairing some of the loose leaves with paste, which your patience would not suffer to be left till day-break—was there no pleasure in being a poor man? or can those neat, black clothes which you wear now and are so careful to keep brushed, since we have become rich and finical, give you half the honest vanity with which you flaunted it about in that overworn suit for four or five weeks longer than you should have done to pacify your conscience for the mighty sum of fifteen—or sixteen—shillings, was it? a great affair we thought it then, which you had lavished on the old folio. Now you can afford to buy any book that pleases you, but I do not see that you ever bring me home any nice old purchases now!

In this homely yet felicitous style Bridget pursues her story of the pleasures they formerly wrung out of their poverty, until the essayist finally tells us of his smiles at "the phantom of wealth which her dear imagination had conjured up out of a clear income of a poor—hundred pounds a year." In replying to Bridget, he shrewdly avoids contradicting her by saying, "It is true we were happier when we were poorer, but we were also younger, my cousin." He then suggests to her that their increasing age made competence more desirable, necessary even, than when they were younger and better able to endure the stress and self-denials of poverty. The whole essay is conceived in a delightful spirit. It is doubtless the substance of a real conversation, and though Lamb did not so intend, is pleasantly illustrative of that much-despised apothegm of the Master of wisdom which affirms, that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things he possesseth."

Taken together, these essays are unique in that they contain that combination of wit with pathos which constitutes true humor, and which, as before stated, is their principal but not their only charm. It is this quality which makes it tolerably certain that they will always have, if not a large circle

of readers, yet, as De Quincey predicted, a select few who, having first learned to admire what, in spite of his faults, was admirable in the man, will read his writings with pleasure, wondering how genius cramped as his was by the hard conditions of his life could have produced such an uncommon series of papers.

It is true that many other men of genius have fought their way to success through obstacles seemingly unsurmountable. But Lamb's environments were exceptionally unfavorable to literary pursuits. His father, though possessing a naturally vigorous mind, was only a barrister's servant. Hence Charles Lamb spent his childhood in circumstances which, but for the affectionate care of Mary, his intelligent sister, could have contributed very little to the awakening of his powers. When seven years old he became a scholar in the school of "Christ's Hospital," where he was handicapped by a peculiarly bashful nature, incurably stammering speech, a shambling gait, and an oddity of manner eminently fitted to make him the butt of his thoughtless school-fellows. Happily, however, his uncommon gentleness won them to treat him with kindness, and also moved his masters to grant him unusual indulgences, and to suffer his sister to watch over him as his ministering angel. Here he remained until he was fifteen, when, being unfitted for the Church because of the defect in his speech, he was compelled by the rules of the institution to quit it with a scarcely half-finished classical education. The needs of his family then made it necessary that he should begin to earn his own living by accepting a clerkship procured for him by his elder brother in the South Sea House. After a brief service in that establishment he secured a better position in the East India House. In his twenty-first year he was smitten with insanity, which was in the family blood, and spent six weeks "in a mad-house." Whether his madness was developed by disappointment in love, or whether it led to the termination of his courtship, is uncertain, albeit it is certain that from about this time he ceased to be the recognized lover of the "mild, fair-haired, blue-eyed" Alice who had held possession of his affections. The dissolution of his hope of taking her to wife wounded him deeply.

Scarcely had he recovered the right use of his reason before

his dear and only sister, Mary, was seized with a fit of madness in which she stabbed and killed her mother! It was in this tragic emergency that Lamb displayed the nobility of his nature. His brother insisted that Mary should be placed permanently in an insane asylum. The city authorities, in view of the violence of her mania, were also disposed to insist that this should be done. But Charles said, No! As a temporary patient it was absolutely necessary to place her in a hospital for treatment. But, though his salary was small, his father dependent upon him, and his selfish brother, John, refused to bear any part of the pecuniary burden, Charles resolutely assumed the care and support of his sister. This purpose required him to abandon all hope of marriage for himself, and the consecration of all his means and energies to Mary's well-being. It was a great sacrifice. Yet he made it cheerfully through the remaining thirty-eight years of his life, during which Mary's insane attacks never ceased to recur at brief intervals, though without the violence of the first. This self-forgetful brother provided for her and watched over her with unceasing tenderness. Her affliction was a terrible trial to both. They never left home together for a recreative journey without taking a strait-jacket in their trunk. As her attacks were generally preceded by premonitory symptoms, it was his habit, when they were coming on, to take her by the hand and lead her to an asylum for treatment; and one of their intimate friends speaks of meeting them one day walking hand in hand, weeping as they went, to the abode of mentally diseased persons. It is this fraternal devotion, never excelled by mortal man, which glorifies the character of Charles Lamb, which pleads with his readers not to judge him too severely for his unquestionable faults, but to think of him, if not with complacent, yet with pitiful, affection. Besides being plunged into deepest grief while she was absent from his solitary table, as she was so frequently for weeks together when under treatment, he was ever on the rack of cruel expectation when she was with him of a recurrence of the dreaded symptoms of a fresh attack. Without the least exaggeration, Mr. Talfourd called this "a life-long association as free from every alloy of selfishness, and as remarkable for moral beauty, as this world ever witnessed in brother and sister."

With these facts before him, and with the recollection that for more than thirty years Lamb's days were spent "a prisoner to the desk," which he calls being "chained to a galley thirty years," and that his humble home was much visited evenings by his literary friends and convivial associates, no man can read his essays, and his almost equally interesting letters, without wondering at that virility of genius which achieved so much under circumstances so exceptionally oppressive and disheartening. Neither can one review his sad life, disfigured as it was on one side by failings and faults which no Christian conscience can excuse, and glorified on the other by an unselfish fraternal affection which none but a churl can refuse to regard with unqualified admiration, without being reminded of the rich young Pharisee, of whom, though he refused to pay the price of discipleship, it is said that "Jesus, beholding him, loved him." In like manner, despite his faults, he who beholds Charles Lamb arrayed in the beauty of an unexcelled fraternal affection loves him, yet regretting, as Jesus did the young Pharisee's folly, the defects which marred his character.

Art. IV.—THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

The first Lutherans to settle in this country were emigrants from Holland, who about the year 1623 located in New Amsterdam, now New York. Being fewer in number than their Reformed fellow-countrymen, they were refused the presence of a Lutheran pastor, denied the privilege of holding a Lutheran service, and were variously persecuted for resisting the effort made to extort from them the promise to bring up their children in the Dordrecht faith. The fine for preaching a Lutheran sermon was £100, and that for attending a Lutheran service was £25. Their "conventicles" were broken up, and many were imprisoned.* They finally obtained full religious liberty in 1664, when the colony fell into the hands of the British.

In the year 1638 two ship-loads of Swedish Lutherans

* Broadhead's *History of New York*, vol. i, pp. 582, 617, 634, 642; also, *Documentary History of New York*, vol. iii, p. 103.

entered the Delaware, and took up their abode in and around Fort Christina, now Wilmington, Del. Here they immediately erected a house of worship, and enjoyed the ministrations of the Rev. Reorus Torkillus, who had accompanied them from Sweden. Their second pastor, Campanius, in 1649 translated Luther's Small Catechism into the language of the Delawares, and preached the Gospel to the Indians several years before John Eliot began his missionary labor in New England.

The tide of German emigration to this country set in about the year 1680, but we have no account of a German Lutheran congregation having been organized, or of a German Lutheran pastor, until 1703, when the Rev. Justus Falkner began to preach in Montgomery County, Pa. From 1708 to 1713 colonies of Lutherans settled along the Hudson, and organized congregations which still exist in Dutchess, Columbia, and Ulster Counties in the State of New York. During the first two or three decades of the eighteenth century, large numbers of Lutherans settled in Pennsylvania, principally along the Swatara and the Tulpehocken, and in and around Philadelphia. The spiritual destitution of these new-comers was so great that in 1733 they sent a deputation to Germany who reported themselves as being "in a land full of sects and heresy, without ministers and teachers, schools, churches, and books."

In 1734 a colony of refugees from Romish persecution in the Salzburg, with two ministers, settled on the Savannah, in Georgia; and a little later settlements of Lutherans began to be made in Virginia and North Carolina, and before the middle of the century a Lutheran Church had been organized as far north as Waldoborough, Maine. But these various communities of Lutherans were widely separated from each other, and had no bond of union except a common language and a common faith. With few exceptions they were alike destitute of the living ministry and of the means of grace, save as they had carried with them the Bible, the Catechism, the Hymnbook and Arndt's *True Christianity*, by which they still supported the glow of piety in their hearts.

The year 1742 opened a new era in the arrival of Dr. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, who is justly esteemed the Patriarch of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. This truly apostolic man, thoroughly educated, deeply imbued with

the spirit of Hallean pietism, and well endowed with administrative talent, traveled and labored incessantly for forty-five years, gathering together and preaching to the thousands of Lutherans whom he found in this land of his adoption. In the year 1748, when, so far as is now known, there were only eleven Lutheran ministers in the country, Mühlenberg, with five other pastors and a few laymen, organized the ministerium of Pennsylvania, which exists to-day with 238 ministers, 408 congregations, and 91,619 communicants. Still, for half a century or more the growth of the Lutheran Church was slow. Very few ministers came from the fatherland, and very few could be educated in this country; the use of the English language in the ministrations of the sanctuary was discouraged; and the young people who had not learned the German were advised by pastors and church-councils to connect themselves with the Episcopal Church, which at that time was regarded as the English *Lutheran* Church.*

As a result of these and of other untoward influences, at the opening of the nineteenth century there were less than 70 Lutheran ministers in the United States, and probably not more than 25,000 communicants, with no schools, with no periodicals, and with scarcely any preaching in the English language. Now and then a minister was educated in non-Lutheran institutions and by Lutheran pastors, but still the supply was inadequate, and the growth was so slow that by the year 1820 there were only 103 Lutheran ministers in the United States. In this year four of the five synods which then existed united in forming the General Synod. Two of these district synods soon withdrew from the General Synod, then again united with it, and finally withdrew again. But from the organizing of the General Synod rapid progress began to be made, as the following decennial exhibits plainly show:

Date.	Ministers.	Congregations.	Communicants.
1823	175	900	38,036
1833	337	1,017	59,358
1843	430	1,371	147,000
1853	900	1,750	200,000
1863	1,431	2,677	285,217
1873	2,309	4,115	485,085
1883	3,504	6,171	801,236

* The Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England are taken very largely from the Augsburg Confession, and its liturgy almost bodily from Lutheran liturgies.

This marvelous growth is due to organization, to the founding of institutions of learning, to the use of the press, to missionary activity, and the large foreign immigration; and yet it is estimated that only about two fifths of the foreign Lutherans landing on these shores ever find their way into connection with the Lutheran Church. Thousands of them enter the Churches of other denominations; but very many, perhaps well-nigh one half, bewildered and secularized by their new surroundings, both in our great cities and on the prairies of the West, become entirely indifferent to religion. But notwithstanding her many disadvantages and drawbacks, the Lutheran Church has come to be a recognized power in the land, and is destined to exert an important and far-reaching influence on the moral and religious future of the country, although it must be confessed that her efficiency for aggressive work is greatly diminished by her unfortunate divisions, which may be traced in part to resistance to the unwarranted and tyrannical measures employed by William III. and his subalterns to effect the "Prussian Union," but mainly to the fact that she is in new and strange environments of law, language, civilization, and religious life. Thus from sheer necessity she is forced to use several different languages in worship and in the conduct of her ecclesiastical affairs, in her institutions of learning, and the issues of the press—which bring about misunderstandings, and produce separations.

The *Evangelical Lutheran Church* is the common historical name and title of the four general Lutheran bodies in the United States;* and neither of these would arrogate to itself the attributive *evangelical* to the disparagement of the others; for as against Romanism, Deism, and Rationalism they all alike "believe, teach, and confess that the only rule and standard according to which all doctrines and teachers alike ought to be tried and judged is the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments alone." All alike acknowledge the three ecumenical creeds, and "reject all heresies and doctrines which, in opposition to these, have been introduced into the Church of God."† The differences, as will hereinafter

* All the statistics of this article are for the year 1886, except where otherwise stated.

† Form of Concord, Epitome and Sol. Dec.

appear, are those of relation to the Lutheran confessional writings of the sixteenth century.

The General Synod.

This body was organized at Hagerstown, Md., in the year 1820, with four synods. At first it had no doctrinal basis other than that of the word of God; but after a few years it adopted the Augsburg Confession in a modified form. Subject to various divisions and accretions it reached its greatest strength in 1860, when it numbered 864 ministers and 164,000 communicants, or "two thirds of the entire Lutheran Church in this country." In 1861 four synods in the Southern States withdrew in consequence of the civil war.* In 1866–68 five other synods withdrew for alleged confessional reasons, thus leaving the General Synod in 1869 with 572 ministers, and 86,770 communicants. Its present strength is 910 ministers, 1,449 congregations, 138,988 communicants. The secretaries of the different boards report receipts as follows for 1886: Foreign Missions, $43,222 78, with "eleven American missionaries, assisted by 110 native Christian men who devote all their time and labor, as evangelists and preachers, to the work of publishing the Gospel to their brethren who are still in spiritual darkness." "Besides these, 130 others are engaged in teaching schools in which Bible instruction forms a prominent part." Home Missions, $35,360 95, with 98 missionaries. Beneficiary Education, $14,005 20. Church Extension from May 1, 1885, to December 31, 1886, $44,653 58.

The confessional basis of the General Synod "as amended and declared adopted" in 1869 is: "We receive and hold, with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of our fathers, the word of God as contained in the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine word, and of the faith of our Church founded upon that word."

* In 1863 these Southern synods formed themselves into a new General Synod, giving as their reasons for such action: 1. Difference from the Northern brethren "not only in politics, but in moral and Christian instruction;" 2. The war carried on with "the spirit of demons;" 3. The new political conditions; 4. Impropriety of meddling as a Church with slavery. 5. "To promote the interests of our Zion in these Confederate States."

It will thus be seen that the General Synod seeks to plant herself squarely on the confessional foundation occupied by Luther and Melanchthon when the Church was called into being by the reading of the Augsburg Confession, June 25, 1530. But while striving to maintain purity of doctrine and the orderly administration of the sacraments, and being duly conscious of her own identity, she nevertheless makes fraternal recognition of other evangelical Christians in the matter of preaching the Gospel and in the common participation of the eucharist.

The General Council.

This body began its organization at Reading, Pa., in 1866, and completed it at Fort Wayne, Ind., in 1867, with eleven synods in full membership. Its strength at that time was 538 ministers, 1,030 congregations, 133,296 communicants. Since that time several synods have withdrawn and two have been added. At present the General Council is composed of nine synods in organic connection, and of two others which enjoy the privilege of debate, but are unwilling to unite. The Rev. John Nicum, secretary of the body, furnishes for this article the following statistics of the General Council, including the two synods in anomalous relation: 1,055 ministers, 1,907 congregations, 285,261 communicants, with 530 parochial schools and 25,000 pupils; $30,444 59 for Home Missions, with 114 missionary pastors; $18,162 22 for Foreign Missions, with five foreign missionaries, two native pastors, and 1,900 baptized Christians in India; $16,228 for Emigrant Mission; $17,891 62 for Church Extension; $58,232 15 for Beneficiary Education, nearly all of which was expended in educating young men for the ministry. The confessional basis of the General Council is as follows:

We accept and acknowledge the doctrines of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in its original sense, as throughout in comformity with the pure truth of which God's word is the only rule. We accept its statements of truth as in perfect accordance with the canonical Scriptures. We reject the errors it condemns, and we believe that all which it commits to the liberty of the Church of right belongs to that liberty.

In thus formally accepting and acknowledging the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, we declare our conviction that the other Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, inasmuch as they set forth none other than its system of doctrine and arti-

cles of faith, are of necessity pure and scriptural. Pre-eminent among such accordant, pure, and scriptural statements of doctrine, by their intrinsic excellence, by the great and necessary ends for which they were prepared, by their historical position, and the general judgment of the Church, are these: The Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Schmalcald Articles, the Catechisms of Luther, and the Formula of Concord, all of which are with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, in the perfect harmony of one and the same scriptural faith.*

In subscribing the Book of Concord as her doctrinal basis the General Council uses the following language: "That Confessions may be such a testimony of unity and bonds of union, they must be accepted in every statement of doctrine in their own true, native, original, and only sense. Those who set them forth and subscribe them must not only agree to use the same words, but must use and understand those words in one and the same sense;" and because the General Council feels convinced that her doctrinal basis is "of necessity pure and scriptural," and therefore that all who deviate from that basis are so far in error; and because she believes it to be her duty not only to confess the truth, but to protest against error, she has promulgated "THE RULE: Lutheran pulpits are for Lutheran ministers only. Lutheran altars are for Lutheran communicants only." "*The exceptions* to the rule belong to the sphere of *privilege*, not of *right*." It is proper, however, to say that as a matter of fact, especially with the English-speaking portion of the General Council, the "*exceptions*" to the "Rule" are of frequent occurrence.

THE SYNODICAL CONFERENCE, OR "MISSOURIANS."

In the year 1838 a colony of seven hundred Lutherans from Germany, with six ministers and four candidates, settled

* The symbolical writings above mentioned, together with the three Ecumenical Creeds, were first published in one volume in 1580, and are styled in German *Die Symbolische Bücher;* in Latin, *Libri Symbolici* (often simply *Concordia*); in English, *The Book of Concord; or, The Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.* The Lutheran Church gives the first place to the Ecumenical Creeds, and thereby identifies herself with the Church Catholic of all ages. The other symbolical writings contained in the Book of Concord are *distinguishing*, that is, they distinguish the Lutheran Church from other Protestant Churches. The book as a whole has had such general (though not universal) *official* recognition in the Church that its statements must be regarded as decisive of what constitutes the historical Lutheran faith.

in Perry County, Mo. They were soon joined by others, and were variously assisted from the fatherland. In 1847 fifteen ministers and twelve congregations organized their first synod in Chicago, Ill. They are now scattered over a large portion of the United States, but are most familiarly known among Lutherans as "The Missourians." Their missionary zeal and educational activity mark them as worthy of all honor, and the results they achieve, considering their limited financial resources, are the marvel of all who observe them. From a handful, and all poor, in a little more than one generation they have grown into a body that now numbers 1,094 ministers, 2,006 congregations, 297,631 communicants, with eight colleges and three theological seminaries, all ably manned and well supplied with students. Rev. Henry Walker, an expert statistician among them, furnishes the following items for this article: 637 parochial school-teachers, nearly all of whom are graduates of the Teachers' College at Addison, Ill., and who make teaching their life-work, with 64,823 pupils in parochial schools; 100 missionaries, six of whom labor among the Negroes of the South, and one among the Jews of New York; $60,000 expended on Home Missions during the two years ending with June, 1885. "They also publish thirteen papers and periodicals, support ten orphans' homes and eleemosynary institutions, and are building about seventy-five new churches annually." Their seminary at St. Louis cost $200,000, has six professors, and 90 to 100 students every year.

The doctrinal basis of the Synodical Conference is:

> The Synodical Conference acknowledges the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as God's word, and the Confession of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of 1580, called "the Concordia," as its own.

Following is the ordination vow of the Synodical Conference:

> I confess the three ecumenical symbols of the Church, the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and its Apology, the Schmalcald Articles, the two Catechisms of Luther and the Form of Concord as a true, unadulterated explanation and statement of God's word and will; I confess these as my own confessions, and will, so long as I live, exercise my office faithfully and diligently according to them. So help me God by his Holy Spirit.

The Missourians, who use the German language almost exclusively in worship and in all the services of the sanctuary, have no pulpit-and-altar fellowship with other Christians.

The United Synod of the South.

The General Synod of the South, which was organized during the war, was dissolved June 28, 1886, and immediately *merged* into "The United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South," which had been organized two days previous, and contains 180 ministers, 360 congregations, and 29,683 communicants. No report of home or foreign missionary work has yet been made.

The confessional basis of the United Synod of the South is substantially identical with that of the General Council, inasmuch as it accepts the word of God as the rule of faith, and all the symbolical books as "in the perfect harmony of one and the same pure, scriptural faith."

The Independent Synods.

There are in this country twelve independent Lutheran synods, which, with a few independent pastors and churches, number 813 ministers, 1,923 congregations, and 206,120 communicants. All these are more or less active in missionary, educational, and eleemosynary work, but no reliable statistics have been furnished on these items apart from the general summaries given below. All these independent synods are characterized by strict confessional tendency, but it would be difficult to state wherein they differ one from another.

General Summaries

of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States: Ministers, 4,052; congregations, 7,645; communicants, 955,683. There are 19 theological seminaries, with 55 professors, 653 students, and 50,395 volumes in their libraries; 26 colleges, with 177 professors and teachers, 2,627 students, and 104,800 volumes in their libraries; 27 classical academies, with 2,108 students; 47 eleemosynary institutions cared for 34,686 persons from September, 1885, to September, 1886, and from their founding (most of them within the last eight years) to the present time they have cared for 136,699 persons (25 not report-

ing this item). There are 134 periodicals, conducted in seven languages, only 42 being in English, as that language, indeed, represents less than one third of the Lutherans in this country. But there is harmony so far between those who use the English language that the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod of the South are at this time engaged in the joint preparation of a common liturgy according to the models of the sixteenth century, to be used by all three bodies as the authorized liturgy of each. This may be the harbinger of union; yet it must be added that even the most sanguine and hopeful cannot now see any very encouraging signs of a union near at hand, although no doctrinal controversy rages at this time as between any of the general bodies.

Remarks.

1. Each of the general bodies of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States (and the same may be said of all the independent synods) stands squarely on the inspired word of God as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and on the Augsburg Confession of 1530 as a correct exhibition of the principal doctrines of the rule; that is, the Lutheran Church is thoroughly conservative, and stands committed against Romanism, Rationalism, and the "New Theology."

2. Three of the general bodies accept as confessional basis the entire volume * of symbolical writings, and two of them are very precise and exacting in their terms of subscription.

3. True to her historical antecedents, the Lutheran Church in this country is paying great attention to education, though it is proper to add that as yet her institutions of learning are but feebly endowed — owing largely to the comparative poverty of her people, the majority of whom have not been long enough in this country to accumulate beyond the current needs of the congregation and the steady demands for missions and beneficiary education.

4. Her missionary activity (which is not represented by

* It has been objected sometimes that the Lutheran symbols are too numerous (seven in all) and too voluminous. They are few in number and small in volume as compared with the Reformed creeds; and, notwithstanding her divisions, there is more real confessional harmony in the Lutheran Church than there is in the Reformed Church, which stands over against her as the other part of [original] Protestantism.

large sums of money) is confined mainly to the work at home. This arises from the fact that she feels bound to take care of and supply the bread of life to her own children, whom Providence is landing on these shores by thousands every year.

5. She makes ample provision (perhaps more than any other Protestant Church in America) for the orphan, the blind, the aged, the needy of her own communion, expending very large sums of money annually in the erection and support of eleemosynary institutions.

Distinctive Doctrines.*

This article would be wholly incomplete, and would fail utterly to accomplish its end, did it not contain a comprehensive statement of the leading doctrines by which the Evangelical Lutheran Church establishes her identity and justifies her separate ecclesiastical existence.

The Cause of Redemption.

Here the Lutheran system stands in sharp contrast with the Calvinistic, which bases salvation on the decrees of God, who seeks thereby to manifest his perfections; that is, makes himself the ultimate object of his decree.† In the Lutheran sys-

* Two reasons may be given why the doctrines of the Lutheran Church have not been better understood in this country: 1. Until recently the scarcity of distinctive Lutheran literature in English, the Symbolical Books even being in German and Latin. 2. Writers on Lutheran doctrines have generally taken their materials at second hand from the polemical discussions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Augsburg Confession, Luther's Small Catechism, and the Form of Concord are in Dr. Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom.*

† "In the relation of God to man Calvinism presents the idea of the divine sovereignty as the principle of the system, all from God in an analytic method. This is the fundamental characteristic which is carried out in predestination and reprobation."—*Introduction to Christian Theology,* p. 64, by Prof. Henry B. Smith. "The Supralapsarians maintain that God, in forming his decree, first consulted the manifestation of his justice and mercy in saving some and condemning others of the human race; that all his decrees were designed to promote this end, and are to be regarded as means to its accomplishment; and that the last of these means was the gift of his Son as Redeemer to some, that is, to the elect, all the others being absolutely destined to destruction, and therefore reprobate. But, in order that man might be in a condition to illustrate the mercy and justice of God in his salvation or in his final ruin, in other words, in order that his decree to manifest these perfections might thus take effect, they say that God decreed that he should

tem salvation has its cause in the goodness and love of God, and for its end the beatification of man; that is, God had compassion on fallen man, and seeks to save him from his lost and ruined condition.

The prime cause of our salvation is the immense pity and grace of God, which in this place is not considered as an attribute or essential quality of God (that belongs to *theologia* proper), but in the matter of our salvation as the prime and supreme cause, the fountain, the source of all those things which have reference to the procuring of our salvation.*

The internal impelling cause is the goodness of God, especially if you consider the blessedness to be conferred on the sinner. That benignant favor of God toward sinners by which he is moved to procure their salvation is called *the mercy, the love, the goodness of God.* †

This fundamental distinction runs through and through the two systems, the one making every thing center in God, or, rather, deducing the whole system from God's decree to manifest his justice and mercy through the decreed fall and ruin of man; the other treats every separate topic from the stand-point of man's condition and needs: the one views Christ even as a "means" for executing the primary decree; the other looks upon Christ as the pledge and proof of the great love wherewith God loved us: the one regards the sacraments as signs and seals of a redemption already accomplished in and for the individual; the other holds the sacraments to be efficacious means of grace through which the Holy Spirit gives the power to believe, and bestows upon the individual the merit and righteousness of Christ.

Sin.

In opposition to the Pelagian, the semi-Pelagian, and the low Arminian, but in harmony with the Calvinist, the Lutheran system emphasizes the *total depravity* of man; by which is meant "that original sin is not a superficial, but so deep a corruption of human nature that nothing sound or uncorrupt

fall, and that by the fall he should become miserable; and that in order to bring this about he decreed to call him into being, so that his creation might prepare the way for his fall, and his creation and fall afford an opportunity for the manifestation of his mercy in saving some, and of his justice in condemning others of his posterity."—*System of Theology*, Venema, p. 308.

* Quenstedt, *System of Theology.* † Baier's *Compend.*

remains in the body or soul of man, his internal and external powers; according to one of the hymns of the Church:

> "'This human frame, this soul, this all,
> Is all corrupt through Adam's fall.'" *

The standard definition of original sin is: The want of original righteousness; that is, the loss of light in the mind, the aversion of the will from God, hardness of heart. This total depravity is hereditary, that is, entailed by inheriting the corrupt nature of Adam. The Confession says: †

> Since the fall of Adam all men who are naturally engendered are conceived and born in sin; that is, they are all from their mother's womb full of evil desires and propensities, and can have by nature no true fear of God, no true faith in God; and that this innate disease or original sin is truly sin, which brings all those under the eternal wrath of God who are not born again by baptism and the Holy Spirit. . . . Evil lust and the want of original righteousness are sin and punishment. This hereditary evil is guilt, insomuch that all men, in consequence of the disobedience of Adam, are subject to the displeasure of God.‡

The Lutheran Church takes very little account of the theory of immediate imputation. Melanchthon, after giving and fortifying his definition of original sin, as the want of original righteousness, says: "If any one wishes to add imputation, I make no objection." Hence the guilt of original sin, or *reatus*, arises not primarily from man's federal relation to God, but from his natural relation, or rather from his present depraved condition in consequence of his descent from a depraved head whose nature he has inherited. And when the Confession says that this original sin belongs to all men "who are naturally engendered" it means to except Christ, "who was conceived of the Holy Ghost."

Predestination and Election.

Here the Lutheran system comes into sharpest antithesis with the Calvinistic. Gerhard, the greatest of post-Reformation Lutheran theologians, says:

> To this doctrine (the absolute decree) we oppose the gracious will of God, by which he seriously seeks the conversion and sal-

* Form of Concord, Epitome. † Augsburg Confession, Art. II.
‡ Apology and Form of Concord.

vation of all, which gracious will the Scripture attests with *words;* Christ, with *tears;* God himself, with an *oath.*" *

Predestination and election have no place in the earlier Lutheran Confessions, as they were not a subject of controversy with the Romanists and not a matter of dispute as between the Lutheran theologians themselves. Hence when they discuss the subject of God's foreknowledge and election in Article XI of the Form of Concord (1580), it is wholly with reference to the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination and election, the opposition to which reached its climax in the Saxon Visitation Articles of 1592, in which it is said:

> That Christ died for all men, and, as the Lamb of God, took away the sins of the whole world. . . . That God created no man for condemnation.

The Lutheran creed, the Form of Concord, distinguishes between the *Præscientia* and the *Prædestinatio* of God. The former "pertains alike to the good and to the evil, but is not the cause of sin, . . . nor is it the cause of the destruction of man. But predestination, or the eternal election of God, pertains to the good and beloved children of God alone, and is the cause of their salvation." †

The Lutheran view may be summed up in these two propositions: Salvation is due solely to the *mercy* of God; damnation, solely to the *guilt* of man. But the Lutheran does not hold that his teaching on this profound and mysterious subject is necessarily free from difficulties. He accepts what he finds

* There can be no doubt but that in early life both Luther and Melanchthon entertained Augustinian views of absolute predestination, as is evinced in the Reply to Erasmus on the Will, and in the first edition of the *Loci* (1521); but absolute predestination being fundamentally at variance with Luther's view of the love of God and of the cause of salvation, it could not and did not form the center of the system. Both Luther and Melanchthon gradually let it slide into the background, and in the later editions of the *Loci* not only does Melanchthon abandon it, but he proclaims the universality of the promise of grace, and declares that "the cause of election is mercy in the will of God." September 30, 1530, he wrote to Brentz: "In the entire Apology I avoided that long and inexplicable dispute about predestination. Every-where I speak as if predestination follows faith and works. And I do this with a distinct purpose; I do not wish to disturb consciences by these inexplicable labyrinths."

† Reprobation finds no place either in the creeds or in the theology of the Lutheran Church—it is utterly rejected as "false, odious, and blasphemous." In the Calvinistic system "the other special name given to predestination is *reprobation.*"—*Venema*, p. 297.

plainly revealed in God's word, and gives himself but little concern with the alleged logical inconsistencies. "Avoiding all refined, curious, and useless speculations and questions," he declares that "this predestination of God is not to be sought out in God's secret counsel, but in the word of God, in which it is revealed."*

Free-will.

With the Calvinist, but historically before him, the Lutheran Church recognizes the absolute sovereignty of God; with the Arminian, but likewise historically before him, she recognizes the freedom of the human will. To reconcile these antinomies she makes no attempt. She accepts both as ultimate facts — the one as revealed in the infallible word, the other as given in consciousness. Her doctrine of the will is not that it is not metaphysically free, but that it is *impotent* in consequence of a darkened understanding and of a corrupt heart, as the result of sin. Man can do works of civil righteousness, but he cannot do the will of God, because he does not know the will of God and does not have the love of God in his heart. This also is sin. In consequence of this moral and spiritual inability man can neither originate, nor of his own power carry forward, any work pertaining to his salvation. As pertaining to God, he can originate and carry forward only that which is evil.† Nor can he co-operate with God by reason of his natural powers and gifts. All this is confessionally stated as follows:

Concerning free-will it is taught that, to some extent, man has freedom of will to lead a life outwardly honest, and to choose between things which reason comprehends. . . . We acknowledge that in all men there is free-will, for they all, indeed, have natural

* Form of Concord, Art. XI. This unquestionably was the position of Luther and Melanchthon long before the doctrine found confessional statement in the Form of Concord. Melanchthon wrote in the *Loci:* "We must form our judgment of election not from reason and the law, but from the Gospel." And Luther, while not formally abandoning the views expressed against Erasmus in 1525, and even admitting that there is for us a contradiction between the secret and revealed will of God (see Köstlin, *Luther's Theologie*, ii, p. 328), nevertheless maintained that God calls all to repentance and salvation, and says: "God must be looked at as he has revealed himself."

† Luther (Com. in Gen. chap. vi, 5), 1544, declared as the "final sentiment and conclusion on Free-will . . . that man without the Holy Spirit is evil, that whatever he does without the Holy Spirit or faith is condemned before God, because man's heart and thoughts are depraved."

connate understanding and reason; not that they are able to act in things pertaining to God, such as to love and fear God from the heart, but only in external works of this life have they freedom to choose good and evil.*

When the Holy Spirit has commenced this work of regeneration and renewal in us, through the word and the holy sacraments, then assuredly we can and should co-operate through the power of the Holy Ghost, although still in great weakness. But this co-operation results, not from our natural and carnal powers, but from the new powers and gifts which the Holy Spirit originated in us in conversion. The new birth, the inward change of heart, mind, and disposition, are works of the Holy Spirit alone.†

All this is in sharp contrast with Pelagianism, and with every form of synergism which would attribute any of the glory of our salvation to the operation or to the co-operation of the natural ability of man; it is equally opposed to the theory of necessity, for it recognizes man's responsibility for his moral conduct and for his attitude toward the operations of the Holy Ghost through the means of grace. The whole is comprehensively summed up by Melanchthon in the Apology:

> Admitting that we are capable of performing external works, we still affirm that the free-will and reason of man have no ability *in spiritual things;* that is, truly to believe in God and confidently to trust that he is near us, that he hears us, forgives our sin, etc.

Soteriology.

The soteriology of a Church may be inferred from her view of the person and work of Christ. Here the Evangelical Lutheran Church, both in the re-affirmation of the ecumenical creeds and in the clear and emphatic testimony of her own peculiar symbols, maintains the perfect deity and the perfect humanity of Christ—true God begotten of the Father from eternity, and also true man born of the Virgin Mary—in personal union subsisting, and constituting the one Theanthropos, whose two natures, the divine and the human, are forever and inseparably conjoined, so that wherever the one is there of necessity the other must be.‡

* Augsburg Confession, Art. XVIII. † Form of Concord.

‡ It has been charged that the Lutheran doctrine of the person of Christ, especially the omnipresence of the human nature of Christ by virtue of the personal union with the divine, was invented to sustain the Lutheran doctrine of the Real Presence. The fact is, that the doctrines of the Real Presence and of the person of Christ had received both confessional and dogmatic statement in the

It is taught, likewise, that God the Son became man, and was born of the blessed Virgin Mary; and that the two natures, human and divine, inseparably united in one person, are one Christ, who is true God and man, who was really born, who truly suffered, was crucified, died, and was buried, that he might be a sacrifice, not only for original sin, but also for all other sins, and might appease the wrath of God.*

But no Lutheran creed contains a theory of the atonement, although the whole Lutheran system magnifies the blood of Christ, and has always combated Socinianism.

As a result of the personal union, the Lutheran theology, both confessional and dogmatic, strictly maintains the *communicatio idiomatum*, of which there are three kinds: First, "The communication of attributes; that in which the properties of the natures are ascribed to the whole person. Thus it is said: God suffered, the Son of God was born of a woman, the Son of Mary was before Abraham, Christ created all things." † Second, "That in which, on account of the personal union, divine majesty, honor, and power are ascribed to the human nature — *omnipotence, omniscience, power to give life, power to forgive sin and execute judgment, the honor of worship, omnipresence*—all of which have been given to Christ according to his human nature, as according to his divine nature he possesses all things." ‡ Third, "That in which the works of his office are ascribed to Christ, not according to one nature only, but according to both natures. Thus Christ is called our Mediator, Prophet, High-priest, Redeemer, Saviour, King, Lord, etc.;" by which it is meant that "each nature in Christ performs what is *proper* to itself in *communion* with the other." §

The whole idea is, that Christ redeems us and performs all the works of his office according to both the divine and human natures. He must be true man in order that he may truly suffer and die. He must be true God in order to bear the sins of the whole world, to sustain the wrath of God, to satisfy divine justice, to overcome death, hell, and the devil, and to merit everlasting righteousness for his people.

Lutheran Church long before Chemnitz wrote his great work, *The Two Natures of Christ*, in which he simply developed and gave scientific statement and form to the Chalcedonic Symbol of 451.

* Augsburg Confession, Art. III.

† Dietrich's Catechism, 1613.

‡ Dietrich, *ut supra.*

§ *Ibid.*

Justification.

Justification is that forensic act by which God the judge *pronounces just* the sinner who believes in Christ. Its impelling cause is the goodness of God; its meritorious cause is the active and passive obedience of Christ; its instrumental cause is faith, which is trust, confidence, *fiducia*. Justification is more than pardon; it is pardon together with the imputation of Christ's righteousness, and is always followed by good works, which cannot exist prior to faith and love.

As the *material principle* of redemption, out of which arises personal assurance, and conscious experience of salvation, the Lutheran Church has always grasped this article as her own peculiar treasure, by which she is relatively distinguished from the Reformed, who have always insisted more energetically on the *formal principle*, that is, the sole authority of the Holy Scriptures. Luther called it the article of a standing or falling Church:

> The chief Corner-stone, which *alone begets, nourishes, edifies, preserves, defends the Church of God; as without it the Church of God could not subsist a single hour.**

Sacraments.

In common with other Protestant Churches, and in opposition to Rome, the Lutheran Church maintains two sacraments —Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Her view of the use of the sacraments is set forth in Article XIII of the Augsburg Confession:

> Concerning the use of the sacraments it is taught, that the sacraments have been instituted, not only as tokens by which Christians may be known externally, but as signs and evidences of the divine will toward us, for the purpose of exciting and strengthening our faith; hence they also require faith, and they are properly used then only when received in faith, and when faith is strengthened by them.

In the former part of this article the confessors opposed Zwingli, whose views had been clearly ascertained the year before at Marburg, and who, in his *Ratio Fidei*, sent to Augsburg (1530), declared: "I believe, yea, I know, that all the sacraments are so far from conferring grace that they do not

* *Briefe*, de Wette, P. IV, p. 150.

even convey or distribute it." It has always been the doctrine of the Lutheran Church that the sacraments are "efficacious signs and sure testimonies of God's grace and purposes toward us, by which he admonishes and strengthens our hearts to believe the more firmly and joyfully.*" The latter part of the article opposes "the pernicious, shameful, and impious doctrine of the *opus operatum*, namely, that the mere use of the sacraments, the work performed, makes us just before God, and secures his grace, even without a good disposition of the heart." †

Hence, in studying the Lutheran doctrine of the sacraments, these two points must ever be kept in full view as fundamental; namely, First, that the sacraments are efficacious means of grace; secondly, that they require faith in order to their efficacy.

The proper use of the sacraments requires faith to believe the divine promises, and receive the promised grace, which is offered through the sacraments and the word.‡

Baptism.

Article IX of the Confession contains the fundamental symbolical statement of the Lutheran Church on baptism. As literally translated it is as follows:

Respecting baptism it is taught that it is necessary; that grace is offered through it; and that children ought to be baptized, who through such baptism are presented to God, and become acceptable to him. Therefore the Anabaptists are condemned, who teach that infant baptism is improper.

Analyzing this article we find four principal propositions:

1. *Baptism is necessary.*—No Lutheran confession, and no Lutheran theologian from Luther and Melanchthon down to those of the present day, has ever claimed or taught that the necessity of baptism is *absolute* in the sense that it binds God, or is indispensable to salvation. The aphorism of Augustine, "not the privation of a sacrament, but the contempt of it, condemns," is a *locus classicus* in the Lutheran Church. Carpzov, the greatest commentator on the Augsburg Confession, voices in the following explanation the uniform sentiment of all the

* Apology. † *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.*

Lutheran teachers. Quoting from the Latin copy *necessarius ad salutem*, he adds:

1.) *Not absolutely*, but 2.) *by the necessity of command*, and because Christ so appoints ordinarily to save man; and 3.) by the *necessity of means*, because it has pleased him to use this means in the application of the salvation procured by himself.*

2. *That grace is offered through it.*—This is exactly in harmony with the Lutheran view that a sacrament is a means of grace, not *ex opere operato*, but requiring faith in order to its efficacy. But it does not teach, and was never intended to teach, "baptismal regeneration" (a phrase which is not found in any Lutheran creed) in the sense, *baptized, therefore regenerated;* but it does teach *taufgnade*, or grace bestowed in and through baptism, by which the Holy Ghost may work regeneration, and will work it where baptism is not hindered by unbelief. In the case of adults faith alone makes a person worthy to receive baptism. Hence to such, who have believed through the word, baptism becomes a seal and a confirmation of faith.

3. *That infants ought to be baptized.*—This was written in opposition to the Anabaptists, "who teach that infant baptism is improper."

4. *That by baptism infants are presented to God and become acceptable.*—In the Larger Catechism Luther declares his belief that God has given the Holy Spirit to many baptized in infancy.† He says:

We bring forward the child under the impression and hope that it believes, and we pray God to give it faith; but we do not

* "The Reformed Church teaches that baptism is a duty. If a man wishes to be and to be regarded as a disciple of Christ, he is bound to be baptized. If he wishes to consecrate his children to God, he is bound to do it in the way of his appointment. This is plain—1) From the command of Christ. 2) From the conduct of the apostles. . . . The Reformed Church teaches that baptism is a means of grace."—Dr. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, vol. iii, pp. 588, 590.

† Dr. Hodge, speaking of the baptism of infants, says: "What is to hinder the imputation to them of the righteousness of Christ, and their receiving the renewal of the Holy Ghost, so that their whole nature may be developed in a state of reconciliation with God? Doubtless this often occurs."—*Systematic Theology*, vol. iii, p. 590. John Wesley, as quoted by Pope, says: "It is certain our Church [that is, the Church of England] supposes that all who are baptized in their infancy are at the same time born again." [But Wesley does not affirm this for himself, nor is it the doctrine of his followers.—ED.] "What time in infancy is more likely to be the period of spiritual quickening than the moment when that

baptize it on that account, but rather because God has commanded us so to do.

That by the washing of water in the word Christ by his Spirit is efficacious in infants who are baptized, so that they receive the gift of God, is not to be doubted; but in what manner this takes place we do not understand.*

Hence it is the uniform teaching of the Lutheran dogmatical writers that baptism is the ordinary means for the regeneration of the children of believers. Thus Boerner in his commentary on the Lutheran Symbols:

Baptism is the ordinary means by which children are made partakers of the benefits of the kingdom of heaven, and therefore it has the necessity of means. For by baptism, regeneration and what follows, namely, justification, sanctification, and eternal salvation, are, in accordance with the gracious will of God, conferred on children. . . . Baptism is not absolutely necessary to salvation, so that those who by no fault of their own are deprived of it are condemned; but the necessity presupposes the possibility of it. Infants who are cut off from baptism by death, and consequently die unbaptized, are by no means lost. Those who without any fault of their own cannot be made partakers of this ordinary means of grace are without doubt regenerated and saved by the extraordinary grace of God.

Luther and Bugenhagen condemn those who deny to unbaptized children the rites of Christian burial, and say: "We bury them as Christians, confessing thereby that we believe the strong assurances of Christ. The bodies of these unbaptized children have part in the joyous resurrection of life."

In regard to the infants of unbelievers, we are either to suspend our judgment or adopt the milder opinion, in view of the universality of the salvation of Christ, which can be applied to them by some extraordinary mode of regeneration.†

sacred rite is performed which is strikingly emblematic of this change? Whether it be proper to say that baptism may be the *means* of regeneration, depends on the sense in which the word *means* is used. If in the sense of presenting motives to the rational mind, as when the word is read or heard, then it is not a *means;* for the child has no knowledge of what is done for it. But, if by *means* be understood something which is accompanied by the divine efficiency, changing the moral nature of the infant, then, in this sense, baptism may be called the means of regeneration when thus accompanied by divine grace."—*Religious Experience*, by A. Alexander, D.D.

* Chemnitz, *Loci Theol. De Baptismo.*

† Fauerlin on Augsburg Confession, p. 10.

It is worthy of notice that the late Prof. Henry B. Smith held the following language in regard to infant salvation: "*As to those who die in infancy*, there is

The Lord's Supper.

The Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper is comprehensively set forth in the tenth article of the Augsburg Confession:

> Concerning the holy Supper of the Lord, it is taught that the true body and blood of Christ are truly present, under the form of bread and wine, in the Lord's Supper, and are there administered and received. The opposite doctrine is therefore rejected.*

This is the doctrine of the real presence, and is intended to teach that wherever and whenever the sacramental act is performed—*blessing, distribution, eating and drinking*—there and then, in, with, and under the external elements of bread and wine, Christ the God-man, true God and true man, is veritably present, and is administered to and received by the communicant, whether he be worthy or unworthy.

The Lutheran doctrine is thus antithetical 1) to the Romish transubstantiation, which both before and ever since 1530 the Lutherans have rejected in name and in reality. The doctrine affirms the presence of true natural bread and wine, which in the Lutheran theology are called the earthly element of the sacrament; 2) to the Zwinglian view, in that it affirms the true objective presence of the whole Christ, not merely of the divine nature of Christ, for, according to the Lutheran doctrine of the person of Christ, wherever the divine nature of Christ is, there of necessity the human nature of Christ must be. This, namely, the body and blood of Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, received into the person of the Son of God, and was given unto death for us, is called the heavenly element.

The presence of Christ in the eucharist is called a *true*, a *real*

a well-grounded hope that they are of the elect."—*System of Christian Theology*, p. 322. And Arminius: "I affirm that they rejected the grace of the Gospel in their parents, grandparents, great-grandparents, etc., by which act they deserved to be abandoned of God."—*Works*, iii, 368, ed. of 1853. Thus Arminius admits at least the [*formal* not *real*] possibility of the damnation of infants, and Prof. Smith has only a "well-grounded hope" of their salvation, based on the "hope and belief" that all who die in infancy are elect, p. 318; whereas many of the older Calvinists speak of the "reprobation of infants;" for instance, Musculus, Martyr, Chamier, and the Swiss theologians at Dort.

* When the Confession says "form of bread and wine," it does not mean the *form* without the substance, but, as Melanchthon says, "The visible things; to wit, bread and wine." [Two essences *consubstantiated*.—Editor.]

presence, to distinguish it from a merely representative or figurative presence; it is called *substantial* presence, to distinguish it from the merely efficacious presence of the body and blood of Christ; it is called the *mysterious*, *supernatural*, *incomprehensible* presence, because it is not according to any mode of this world; but mysteriously, supernaturally, incomprehensibly, the body and blood of Christ are present in the Holy Supper and are distributed to the communicants.

What the Lutherans principally contend for is, 1) the reality of the presence in the eucharist of the whole Christ as against the Zwinglians, special mention being made of the body and blood because they especially were the subject of dispute; 2) the reality of the bread and wine as against transubstantiation, which maintains only the semblance of bread and wine. Hence, when in the sacramental act the bread and body, the wine and blood are brought together, neither enters on a new form or mode of being, neither is swallowed up by the other, neither is changed or converted into the other. Hence CONSUBSTANTIATION, as that word has been used and understood for three hundred years, and as it is defined by Hooker, Buck's Theological Dictionary, Schaff-Herzog, and other non-Lutheran authorities, does not and cannot represent the Lutheran doctrine of the real presence; and hence both that word and every other word which attempts to *define* or *describe* the *nature* or the *mode* of that presence, or the nature or the mode of the sacramental union; or which involves any change in the earthly element of the sacrament; or implies the existence of union aside from the sacramental use, is now, and without a single exception has always been, rejected by the Lutheran theologians.*

The design of the Lord's Supper is thus stated by Melanchthon in the Apology:

* Is it not remarkable that the whole Protestant Church except the Lutherans should, for three hundred years, with the whole case laid open before them, have entertained the same mistake, and that the Lutherans themselves, in their exposition of the subject, should seem to all but themselves to concede by necessary implication what they formally deny? Lutherans say that the two substances, the body and blood of Christ, and the bread and wine, stand together in the sacrament, and that fact seems, to all but themselves, to be not infelicitously expressed by the Latinized noun, CONSUBSTANTIATION. It is, as to all appearances, the same *rose*, though called by another name. Why then should that name be offensive?—EDITOR.

The sacrament was instituted by Christ to console the alarmed conscience, to strengthen our faith when we believe that the flesh of Christ was given for the life of the world, and that by this nourishment we are united with Christ and obtain grace and life. —Art. X.

Catholicity.

While the Evangelical Lutheran Church believes that she holds in their purity all the catholic doctrines of the Church of Christ, yet she does not affirm that she is the one only Church. The Augsburg Confession, Article VII, defines the Church as "the congregation of all believers, among whom the Gospel is preached in its purity, and the holy sacraments are administered according to the Gospel." * The Apology says:

We affirm and know of a truth that there are children of God scattered throughout all the world.

And Dr. Carpzov, a zealous Lutheran theologian, affirms:

No particular Church can boast itself that it is The Church; for it is one thing to be The Church and another thing to be *of* The Church. . . . We admit that our Church is a particular Church, but that she is the only true Church we do not say.

This article, having already transcended the generous limits prescribed by the editor of the periodical in which it appears, is now brought to a close without reflections or deductions. The reader has the facts, and can make his own reflections. The writer has striven to the best of his ability to act the part of the historian, and not that of the apologist or of the panegyrist. If he has spoken tenderly of the Lutheran Church, it is because she is his mother; if feebly, it is because of his own weakness. What he desires to say of himself is best expressed in the words of another: "If I have done well, and as is fitting the story, it is that which I desired; but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto."

* Under this second sign of a true churchly character, since all other administrations but its own may be adjudged to be not according to the Gospel, it is quite possible that the Lutheran Church shall be as uncatholic and exclusive as is the Anglican or the Roman Church, and such, it is well known, it often is in fact.—Editor.

Art. V.—OLD TESTAMENT REVISION.

The first and most important pre-requisite for the translator of an ancient document, if he does not possess the autograph, is to ascertain the best text of that document. If he has but a single copy of the document, his textual criticism lies within a very small compass, and must be confined to the consideration of possible interpolations and to the suggestion of emendations of the text depending upon his subjective judgment, and is likely to be very unsatisfactory.

For the translators of the books of the Old Testament, the first thing to be determined is, *What text shall be adopted?* And this leads us to consider briefly the sources for settling the text of the Old Testament. And here, first of all, we must remark, what is well known, that not only have we no autographs * of the books of the Old Testament, but we have not even *copies* of the Hebrew Scriptures a thousand years old. The books of the Old Testament were written in Hebrew (some Chaldee portions excepted) between B. C. 1452 and about B. C. 400. About five hundred manuscripts of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament were collected by Kennicott in the last part of the last century; but the most ancient of these manuscripts were less than a thousand years old. The most celebrated manuscript of the Old Testament is that which takes its name from Rabbi Aaron ben Asher ben Moses, who lived at Tiberias in the *tenth* century. This manuscript is regarded both by the Karaïtes and the rabbies as a model Codex of the Hebrew Scriptures, and it is the one from which the common Masoretic text is printed.

But we have *versions* of the Old Testament far older than the oldest extant Hebrew MS. The *Five Books* of Moses were translated from the original Hebrew into Greek about B. C. 280; the other books were translated into the same language within the following century and a half. This is the version called the *Septuagint.* We have also the *Syriac Version* of the Old Testament, made from the original Hebrew, executed about A. D. 150. We have also the Chaldee translation of the Pentateuch made by Onkelos about A. D. 20,

* We have no autograph of the great classical writings of Greece and Rome.

if not earlier. About the same time, a translation of the Prophets was made into Chaldee by Jonathan ben Uzziel. Both of these translations, called Targums, are extant. Besides these we have the Samaritan copy of the Pentateuch, taken from the Hebrew not later than B. C. 330; and also an Aramean translation of the same made about the time of Christ. In the last part of the fourth century, the celebrated Christian scholar Jerome translated the Old Testament into Latin, which is also extant, and the great authority with the Church of Rome. A critical edition of the text of the Old Testament based on the oldest versions as well as on the oldest Hebrew manuscripts does not exist.

The revisers of the English version of the Old Testament have closely followed the Masoretic Hebrew text, though they sometimes refer to the readings of the ancient versions when they differ from the Hebrew. Thus on the margin of Gen. iv, 8, it is stated: "Many ancient authorities have, *said unto Abel his brother, Let us go into the field.*" These ancient authorities are the Samaritan Pentateuch, Septuagint, Peshito Syriac, and Latin Vulgate, which make it probable that the addition, "Let us go into the field," once belonged to the Hebrew text. On the margin of Gen. vi, 3, we have: "Or, according to many ancient versions, *abide in.*"

On the margin of Gen. xv, 2, it is stated: "The Chaldee and Syriac have, *Eliezer the Damascene.*" On the margin of Gen. xxii, 13, the revisers remark: "Or, according to many ancient authorities, *behold a ram caught.*" These authorities are the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint, the Targum of Onkelos, and the Peshito Syriac. On the margin of Gen. xxxii, 28, the revisers give the reading of the Septuagint and the Vulgate; and on the margin of Gen. xxxvi, 2, it is stated: "Some ancient authorities have, *son*," and on the margin of verse 39, *Hadad* is given as the reading of some ancient authorities. Again, on the margin of Gen. xlvii, 21, the reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate is given; and also on the margin of Gen. xlix, in several places ancient readings are referred to.

In a similar manner throughout the Old Testament the revisers refer to the different readings of the ancient versions, the last of which we find in Mal. ii, 3. The revisers, however, ex-

press no opinion respecting the value of these different readings, and the reader is left to form his own judgment upon the matter.

But to proceed to the revision itself. If our revisers possessed no remarkable advantages over the scholars who made King James's translation in the means of fixing the text of the Old Testament, they enjoyed far greater resources for giving us an exact translation of the Hebrew text. For the critical study of the Hebrew language and its sister dialects, Syriac, Chaldee, Ethiopic, and Arabic (to say nothing of Assyrian), has been prosecuted with the greatest zeal and success in the long interval since 1611, the date of King James's version. The present century, especially, has been distinguished by the publication of the great Hebrew lexicons of Gesenius and Fürst, and the Hebrew grammars of Ewald, Gesenius, Nordheimer, Green, Böttcher, and of the Hebrew tenses of Driver. Philology, which investigates the common laws of thought and the affinities of languages, is of modern growth. The dialects of the Shemitic family have been made to illustrate the Hebrew, their venerable sister, and to help her out of difficulties. To all these advantages, which a translator of the Old Testament now possesses, must be added our vastly increased knowledge of the geography, topography, the animals, plants, manners, and customs of Palestine and its contiguous lands, furnished within the last fifty years by numerous Oriental travelers and explorers. Besides all these advantages, our revisers had the assistance of the excellent German translation of the Bible made by the distinguished scholar Dr. De Wette, if they wished to avail themselves of it.

A translator of the Old Testament should have a critical knowledge of Hebrew and Chaldee, and a considerable acquaintance with Syriac and Arabic, and be familiar with the natural history of Palestine. He should, at the same time, possess a most thorough knowledge of all the idioms and niceties of the language into which the version is to be made. He should also have excellent taste and judgment, not too conservative, on the one hand, nor too fond of novelties on the other. The poetic faculty would likewise be of advantage to him. The excellency of a translation consists in its reproducing faithfully all the spirit and force of the original in the best and tersest idiomatic language.

In reference to our English translation, it was an unfortunate circumstance that the revisers were hampered by the rules laid down for their observance, and thus the revision has not attained all the excellence that could be desired. Among these rules was one requiring no change to be made in King James's version unless sanctioned by *two thirds* of all the revisers. It was *a priori* probable that most of the revisers would be *conservative*, and, therefore, a simple majority should have been sufficient to make a change. The American revisers, or rather *advisers*, like delegates from the Territories in Congress, had a right to *speak*, but not to *vote*. They were allowed the privilege of *publishing* their suggestions at the *end* of the translation.

After these preliminary reflections, we proceed to examine the work of our English revisers, beginning with natural phenomena; and first in order, the heavens. In 2 Kings xxiii, 5, occurs "planets," which should be "the twelve signs of the zodiac" (the Hebrew being *Mazzaloth*). Here the revisers have left the word in King James's translation unchanged. In Job xxxviii, 32, we have the same word, in nearly the same form, which our revisers have left untranslated: "Canst thou lead forth the mazzaroth in their season," that is, *the twelve signs of the zodiac.* It would have been better to insert "the signs of the zodiac" in the text instead of putting it on the margin. "The sweet influences of Pleiades," of the Authorized Version, is rightly changed to "The cluster of the Pleiades." "Arcturus and his sons," of King James's version, gives place to "the Bear and her train." This is well and poetically rendered, as the Hebrew *ash* is *wagon, Great Bear and her sons* (three stars in the tail of the *Bear*). In Job ix, 9, "Arcturus" is changed, and we have "the Bear, Orion, and the Pleiades." Respecting the heavenly bodies, King James's translation has: "There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard." The revised translation renders: "There is no speech nor language; their voice cannot be heard" (Psa. xix, 3), which gives the force of the Hebrew, with the exception that "cannot be" should be "is not."

Leaving the heavens, and descending to the earth, we come to the phrase "the parched ground," in the version of King James, "shall become a pool." (Isa. xxxv, 7.) The Revised

Version reads: "And the glowing sand shall become a pool," and "mirage," as an alternate translation, is put in the margin. The Hebrew is שָׁרָב, *sharab*, *the mirage* (Gesenius, *sandmeer*, *sand sea*). The Arabic is *serab*, *mirage*. Mohammed very beautifully refers to it in the Koran (chap. xxiv, 39): "The works of the unbeliever," says he, "are like *the mirage*, to which the thirsty traveler cometh, thinking it to be water, and he findeth it to be nothing." How beautiful and expressive, then, is the language of Isaiah: "The mirage shall become a lake," a glorious reality!

In Gen. xxxvi, 24, in the Authorized Version, it is said: "This was that Anah that found the mules in the wilderness." The Hebrew word rendered "mules" in this passage is הַיֵּמִם, the *yēmīm*. The Septuagint leaves the word untranslated. It cannot mean *mules;* for פֶּרֶד, *peredh*, is the word for mules in the Old Testament. Jerome remarks: "Some think the word means 'hot springs,' from its resemblance to the Punic, which is closely allied to the Hebrew." The Peshito Syriac renders it *waters*. The Vulgate, *aquas calidas*, *hot waters*, or *hot springs*. Both Gesenius and Fürst favor the rendering *warm springs*. The word is closely allied to יוֹם, *yom*, day, so called from its *heat*. This explanation is in the highest degree probable, since we find the *hot springs* of Callirrhoe, *ten* in number, a few miles east of the Dead Sea, one of them, according to Merrill, having a temperature of 139° Fahrenheit, and may well be called *hot*. Our revisers, then, are fully justified in putting "*hot springs*" in the place of these mules.

In the Hebrew Bible occurs, in more than two hundred and sixty places, the word מִדְבָּר, *midhbar*, in most instances with the article. In almost every instance our revisers adhere to the Authorized Version, and translate it *wilderness*. Now, there are some passages where this rendering is certainly allowable. Gesenius defines the word: 1) *Pasture land*, *open fields*, an uninhabited tract or region. Several passages occur in this sense. 2) *A desert*, a sterile and solitary region. This definition manifestly suits most of the passages of the Old Testament. When at Suez, nearly seventeen years ago, my eyes first fell upon the great desolate tract extending from the Red Sea coast toward Palestine, the *great desert*, the word *wilderness* of the Authorized Version struck me at once as tame and

wholly unsuitable to express such a barren and lifeless tract. As examples in which the revisers follow the Authorized version, but where the full and accurate sense requires the word to be rendered *desert*, we give the following passages: "He turneth a *wilderness* into a pool of water, and a dry land into water springs." Here it is evident that *desert* should stand in the place of *wilderness:* "He turneth a *desert* into a pool of water." (Psa. cvii, 35.) Similar is Isa. xli, 18: "I will make the *wilderness* a pool of water, and the dry land springs of water." Manifestly in this passage *desert* should be inserted in the place of *wilderness.* Again, Hos. ii, 3: "And make her as a *wilderness*, and set her like a dry land." Here *desert* should be inserted in the place of *wilderness.* (Mal. i, 3.) "Gave his heritage to the jackals of the *wilderness.*" In this instance, also, *desert* should take the place of *wilderness*, as jackals dwell in the *desert.* So Isa. xxxv, 1, should be the *desert*, or desolate place, instead of *wilderness.*

Respecting the *plants* of the Old Testament we may remark that the most of them occur in Solomon's Song. Our revisers have very properly *changed* the names of a few of them. In the Authorized Version the word *juniper* occurs four times: first in 1 Kings xix, 4, where it is said that "Elijah sat down under a juniper-tree;" also in verse 5 of the same chapter, where it is stated that he "lay and slept under a juniper." In Job xxx, 4, we have "juniper roots for their meat;" and in Psa. cxx, 4, "coals of juniper." The Hebrew word is רֹתֶם, *rothem;* Arabic, *retam*, *broom.* In 1 Kings xix, 4, 5, the revisers have retained juniper, but have put "or, *broom*," in the margin of verse 4. In Job xxx, 4, they have translated the word by "broom" without any remark; but in Psalm cxx, 4, they retain "juniper," but put in the margin "or, *broom.*" Why the name of this well-known shrub should be so differently translated is hard to imagine. When in Palestine we saw, on the last day of December, 1869, several of these shrubs, about ten feet high, in a wady near the north end of the Dead Sea. They had limbs resembling Scotch broom. I asked my guide, a young sheikh, their name. He answered *retam;* the same as the Hebrew *rothem.* No traveler, so far as I know, has spoken of finding this shrub or tree in this region of Palestine.

In the Authorized Version, in Eccles. xii, 5, occurs the phrase, "And desire shall fail." Instead of this the revised edition has, "And the caper-berry shall fail." This rendering has been ridiculed, and it has been suggested that the revised translation of the Old Testament should be called *the Caper-berry version.* But our translators, in this matter, are in the right. The Hebrew word הָאֲבִיּוֹנָה, *ha'abiyyonah*, is rendered caper-berry both by Gesenius and Fürst, and is the translation of the Septuagint, Peshito Syriac, and Vulgate. The noun has the article, which it would not be likely to have if it were an abstract noun. Besides, the two previous nouns are the names of material objects, the almond and the grasshopper. The caper-berry was said to excite lust, and the idea to be conveyed is, that all the passions of man fail in his old age, and cannot be aroused.

From plants we pass to animals. In the list of animals, clean and unclean, in the eleventh chapter of Leviticus, *thirty-two* in all, the names of about *fifteen* in the Authorized Version have been changed in the revised translation; and of the list of thirty-two in the fourteenth chapter of Deuteronomy, about *ten* have been changed in the revised translation. What animals are intended by these names is in many cases very uncertain. In eight places in the Authorized Version, namely, in Num. xxiii, 22; Deut. xxxiii, 17; Job xxxix, 9, 10; Psa. xcii, 10; xxii, 21; xxix, 6; Isa. xxxiv, 7, occurs the word *unicorn.* The Hebrew word רְאֵם, רֵים, or רְאֵמִים, is regarded by Gesenius as the *wild buffalo*, an animal known in the regions of Palestine at the present day. Our revisers have in every instance substituted *wild ox* * in the place of *unicorn*, and are to be commended for the change.

In the Authorized Version the Hebrew word לִוְיָתָן, *livyathan*, in the form *leviathan*, occurs five times. (Job xli, 1; Psa. lxxiv, 14; civ, 26, and twice in Isa. xxvii, 1.) In the Hebrew text it is also found in Job iii, 8, but rendered *mourning*, and leviathan is put in the margin as an alternate translation. In all these passages the revisers leave the word *leviathan* untranslated, remarking in the margin, in one instance, "That is, *the crocodile.*" It would have been better to put *crocodile* in the text instead of *leviathan;* for there can be no doubt, from

* *Rêmu, wild ox*, Assyrian the same as the Hebrew רֵים, *rēm.* See *Proleg. Heb.-Aram. Wörterbuchs zum Alt. Tes.*, by F. Delitzsch, 1886.

the description of the animal, that it should be thus rendered. In Job xl, 15, occurs the word *behemoth* in the Hebrew text, which the revisers retain in their translation, remarking in the margin, "That is, *the hippopotamus.*" No doubt this is the animal intended by the author of the book.

I come now to the quadruped that most especially interests me, but whose very existence as an animal of sacred Scripture until recently has been almost entirely ignored, and dragon has been generally substituted for him—I mean *the jackal; canis aureus.* It was this animal whose howlings on the last night of 1869 so delighted me as I lay in the open air at New Jericho, but a few miles from the Jordan. No concert of human voices could have charmed me so much as did the howlings of that company of jackals, since they called up to my mind and illustrated passages of Holy Writ. The jackal is closely allied to the dog, and is much larger than a fox. He lives in the desert, and when any city in the Orient goes to ruin, and the inhabitants leave, the jackal comes in and claims it as his own. There are about *seventeen* passages in the Old Testament in which the Hebrew should be translated jackal. In about *thirteen* of these the revisers have substituted this word instead of that of King James's version. Thus, after many centuries, justice has been done to this long-neglected animal, who has howled through the ages and waited for recognition. Jackal has been inserted in the following passages: Psa. xliv, 19; Isa. xiii, 22; xxxiv, 13; xxxv, 7; xliii, 20; Jer. ix, 11; x, 22; xiv, 6; xlix, 33; li, 37; Mic. i, 8; Job xxx, 29; Lam. iv, 3. The sense of these passages is brought out in a very vivid and striking manner by reading *jackals* in them. Thus, in reference to the overthrow of Babylon: "And jackals shall howl in the pleasant palaces." (Isa. xiii, 22.) In reference to Edom it is said: "And it shall be a habitation of jackals" (xxxiv, 13); that is, it shall be a desert. Again, in reference to Jerusalem: "I will make Jerusalem heaps, a dwelling place of jackals." (Jer. ix, 11.) In reference to the animal's howl, Job says: "I am a brother to jackals" (xxx, 29); and Micah: "I will make a wailing like the jackals" (i, 8). And, to show that a desolate place shall become fruitful, it is said: "In the habitation of jackals, where they lay, shall be grass with reeds and rushes." (Isa. xxxv, 7.)

From the natural history of the Old Testament we pass to the consideration of matters of still deeper interest, and take up *sheol*. This Hebrew word שְׁאוֹל, or שְׁאֹל, *sheol*, has generally been derived from שָׁאַל, *to ask, demand*, since it is *all devouring*, insatiable. But Gesenius derives it from שָׁאַל, *a cavity*. The Hebrews conceived *sheol* as a vast subterranean place full of thick darkness and very deep (Job xi, 8; Deut. xxxii, 22; Psa. cxxxix, 8); the habitation of the souls of the departed. (Psa. xvi, 10; lxxxviii, 11; Prov. ii, 18; ix, 18; Isa. xiv, 9; xxvi, 14.) The dying are said to go down to sheol. (Num. xvi, 30; Gen. xlii, 38.)

Sheol occurs sixty-five times in the Hebrew Bible. The revisers translate the word *pit* in five places (Num. xvi, 30, 33; Deut. xxxii, 22; Psa. lv, 15; lxxxvi, 13). In *eighteen* places they render it *grave* (Gen. xxxvii, 35; xlii, 38; xliv, 29, 31; 1 Sam. ii, 6; 1 Kings ii, 6, 9; Prov. xxx, 16; Isa. xxxviii, 10, 18; Hos. xiii, 14, twice; Eccles. ix, 10; Cant. viii, 6; Psa. cxli, 7). In *eighteen* places they translate it *hell* (Isa. v, 14; xiv, 9, 11, 15; xxviii, 15, 18; lvii, 9; Ezek. xxxi, 15, 16, 17; Hab. ii, 5; Amos ix, 2; Jon. ii, 2; Ezek. xxxii, 21, 27). In *thirty* places they have simply transferred the Hebrew word to the English text, and leave it *sheol* (2 Sam. xxii, 6; Job vii, 9; xi, 8; xiv, 13; xvii, 13, 16; xxi, 13; xxiv, 19; xxvi, 6; Psa. vi, 5; xvi, 10; xxx, 3; xxxi, 17; xlix, 14, 15; lxxxviii, 3; lxxxix, 48; cxvi, 3; cxxxix, 8; Prov. i, 12; v, 5; vii, 27; ix, 18; xv, 11, 24; xxiii, 14; xxvii, 20).

In the Peshito Syriac translation, in every instance *sheol* is represented by the Syriac *P'shûl*. In the Septuagint, in every case except *three*, the word is rendered by the Greek Ἅιδης, *Hades*, the *underworld*. In the three exceptional cases, it is renderd θάνατος, *death* (2 Sam. xxii, 6; Prov. xxiii, 14); and βόθρος, *pit* (Ezek. xxxii, 21).

The Vulgate, in more than one half of the places, renders *sheol* by *infernus*, less than half by *inferus*, both words meaning, *the lower regions*. Once it is translated *mors, death* (Hos. xiii, 14).

In the excellent German translation of Dr. De Wette, *sheol* is rendered "*unterwelt*," *the lower world*, except the single instance of 1 Kings ii, 6, where it is rendered "*grube*," *a pit*.

In the English language there is no word that is equivalent to

sheol, and therefore it should have been transferred to the English text in every instance.* The word first occurs in Gen. xxxvii, 35, where Jacob says, "I will go down *to sheol* to my son mourning." The Mosaic system and the Old Testament in general contain no revelation respecting *sheol*. Undoubtedly the ancient Hebrews expected future retribution, but the Mosaic legislation is silent concerning it. Life and immortality have been brought to light through the Gospel. (2 Tim. i, 10.)

In numerous passages in the Old Testament occurs the word יְהוָה *Yehovah*, which was doubtless pronounced in the early period of Old Testament history *Yahveh* or *Yahweh*, as the future tense of the verb הָוָה, *to be*, the *Absolute Being*. King James's version in a few instances transfers the word to the English text, but in most instances it gives "the LORD" as its equivalent, printed in capitals. The revisers have adhered to King James's version, without any good reason, but merely following the superstition of the Jews, who, since several centuries before Christ, have refused to pronounce the name Jehovah. Far better would it have been to transfer it to the English text. Thus in Psa. cxliv, 15, the insertion of the word *Jehovah* in the place of the LORD, makes the passage more emphatic: "Happy is that people whose God is Jehovah."

The rest of our remarks will be made upon the rendering of single words, without any attempt to reduce them to classes, and following the order in which they are found in the English Bible.

In Gen. i, 2, the Revised Version has, "and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." The margin reads, "Or, *was brooding upon*," instead of *moved*. "Was brooding" should have been put into the revised text. The Hebrew participle, מְרַחֶפֶת, *m'rachepheth*, piel conjugation, is *kept brooding*. This same verb in this conjugation is used in Deut. xxxii, 11, of an eagle *brooding over* or *cherishing* its young. The Peshito Syriac has the same verb with the same force as the Hebrew, *brooding over*.

Cain's language, after the Lord had pronounced a curse upon him, is: "My crime is too great to be forgiven," and is

* In King James's Version, *sheol* is rendered *grave* in about *one half* of the places; in the other half it is rendered *hell*, with the exception of Job xvii, 16, Num. xvi, 30, 33, where it is rendered *pit*.

thus understood by Gesenius, and is so rendered by the Septuagint, the Targum of Onkelos, the Peshito Syriac, and the Vulgate. The revisers, therefore, should have put this rendering in the text, instead of setting it on the margin and allowing the text to stand as it is in King James's version.

In Gen. vi, 3, the revised text is, "My spirit shall not strive with man forever, for that he also is flesh, yet shall his days be a hundred and twenty years." The Septuagint renders the first part of it: "My spirit shall not always abide in these men forever." Targum of Onkelos: "This wicked generation shall not stand before me forever." Peshito Syriac: "Not shall my spirit abide in man forever." Vulgate: "Not shall my spirit remain in man forever." The Hebrew word rendered *strive* is יָדוֹן, *yadhon*, which Gesenius gives as the future of דּוּן, *dún*, or דּוֹן, *dōn*, *to be made low*, and thus translates the passage in his *Thesaurus of the Hebrew Language:* "My spirit shall not be forever abased in man; that is," says he, "my heavenly and divine nature, which I breathed into man when I created him, shall not forever dwell in a mortal body since it is a habitation unworthy of it." The great Oriental scholar, Ewald, in his critical Hebrew Grammar, renders the Hebrew verb (translated *strive*), *niedrig sein*, *to be low*. Fürst, in his Hebrew Lexicon, renders it, "My spirit shall not rule over men." In a similar way De Wette translates the passage, though at the foot of the page he gives other renderings. But this latter rendering does not suit the facts of the case; for the spirit of God did not rule over these wicked antediluvians, and the meaning "*strive*" has but little support. Gesenius's version, "My spirit shall not be forever abased in man," is far better.

In Gen. xli, 43, occurs the word אַבְרֵךְ, *abrēk*, rendered "bow the *knee*" (as if *hiphil* from בָּרַךְ), both in King James's version and in the revised edition. The word is of uncertain origin, but probably Egyptian. It is the command that Pharaoh's criers gave the people respecting the honor to be rendered Joseph. The Targum of Onkelos renders it, "Father of the king." The Peshito Syriac has, "Father and ruler," titles given to Joseph. Friedrich Delitzsch, in his Prolegomena to a Hebrew-Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament, published during the last year, deems the word the same as the

Assyrian *abarakku, grand-vizier.* But what close relationship can be shown to have existed between Egypt and Assyria eighteen hundred years before Christ? Or had the Assyrians themselves, at that time, any such word or office? The word may be Egyptian, *apherek, bow the head.*

On the margin of Gen. xlix, 10, "until Shiloh come," the revision gives several alternate translations, of which the first is, "until he come to Shiloh having the obedience of the peoples." This marginal rendering is perfectly gratuitous. Not a vestige of such a translation, so far as we know, is found until the *twelfth* century, when Aben Ezra raises the question whether it might not be understood of coming to Shiloh. In the Authorized Version, in Exod. iii, 22, xi, 2, the children of Israel are directed *to borrow* of their neighbors jewels of gold and silver; and in Exod. xii, 35, it is stated that the children of Israel borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver and jewels of gold, and raiment. In these passages the revised edition has "ask." In this rendering of שָׁאַל, *shāal*, the revisers are right, for we find that this verb occurs more than one hundred and sixty times in the Old Testament, and in about *three* passages only—leaving out those under consideration—can it be rendered *borrow*, but to *ask, demand*, etc., and in Prov. xx, 4, it means *to beg.* In conformity with this meaning the revisers have translated the hiphil form, הִשְׁאִיל, *hishīl, let them have what they asked*, instead of "lent," as in King James's version. The hiphil of "ask" being *causative*, naturally means *to cause to ask, to give freely.* Besides this passage, the hiphil form is found elsewhere only in 1 Sam. i, 28, respecting Samuel. Hannah says: "I have granted him (*given* him freely) to the LORD all the days which he shall live." Here *lending* would be unsuitable, as no return of Samuel to his mother was required or expected. The word indicating *lending*, in various places in the Old Testament, is לָוָה. The hiphil form of this verb is הִלְוָה, *to lend.* It is thus seen that the Hebrews had a word different from הִשְׁאִיל to express *lending.* This verb הִלְוָה, *to lend*, is used *eight* times in the Old Testament.

The *third* commandment (Exodus xx, 7) is thus rendered in King James's version: "Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God in vain; for *the* LORD will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain." The revised edition con-

tains precisely the same language, but puts in the margin, as an alternate translation: "Or, *for vanity* or *falsehood.*" We decidedly object to this translation, and give the following: "*Thou shalt not lift up* (invoke) the name of Jehovah thy God upon that which is false; for not will Jehovah acquit the one who lifts up (invokes) his name upon that which is false." It is a prohibition of false swearing. The word rendered "in vain" is שָׁוְא, with the preposition and article prefixed, לַשָּׁוְא, *for* or *upon that which is false.* This word occurs in the sense of *falsehood* in Exod. xxiii, 1: "Thou shalt not take up a report of *falsehood;*" and in Deut. v, 20: "Thou shalt not bear a testimony of *falsehood* against thy neighbor." In Deut. v, 11, we have a repetition of this same commandment, where this same word twice occurs. Nowhere else in the Pentateuch is the word found. Outside of the Pentateuch it occurs in about *fifty* instances, mostly in the sense of falsehood, although our revisers, in nearly all cases, have *vanity* in their text. Gesenius, the greatest of Hebrew lexicographers, translates the passage: *Thou shalt not utter the name of Jehovah upon a falsehood,* that is, thou shalt not swear falsely. Fürst, in his Hebrew Lexicon, renders the word in this passage (שָׁוְא, *shav*) *falsehood.* The Peshito Syriac renders it, "Thou shalt not swear by the name of the Lord thy God in a falsehood." The Targum of Onkelos refers the passage to swearing to what is useless or false. Dr. De Wette, in his excellent German translation, renders the passage: "Thou shalt not utter the name of Jehovah thy God upon an untruth."

About thirty-five years ago, in the early stage of my biblical studies, I addressed a letter to one of the greatest biblical scholars this country has produced, Professor Moses Stuart, of Andover, making inquiry of him respecting this text and some other matter. In reply to my question he remarks: "The third commandment, beyond all reasonable doubt, means: *Thou shalt not solemnly utter a falsehood. God's name* was included in an oath; to swear falsely is utterly prohibited. Due reverence for God forecloses it. If the sentiment of our English version were the true one, the Hebrew must be חִנָּם, that is, *sine causa, gratuitously.* Although the meaning of שָׁוְא may be *vain, useless,* yet this comes only in a secondary way from its proper meaning—

falsehood, lie. The shade of meaning, *sine causa, gratuito,* belongs not to it. The case is a clear one."

We pass next to the Book of Job. The first thing that claims our attention is the translation of the verb בָּרַךְ, given by our revisers in Job i, 5, 11; ii, 5, 9. Instead of "curse," as in King James's version, they render the verb *renounce;* and Job is made to express his fear that his sons may have "sinned and *renounced* God in their hearts." Satan says of Job, that if God takes away his property he *will renounce* him to his face. He repeats the same thing if Job's bone and flesh should be touched. Job's wife is made to say: "*Renounce* God and die." Our revisers, however, put in the margin, as an alternate translation, "Or, *blasphemed.*" The primary meaning of the word בָּרַךְ, is, *to bend the knee,* and in piel conjugation it means *to bless,* certainly in most of the passages of the Old Testament. But the question is, does it not sometimes have the opposite meaning, of imploring, not a blessing, but a *curse?* Gesenius contends that it has sometimes this *bad* sense, and he adduces in illustration of this the usage of this same word both in *Arabic* and *Ethiopic,* cognate languages, *to bless* and *to curse.* To these instances I would add the Greek ἀράομαι, *to invoke good things* upon any one, as in Herodotus, i, 132; and *to curse,* as in the Alcestis of Euripides: Ἀρᾷ γονεῦσιν, "*Thou cursest thy parents.*" "Some interpreters," says Gesenius, "as A. Schultens, are not fully satisfied that the sense of cursing belongs to this verb; they therefore derive from the idea of bidding farewell the signification *to deny, to renounce.*" That is, because the Hebrews often *blessed* persons when leaving them, these critics suppose that the verb may mean *abandon.* But of the numerous instances (about two hundred and twenty-seven) in which this piel conjugation of the verb is used, we have not found one case where *to bless* is used to express *taking leave of,* or *abandoning,* waiving the few passages under consideration. To bless is not sufficient to indicate parting.

Thus in Josh. xxii, 6: "So Joshua blessed them and sent them away." Again, when he "sent them away also unto their tents, then he blessed them." It was a very common thing to bless persons when first meeting them. Here it is plain that blessing of itself does not indicate dismissal. And even bidding farewell to persons, in most cases, is of a friendly nature

and perhaps as often indicates *their leaving* us as our leaving them. Let us consider first, the clearest instances in which this verb means *to curse.* In 1 Kings xxi, 7–13, is an account of the means by which Jezebel contrived to obtain Naboth's vineyard for Ahab. Two wicked men were to be set before Naboth to bear witness against him, saying, "Thou didst *curse* God and the king." This plot was executed, and two wicked men bore testimony against him, saying, "Naboth did *curse* God and the king." The consequence was, that they stoned Naboth to death. In this narrative בֵּרֵךְ is used to express the insulting language used toward God and the king, and it can be properly indicated by nothing less than to *curse*, and is so rendered by the revisers, though they put *renounce* on the margin as an alternate rendering. But this latter rendering is inadmissible. For the witnesses against Naboth must have represented him as using bitter language against God and the king. But this would be something more than an *abandonment* of God and the king. Further, the law of Moses enacts: "Thou shalt not revile God nor curse the ruler of thy people" (Exod. xxii, 28); "and he that blasphemeth the name of Jehovah, he shall surely be put to death; all the congregation shall certainly stone him." (Lev. xxiv, 16.) The stoning of Naboth must then have been for blasphemy, that is *cursing* the divine name, as the Hebrew נָקַב means. It is perfectly clear then that Naboth was represented as *cursing.* Hence it is clear that in this passage בֵּרֵךְ means *to curse.* Likewise in Psa. x, 3, בֵּרֵךְ means *to curse*: "The plunderer curses and despises God." Let us now take up the passages in Job where בֵּרֵךְ means to curse. In i, 11, Satan says to God: "Touch all that he (Job) has, he will *curse* thee to thy face." Nothing weaker than *to curse* does the devil justice here. And what fitness would there be in his saying, He will bid thee *farewell* or *abandon* thee to thy face? In abandonment, the back is turned upon the person. In ii, 5, Satan uses the same language. Here too the verb must certainly have the same meaning of *curse.* In i, 5, Job is represented as making offerings for his sons and saying, Perhaps they may have sinned and *cursed* God in their hearts. Here *cursed* is not unsuitable. The same remark may be made of the advice of Job's wife, *Curse* God and die. The Peshito Syriac, both in 1 Kings xxi, 7–13, and in the four pas-

sages in Job under consideration, render בָּרַךְ by *tsachi, to curse.* Gesenius translates the word in these passages *to curse*, with the exception of the passage containing the advice of Job's wife, which Gesenius translates, *Bless God and die;* that is, Your piety avails you nothing. De Wette renders the two passages in 1 Kings xxi, *blasphemed God and the king*, but the passages in Job we have been considering he translates, *entsagen, renounce*, instead of *curse.* But he gives as an alternate version of the passage respecting Job's wife, "Only praise God, you must still die."

In Job v, 7, the revisers adhere to King James's translation: "Man is born unto trouble as the sparks fly upward." The Hebrew reads: "Man is born to trouble, and the sons of lightning (or *flame*) to soar aloft." In Psa. lxxvi, 3, arrows are called the lightnings of the bow; and in Psa. lxxviii, 48, the word רֶשֶׁף is used for the lightnings of heaven. In Cant. viii, 6, it means *flame*, and in Hab. iii, 5, it has the sense *flame* or *pestilence.* So in Deut. xxxii, 24. Gesenius renders the last part of the passage "*sons of lightning.*" "That is, birds of prey," says he, "which fly swift as the lightning." In this he has the support of all the ancient versions: Septuagint, "The vulture's brood soars on high;" Peshito Syriac, "The sons of the bird of prey soar on high;" Latin Vulgate, "Man is born for labor and the bird for flying." The Targum translates this passage in nearly the same way as the English version. De Wette renders it: "As the sons of lightning fly aloft," which he explains in a note: "That is, birds of prey flying as swift as the lightning." The translation, "as sparks fly upward," is very tame and incorrect. The Hebrew is literally to *make high in flying*, that is, *fly aloft;* sparks do not go high, unless in some great conflagration. But the comparison that man is *born to, destined to, toil and trouble, as the birds of prey are destined* by their Maker *to soar aloft*, is sublime, true, and beautiful.

We now come to that vexed and difficult passage in the Book of Job, chap. xix, 25–27, which the revisers render as follows: "But I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand up at the last upon the earth: and after my skin hath been thus destroyed, yet from my flesh shall I see God: whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another."

On the margin they give several alternate translations. This version of the passage is far better than that of King James's translation, and we prefer it to that recommended by the American Advisory Committee. The twenty-sixth verse is the most difficult. Gesenius, in his *Thesaurus of the Hebrew Language*, thus renders it: "After they shall have destroyed (*will be destroyed*) my skin, shall this be, will surely come to pass, that which had been mentioned in the previous verse, the advent of God; or, *After my skin which they have destroyed shall this be.*" The great Hebrew grammarian and Oriental scholar, Ewald, in the eighth edition of his Grammar, thus translates the principal clause: "After they have smitten my skin," that is, impersonal, "my skin has been smitten." De Wette thus translates: "After this skin of mine shall be destroyed, also without flesh [indicative of the highest degree of leanness] shall I yet see God." The Septuagint thus translates the whole passage: "For I know that the Eternal is the one who is about to deliver me upon the earth, to restore my skin that endureth these things. For these things have been accomplished for me from the Lord, which things I know by myself, which my eye has seen and not another" (ἄλλος). The Peshito Syriac thus renders it: "And I know that my redeemer liveth, and at last he will be revealed upon the earth, and to my skin and to my flesh have happened these things. If mine eye shall see God, my reins shall see light," etc. The Targum on Job translates the Hebrew into Chaldee thus: "And I know that my redeemer lives, and after this his deliverance shall appear upon the earth; and after my skin is swollen (restored) this will be, and from my flesh I shall still see God, whom I shall see for myself, and my eyes shall behold, and not a stranger." The Latin Vulgate thus translates the passage: "For I know that my redeemer lives, and that I shall rise from the earth on the last day: and again I shall be clothed with my skin, and in my flesh I shall see my God, whom I myself shall see, and my eyes shall behold and not another (*alius*)." Here the passage is for the *first* time referred to the resurrection of the dead, so far as we know. But the context clearly shows that the passage has no reference to the resurrection. In the verses preceding the passage Job complains bitterly of the treatment he receives from his friends, and

expresses strongly the wish that his words might be written in a book, that is, for future reference and permanency. He declares his confidence that God will vindicate him from all the charges brought against him, and that these calamities will not result in his death, for in his flesh he shall see God. With this compare the latter part of the book, where the LORD answers Job out of the whirlwind, after which he addresses the Almighty, and says: "I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear; but now mine eye seeth thee." And the Lord himself says to Eliphaz the Temanite, "My wrath is kindled against thee and against thy two friends: for ye have not spoken of me the thing that is right, as my servant Job hath." It is also stated that the Lord turned the captivity of Job, and gave him twice as much as he had before. Thus was he vindicated. Job did not expect that his afflictions would terminate fatally, since he says (chap. xvi, 22): "For when a few years are come, I shall go the way whence I shall not return."

The Revised Version of the Book of Job, in its accuracy, if not in elegance of diction, is superior to King James's translation. The Revised Version of the Psalms is a decided improvement on the Authorized Version. It is not, however, free from error. The author of the 119th Psalm is made to say in the fourteenth verse: "I have rejoiced in the way of thy testimonies, as much as in all riches," which certainly does no great credit to his love and zeal. The Hebrew is as follows: "I rejoice in the way of thy testimonies as over the sum (or totality) of wealth. The preposition כְּ, rendered in the English translations by "as much as," simply means *as*. That our revisers have done great injustice to the psalmist he himself will tell us; for he says in verse 72: "The law of thy mouth is better to me than thousands of gold and silver." Again, in verse 127: "Therefore I love thy commandments above gold, yea, above fine gold."

This revised English translation, as a whole, is greatly to be preferred to King James's translation, and should be substituted for it whenever a new English Bible is needed. We think the Old Testament revision is better executed than that of the New, although the revision of the latter, as a whole, is to be preferred to King James's translation.

Art. VI.—THE EXALTATION OF JESUS.

"Wherefore also God highly exalted him, and gave unto him the name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of *things* in heaven and *things* on earth and *things* under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." Phil. ii, 9–11, *Rev. Version.*

When allusion is made in prophecy to our Lord's humiliation, it is usually found to be in close connection with that which is its counterpart—his exaltation. The contemplation of the one invites to the contemplation of the other. For instance, he who is described in Isaiah liii as God's "righteous servant" is not only foretold as "despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," but is also set before us as at length having the divine promise fulfilled in regard to him: "Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong." In this respect doctrinal statement is at one with prophetic. They both represent the Saviour's humiliation and exaltation as mutually explanatory. They both connect these two aspects of his work by a "wherefore." As the result and the direct reward of his self-abasement, he is "highly exalted." We have his own corresponding declaration too, given to his wondering disciples on the way to Emmaus, all the more significant as having been uttered in the time between his resurrection and ascension: "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?" In the present connection the exaltation, therefore, is alluded to as being a twin thought with the humiliation. In the apostle's mind the one inevitably suggests the other. But there is another reason, another purpose, in the reference. It continues the illustration and enforcement of the Christian duties of unselfishness and humility. It supplies a new motive for seeking earnestly these "best gifts"—even the motive of self-interest. Scripture is not slow to ply men even with such an appeal. It shows us how self-sacrificing meekness yields in the end its own solid and eternal gain. That earthly flower bears heavenly fruit. Our Lord himself has said, in the parable of the Wedding Guests (Luke xiv, 11), and again in that of the Pharisee and Publican (Luke xviii, 14), "Every one that

exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted." With the example of such teaching from the Great Teacher's own lips, the apostle does not hesitate, nor need we, to inculcate the duty of showing forth this lowliest and loveliest grace by an appeal to the reward which is at last to crown it. In our Lord's exaltation, therefore, we have the pattern and pledge of our own.

But is there no heresy lurking in our thus explaining the particle "wherefore"—no tinge of Arianism in our thus regarding the Saviour's glory as the recompense of his obedience, and nothing more? Not in the least degree. He who is thus highly exalted is not viewed here as Son of God simply, in his own essence the infinite Being, through whom and in whom all things were created. As such, it is quite true, he could not be exalted, for he is over and above all. But he is contemplated as the God-man, in his totality, if we may dare so to speak. As Son of God he is now what and where he ever was; but having, by his humiliation, united humanity with divinity, he is now in the body of his humiliation highly exalted, even at God's right hand—"high-throned above all height." In this connection it is to be observed that the words run, not "God hath highly exalted him, and given him," but, as in the Revised Version, "God highly exalted him, and gave unto him." The language, that is to say, describes a definite act—something that took place at a certain time and in a certain way, not the state or condition resulting from it. The act of giving, not the fact of having given, is what is emphasized. So similarly Eph. i, 22, and 1 Pet. i, 21, "God *gave* him glory." But there is yet another aspect of this mystery which we are invited reverently to scan. "Wherefore also God highly exalted him." The previous verses show us what the Son of God did. He, the Lord of glory, "emptied himself"—"he humbled himself." This verse now shows us what God "also"—God on his part—did. *He* exalted the Son of man. The Son of man did not exalt himself. He was "obedient" unto God, and God has rewarded his obedience. He humbled himself in assuming human nature, and therefore in that same nature God highly exalted him. This super-exaltation, then, is described as of God's favor. The following clause brings this out yet more clearly: "And gave unto him the name which is above every

name." It is a free gift (ἐχαρίσατο). The word, which in the New Testament is peculiar to Luke and Paul, means graciously to bestow; not merely to grant, but to grant as a token of loving approval. Our Lord "counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God." So far from grasping this for himself as of right, he emptied himself of it; and now he has received all this and more, for now it is as God-man that he receives it, as the free gift of the Father. It is a gift in answer to his own earthly prayer—a prayer in which he conceives his earthly ministry is already done: "I have glorified thee on earth: I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do. And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was." Now, in dealing with such a theme as this, we ought ever to confess, and that with adoring awe, that we cannot attain to knowledge.

> "For knowledge is the swallow on the lake
> That sees and stirs the surface-shadow there,
> But never yet hath dipt into the abysm."

We have, therefore, when we speak at all, to have our words well ordered. They are nowhere better ordered than in a passage in Origen (*Com. in Johan.*—quoted by Wordsworth on Eph. i, 22), which runs thus: "He is said to be *exalted*, as having wanted [been without] it before; but in respect only of his *humanity:* and he has a name *given* him, as it were a matter of favor, *which is above every name*, as the blessed apostle Paul expresses it. But in truth and reality this was not the *giving* him any thing which he naturally had not from the beginning; so far from it, that we are rather to esteem it his returning to what he had in the beginning, essentially and unalterably; on which ground it is that he, having condescended, οἰκονομικῶς, to put on the humble garb of humanity, said, 'Father, glorify me with the glory which I had.' For he was always invested with divine glory, having been co-existent with his Father before all ages, and before all time, and the foundation of the world."

But to return, what of "*the* Name," as the Revised Version rightly renders it? Name has been defined as the "summary of the person" (Vaughan). Though men often fail to see it, through the blinding effect of use, the conferring of a name is designed to have a deep significance. This holds good pre-em-

inently in the biblical conception of name-giving. We see this in the dealing of the covenant-God with his saints in the old dispensation, and in the dealing of our Lord with his followers in the new. The same idea is prominent here in God the Father's giving a name to God the Son after, and because of, his humiliation. Now, it has been held that the name given to the exalted Saviour is none other than the incommunicable name of Jehovah, or the name of the Lord proclaimed to Moses from out of the cloud on Mount Sinai (Exod. xxxiv, 6, 7); or, again, that it is the title "Son of God," he having been declared such "with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead" (Rom. i, 4), or "the Word of God," or "King of kings and Lord of lords." Rev. xix, 13, 16. These solutions are not probable. Nor is the term "name" to be explained away as equivalent simply to dignity, majesty. The general context, as well as a reference to such passages as Acts ii, 36, iii, 26, ix, 5, suggests rather that the name is none other than the name "Jesus." This was his indeed by divine command "before he was conceived in the womb." It is his still, for, as Peter's pentecostal sermon declares, "God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ." And he delighted to claim it, in the very act of calling Paul himself to service: "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest." But it is now, as it were, given anew, for that name which on earth was looked upon as the lowliest and most despised among men is now the highest in heaven, invested with all the glory of his accomplished work—a name far above that of prophet, priest, or king—a name above all angels and archangels—a name most blessed in this, that it can never be torn from the hearts of humble men. It is "the Name," for thus it stands solitary in its unapproachable grandeur in one New Testament passage (3 John, ver. 7), by believing on which men are saved, and for the sake of which, doing and enduring all things, they themselves shall at last overcome, and realize the promise vouchsafed to the victor, "I will give him the white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it."

The tenth verse carries on this thought, "that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of *things* in heaven and *things* on earth and *things* under the earth," or, as in the margin of

the Revised Version, "things of the world below." This apparently signifies that throughout the limitless universe the whole intelligent creation will worship him. But who are these specifically who render this worship? It has been conjectured (Webster and Wilkinson) that the threefold division answers to that which the pagan world made of their deities (*Iliad*, iii, 276–279), and is here introduced as a gloss upon a passage which predicts universal submission to the one true God, as contrasted with the heathen objects of worship; intimating the subjection and homage of all spiritual powers and beings to Christ, as Lord of heaven and earth, the holder of the keys of "the invisible world and of death." This is altogether fanciful; so likewise is the other extreme—the view which understands the reference as pointing to Christians, Jews, and heathen. It is safer, upon the whole, to refrain from pressing the division too severely. The leading idea is simply universality—all creatures capable of rendering homage, whatever be the conditions of their existence. We may profitably compare Rev. v, 3: 'And no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon." Compare also Rev. v, 13, which is even more to the point, as it speaks of adoration rendered. Angels and archangels, all heavenly intelligences who behold his face where he is in heaven—men who are or are to be on earth, who have heard or are yet to hear about him—those who are asleep in the spirit world awaiting his coming, but even now rendering a present homage, the abode of departed spirits being popularly represented in ancient thought as the under-world. It seems better to exclude the idea of the spirits of evil here, for "the homage of impotence or subjugated malice" (Ellicott) is foreign to the thought of the passage. It is at least not suggested by bowing the knee, nor is it by the word Hades, which does not represent their abode. Besides, their homage could not be "in the name of Jesus," in whatever way we understand that phrase. But, following both the Received and the Revised Versions, others, notably Lightfoot, with considerable reason, relying upon Rev. v, 13, Eph. i, 20–22, Rom. viii, 22, understand *things* instead of *persons*. But while it is assured truth that all the universe, animate and inanimate, must render praise to the Redeemer, the figure of bowing the knee points only to intelligent homage, and so, too,

do the words following—"every tongue confess." It is better, therefore, so to restrict it, and this is in effect not to detract from the universality of the adoration, but only to define the nature of the adoration that is described. Our Lord himself, before his ascension, said to his disciples: "All power (authority) is given to me in heaven and on earth," and the seer of the latter days heard the loud voice saying in heaven, "Now is come the power (authority) of his (God's) Christ." This name of Jesus, then, thus magnified beyond all human thought, is "a name which, being pronounced, as it were, makes the very universe quiver with spontaneous and irresistible enthusiasm."*

We have thus substantially already fixed the meaning of the passage: to bow the knee is to do obeisance, to render homage. But here a point presents itself; is not the bowing of the knee only homage rendered to God the Father "in the name of Jesus," and therefore the homage of prayer simply, and that given to God in Jesus's name? Some most orthodox commentators, as, for example, Dr. Crawford (*The Atonement*, p. 108), take this view, making this an undoubted reference to Christ's intercession for us, as one of the chief purposes for which he has been thus exalted—"in the name of Jesus," as being that of our only Intercessor, in whose name all prayer and supplication must be offered up. But, though the doctrine thus enunciated is most surely believed among us, it is totally alien to the scope of the present passage, for, first of all, the angels in heaven, the unfallen and pure intelligences of the universe, do not need to, and indeed cannot, pray in the name of such a Mediator and Intercessor; it is theirs simply to adore him as "Lord of all." Then, secondly, "in the name of" is a Hebraism (1 Chron. xiv, 10, and Psa. lxiii, 4, and elsewhere), and as such brings the God-man Jesus as closely as language can do into oneness with Jehovah. For instance, when the Psalmist says, "I will lift up my hands *in thy name*," he declares that he will adore God; and so, similarly, to bow the knee in Jesus's name is to adore Jesus. It is, therefore, not prayer through Jesus, but direct worship of Jesus, that is here set forth. Even rationalistic exegesis does not hesitate to accept this view (for example, Schenkel). The Revised rendering, therefore, is no proof, as Dean Burgon passionately complains, that the result

* Beecher, sermon on "The Name of Jesus."

of New Testament revision is unfavorable to orthodoxy.* It is not so at least here, if the words be but rightly understood, and his opponent, Dr. Vance Smith, has no warrant to speak thus: "The only instance in the New Testament in which the religious worship or adoration of Christ was apparently implied has been altered by the Revision: '*At* the name of Jesus every knee shall bow' is now to be read '*in* the name.' Moreover, no alteration of text or of translation will be found anywhere to make up for this loss; as, indeed, it is well understood that the New Testament contains neither precept nor example which really sanctions the religious worship of Jesus Christ." † This statement is glaringly incorrect. While then the revised rendering is to be accepted, the injurious inference wrongly drawn from it is unhesitatingly to be rejected. The whole passage, this and what follows, is undoubtedly modeled on Isa. xlv, 23: "I have sworn by myself, the word is gone out of my mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, that unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear" (the words are directly cited in Rom. xiv, 11, 12). All this homage to God, then, is realized in the worship of Jesus. The next clause, "And that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord," is more explicit than the preceding one. It refers to the open acknowledgment in humble, grateful praise—the public avowal of what before is confessed in the awful silence of the heart; and the confession is, that he is Lord—in the full, absolute sense, "Lord of all." And the final aim of all this worship of Jesus the God-man is "the glory of God the Father." We have our Lord's own comment upon this declaration: "I honor My Father. . . . I seek not mine own glory" (John viii, 49, 50); "He that honoreth not the Son, honoreth not the Father which hath sent him." So he spake on earth, and what he said holds good of him in heaven. But none the less, while the worship of Christ Jesus, direct and absolute, is warranted and enjoined, still, in the ineffable mystery of the Trinity, this worship of the Son glorifies God the Father. All this is infinitely beyond our ken. Yet must it be ours to

"Cling to faith beyond the forms of faith."

We have but to remember this, "that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost." It is not by

* *The Revision Revised*, p. 513. † *Texts and Margins*, p. 47, cited by Burgon.

reasoning; it is by being spiritually minded, that the eye of the heart can see Christ Jesus, and the tongue confess him thus, "My Lord, and my God." He has given us this promise, "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father in heaven."

But we dare never forget that to confess him is to live to him. It is to have the same mind in us that was in him. Turning, therefore, once more back to the motive of this whole passage, the inculcation of the duty of self-sacrificing humility, we can say, in view of the reward in store,

> "The saint that wears heaven's brightest crown
> In deepest adoration bends,
> The weight of glory bows her down
> The most, when most her soul ascends.
> Nearest the throne of God we see
> What honor hath humility."

We can say more than this. We can learn the lesson of humility and its honor not merely in the saints around the throne, but most of all in Him who "in the white radiance of eternity" sits on the throne himself—even Jesus, who humbled himself, and is now highly exalted, "King of kings and Lord of lords."

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE HIGHER CRITICISM IN SUNDAY-SCHOOLS.

THE International Sunday-School Lessons constitute an agency in the religious teaching and culture of the times second in importance only to the doctrinal utterances of the evangelical pulpit. They year by year practically dictate the biblical reading and study of most of the children and youth of the land; and as well, that of a large portion of those of riper years. By this means they are instrumentally shaping the theological conceptions of those who must very soon occupy the foremost places in the families and schools and churches of the land. The views and ideas now being formulated in such minds must go with them through life; or, if ever gotten rid of, it must be by painful and perilous processes. All the wise sayings that have become the commonplaces of thought in respect to the determinative and abiding influences of early education—how the bending of the twig permanently inclines the tree, and how hard it is to teach old dogs new tricks—here become maxims of practical wisdom, and we are brought to contemplate a vast molding process in active operation, by which immortal souls are receiving impressions that are to be as lasting as their being. The thought is fearful to contemplate, in view of its magnitude and the preciousness of the interests involved.

The power that has fallen into the hands of those whose duty it is to select these lessons is great beyond all comparison, for they dictate to millions of the most susceptible minds what portions of Scripture they shall attend to from year to year, and by consequence what shall be omitted or passed by. As to the *personnel* of those who do this work, so far as we know them, we highly respect them; but their authority appears to be almost entirely underived, and in their actions they represent none but themselves and their own convictions. Perhaps they have done as well and wisely in the discharge of their responsible and delicate duties as any others could have done, however they might have been chosen, and representing whatever authority; but it is rather remarkable that such transcendent interests should have fallen into the hands of a self-appointed and irresponsible body of men. No special complaint is here intended to be made in respect to the work they have done, nor blame to them for doing it; but it becomes a grave question for those to whom, under God, belongs the high duty to guard against the possibility of wrong teaching in the Church, whether they are at liberty to devolve so high a function upon other and irresponsible persons.

The Sunday-schools of the country are no doubt doing an invaluable work, and it may be added that the International Lessons have been, and

perhaps continue to be, valuable as helps in that work. It may also be granted that the extraordinary powers wielded by those who shape that system of instruction appear to have been honestly and judiciously exercised; and if they have been doing a much-needed work, which nobody else has attempted, they can scarcely be blamed for their actions in the premises—perhaps they are deserving of thanks rather than blame. But from the fact that they are responsible to no power beyond themselves for their actions, and that their prescription of the successive yearly Scripture reading is absolute and not to be appealed from, the case is one to suggest the possibility of perils. Especially is this a matter to be thought of by the Church, in any of its denominational distributions, which is by its great Head put in charge of these interests; and the question may be pertinently asked whether it is lawful to devolve such an interest upon any self-appointed and irresponsible set of men, however wise and excellent. Back of all this is the pregnant fact that the Sunday-schools of this country have, from the beginning, assumed and had conceded to them a kind of independent individuality and an autonomy of their own, by which they appear, not as of the integrity of the Church but a separate and co-ordinate auxiliary. Is that a happy condition of things?

These thoughts are only preliminary to what we had in mind when we wrote the heading of this paper. As is well-known, the International Lessons for the first quarter of the current year were made up of portions of the history of the patriarchs, drawn from the book of Genesis. The narratives there given, contemplated apart from their special religious and theological designs, and simply in respect to their literary style and substance, are beautifully idyllic, and they abound with scenes of romantic heroism. But they are above all else theistical and specifically religious, and accordingly they have been often and effectively used by wise and devout parents and other instructors of young persons, as in the case of Doddridge's mother explaining the figures on the Dutch tiles, as valuable religious lessons and as incentives to piety and right living. But every competent teacher knows that the study of Genesis is not what it used to be, and that it cannot now be explained and "improved" as it was by his mother and grandmother. "The more is the pity," perhaps some will say, but the fact remains.

Readers of Sunday-school literature published during the last few months in books, and pamphlets, and leaflets, and in the periodicals, from the learned monthlies, and especially the weeklies, down to the "children's papers," have found them surcharged with expositions and discussions of the lives and the doings of the patriarchs and God's dealings with them. These commentaries cover a very wide area, and duly collated they do not show an entire harmony among their writers; and the whole, if thoroughly studied, might surfeit the susceptible and distract the thoughtful, and, possibly, lead the skeptically inclined to reject the whole as fatally self-destructive. Perhaps, however, something of this sort is unavoidable; it may be that the story of the *origines* of the human race must of necessity be revised and restated; but, if so, it may be asked

whether or not the Sunday-school is the place for its prosecution? Is it wise that such profound themes, before which the best instructed mature minds hesitate, should be submitted to the untaught and susceptible minds of children by callow and ill-informed teachers?

But what should be thought of the wisdom and discretion of choosing such a portion of Scripture for such a purpose? Protestants do indeed believe that no part of the teachings of the Bible should be withheld from any; but surely in giving to each his portion in due season a wise discretion should be exercised. An apostle dealing with some whom he compared to "little children" tells them that he had fed them with *milk*, and not with *strong meat;* and at a later day he complained that they were still unable to bear any other than the most elementary doctrines. But our wise almoners of the bread of life seem to discard all such discriminating cautiousness when they proceed to dictate lessons—the same to the infant class and the adult Bible class—which involve and are sure to bring to the front some of the most difficult questions in biblical criticism, in respect to which the most scholarly speak only very reservedly and ask time for further inquiry. Would it not have been better to give the children less difficult lessons, and left the confessedly hard-to-be-answered questions found in the patriarchal history to be examined and determined by those best able to deal with such matters?

The discussions of some of these things in the "lesson helps" found in some of the religious periodicals have led to a number of rather curious affairs. An official organ of one of our specifically evangelical Sunday-school organizations introduced Abraham, in the purposed offering of Isaac, as an only partially rescued subject of ancestral idolatry which inculcated the practice of human sacrifices. In another case, an editor of a great weekly, who had engaged an able and scholarly minister to prepare the exposition of the Sunday-school lessons, began very soon to detect an unusual odor about these contributions which reminded him of the "Higher Criticism," and made it necessary to subject the offered matter to a careful surveillance and the free use of the *penna expurgatoria*. Worst of all, the publisher of the incomparably ablest Sunday-school periodical in the world—*The Sunday-School Times*—having in his far-seeing and liberal enterprise engaged the pens of some of the ablest biblical scholars on both sides of the sea to fully expound the lessons and bring out all their hidden riches, soon found himself standing face to face with a rendering of the sacred narrative that would have delighted the hearts of the most advanced disciples of the school of Wellhausen, Kuenen, and Robertson Smith. But he was equal to the emergency, and the contract for supplies of that kind was peremptorily and speedily terminated. Now, these things are only what might have easily been foreseen, and they should have been anticipated by those who set the Sunday-schools at studying Genesis; and the Christian public should thank the editors who showed the courage to refuse to allow their periodicals to become the mediums for introducing distracting discussions of profound biblical questions among those who are necessarily unable to deal with them, and would quite certainly suffer

harm from them. But most that we have seen in print, and it may be presumed that the same thing has very generally prevailed in the Sunday-schools, has been quite guiltless of the "Higher Criticism;" and, instead, the commonplaces of a hundred years ago have appeared flitting in the strong light of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, like bats and owls overtaken by daylight.

We are not of those who lament the decadence of that kind of faith which subsists without regard to reason and reality, although it has its seeming advantages. But whatever may be any one's preferences, such a faith has become impossible. The thinking of the age, which no man, nor school, nor council can control or effectually limit—which moves slowly but as irresistibly as the glacier on the mountain-side—has changed its point of observation, and therefore very many things have taken on other aspects. Such changes of views are perpetually occurring, but in this case the transition is very wide, and it has come so suddenly that the same individual may find himself in one short life-time subsisting in two widely different worlds of thought, and facing in opposite directions. There are a few still living who received their first lessons out of the Bible during the early decades of the century but have kept themselves in close contact and lively sympathy with their shifting times; and these very well know that they have come into widely changed intellectual environments. They find themselves disqualified for the ready credence and the unquestioning acceptance of traditional beliefs of their earlier days, and they know that those golden days of easy credulity are forever gone; that the past cannot be recalled by any such miracle as that wrought upon the dial of Ahaz. The chick just escaped from the shell may shiver in the rough atmosphere, but it cannot by any possibility return to its former snug quarters. So though even superstition may have its charms, and possibly some real advantages, still the dews of the morning vanish before the rising sun, and the dreams of childhood—that of the great world as well as of individuals—though pleasant to think of, must give place to the sterner duties of manhood. It is probable that while by virtue of the reading and exposition of Genesis in the Sunday-schools some troublesome questions have been prematurely thrust into the foreground, and upon those least able to solve them and most likely to be harmed by their unskillful treatment, still the advent of those questions in the arena of popular thinking was inevitable. A transition away from the old methods of contemplating the history of the patriarchs, into another and broader one, is almost certain to be made in the near future. The word of King Canute commanding the flood-tide to turn back was no more impotent than must be any attempt, by whatever parties, to stay the tendency of the thought of the age.

It is, however, very desirable that a movement which, although fruitful of good in its ultimate results, may still prove harmful incidentally if unwisely managed, should be conducted wisely and discreetly. As soon as it was seen that certain traditional views of the teachings of the Old Testament were losing their hold upon the public mind, the enemies of

religion seized upon these changes, and pressed them in exaggerated proportions against the whole system of the Christian faith; and, to the great embarrassment of the only competent defenders of the faith, certain brave but incompetent and injudicious champions rushed into the combat and attempted to defend the indefensible outlying fancies with which superstition and ignorance had encumbered Christian truth, and these, by their unavoidable defeat, appeared to damage the whole case. But the contest in favor of the truth is now fairly undertaken by those who are equal to all its demands; and what is demonstrated by scholarly research must be given to the public, and so passed downward through all classes and grades of intelligence till the rectified conceptions of the teachings of the sacred history shall have become universal. The agency through which this may be effective is, first of all, the press—in the form of discussions in books and reviews and the higher classes of periodical literature. The platform of learned associations may contribute something, and, further along, the subject may be somewhat treated in the pulpit, but only with judicious reserve—tentatively and by implication, rather than dogmatically and controversially. The defense of the Gospel against the assaults of learned skepticism has been all along sadly handicapped by its incompetent self-appointed champions, by whom, in not a few cases, the pulpit has proved an effectual auxiliary to the learned infidel propaganda of our times. The Christian evidences should be dealt with only sparingly and incidentally by the pulpit, whose business is much less to set forth the credibility of the Gospel than to state its substance and to enforce its claims; and in the Sunday-school both the evidences of religion and all forms of biblical criticism are almost sure to do harm rather than good. The advice of Robert Hall to Eustace Carey respecting the kind of teaching required of a missionary among heathen is scarcely less applicable to religious teachers in all lands, that not "a circuitous course of instruction," nor "an argumentative exposition of the principles of natural religion" is needed; but instead, "testimony," and though not in fact, yet in manner, "dogmatic" declaration of the truth.

Our views in respect to the free use of legitimate biblical criticism, and of the intelligent, but reverent and cautious, re-examination of the theological formularies of former times, have been sufficiently indicated. But in order that this work shall be well and wisely done it must be intrusted to those whose pursuits have rendered them expert in it. It is not a work for children, of whatever stature or age; and all who are set to instruct the great technically unlearned masses should practically remember this in their ministrations.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

MOLTKE IN THE GERMAN PARLIAMENT is a character of some importance in these days of stormy prognostications, and he is naturally a study to the quidnuncs who would gladly read his thoughts in the severe though impassive lines of his face. For whole months he will remain silently seated in his chosen place at the extreme right, entering among the first and not leaving until the close of the session. Reclining on his seat, and continually absorbed, he does not like to be interrupted in his reverics, and he hastily dispatches the neighboring deputies who come to shake his hand or draw the "silent man" into the snare of a conversation.

In his eighty-seventh year he still moves on with the period. Braced by his uniform he has a bold and upright bearing, and his little, bony head has quite a juvenile appearance; and the wig which the field-marshal wears contributes not a little to this impression. Until quite recently his hair was blonde, but the lively discussions regarding the famous *Septennate* seem to have cast the snows on his head, and his hair is now inclining to a silver gray. Moltke, unlike many other members, never takes to the tribune to speak. When he desires to say a few words, and the privilege has been granted by the presiding officer, he advances slowly into the hemicycle before the deputies. Then these gather around him, and a profound silence reigns, without the least demonstration from the gavel. His slow voice, a little trembling, gathers strength as he proceeds. His speeches are very short, but of a marvelous transparency and clearness—not a word is forgotten, not a syllable too much is uttered; and to this conciseness there is added the perfection of form. When the great soldier has finished he resumes his seat without a moment's delay.

LEO XIII. is a striking antithesis to Pius IX. Every thing seems to separate and place them in opposition—blood, education, and temperament. The famous Pio Nono was at once a monk and a soldier of a popular character, and obeying, above all things, his feelings of the hour. His theological learning was quite ordinary, and of dialectics he was totally destitute. His mind was not broad, but it was very ardent, and went directly to its aim with but a single leap. His reasoning was simple as that of childhood. Thus it may be said that his thoughts came to him not from research nor study, but from a species of inspiration and interior illumination. He never doubted, and he seldom discussed with himself or others. He had mystic intuitions and revelations that filled his soul and led it to its purpose. With him it was a swift and sure *non possumus*, which even Napoleon III. could not change.

In comparing the portraits of the present pope and his predecessor the contrast is very striking. The head of Pius IX. resembles that of a country curate, a little heavy, but full of kindness. Leo XIII., on the contrary, is tall, slender, and of an aristocratic mien. One can perceive the lord under the costume of the sovereign pontiff, and a ruler of men who would

have preferred to devote his time to study and asceticism. His head is lofty, and his features are very marked. Hair already white softens the natural dignity of his countenance, which appears rather dry than harsh. His literary and philosophical education has been very thorough, and his piety has always been very pronounced. His early teachers were the Jesuits, and their influence over him has always been strong. No pope for a long time has taken so much pains to broaden the studies of the Catholic clergy, and to encourage their efforts in this line.

The allocutions of Leo XIII. are always forcible, though they have not the fire of those of Pius IX. In these he does not so much insist on exclusive Roman Catholicism; his pen leans rather to an ideal *Christianity*. His religion is carefully separated from civil matters, and there is nothing puerile or superstitious in the devotion that he recommends; the names of the Virgin or the saints do not often find a place in his sermons. He does not repudiate the superstitions of his Church, but he does not bring them out in bold relief. There are, indeed, two characters in the present pontiff —the man and the sacred ruler; and it is interesting to see the first tremble and sacrifice itself before the second. And while Leo is faithful to himself he obeys with humility the decisions which he supposes God formulates for his mouth by the Church in council. He thus feels himself at times infallible, and again weak and powerless.

THE MEMORY OF PAUL BERT seems to be still greatly revered in France. It will be remembered that he was sent as special embassador to Tonquin; as was thought, to get rid of a troublesome personage to the present *régime*. His remains were brought back to France, to repose, after a long voyage, in their native soil. The funeral ceremonies attracted to Huxeme a large concourse of distinguished men, and not a few of low estate; the presence of some, who for long hours awaited in silence the *cortége*, was very touching. A special train brought from Paris two or three hundred Parisians—deputies, savants, officials, journalists, and delegates of various associations. Indeed, the cemetery scarcely sufficed to contain all that came.

The coffin was placed on a catafalque adorned with the French tricolor veiled with crape, and a few Chinese flags; and the numerous family of the dead scientist and statesman were present in deep mourning. The ministers of the present administration were there in force, and the Secretary of State made a long discourse, in which he traced the career in China, as displayed by his dispatches, which produced quite a sensation. Bert had been greatly traduced during his absence, and his defense was complete. The Minister of Public Instruction, Bert's successor in office, quite to the astonishment of all, was very ardent in his defense. He acknowledged that Bert had been misunderstood and defamed, not only in his laborious life, but even in his death; and acknowledged that he had been sacrificed to the honor of his flag in sending him to a foreign post where his life paid the forfeit of his fidelity, for most of men would have refused to go there under the circumstances of the case.

Quite *apropos*, it would seem, M. Ranc has just used the words of Bert in a speech opposing a separation of Church and State, before the French Chambers. Bert believed in a union of Church and State as far as the Concordat is concerned, that the State might in this way secure a control over the Church and prevent the acrimony that would arise between the classes. He felt that in every household domestic quarrels would arise, and that every village would be divided into two camps. This violence done to the Church would give the village curate the opportunity to play the part of mischief-maker. These words of the dead statesman seem to have had their effect, for in their train came defeat to the proposition, and France is probably saved from a fierce religious struggle at the moment when, in the words of Gambetta, it is wiser for her to be watching the nation beyond the Vosges.

THE NATIONAL HYMNS OF EUROPE are again coming to the front in the excitement regarding a general war. General Boulanger, the French evil genius of the period, has ordered the bands of the army to study the national hymns of the principal lands. Now these airs are about as numerous as the countries of the world, and the task for the French musicians will not be a small one.

Above all, of course, for the French, is their own immortal war hymn, the "Marseillaise," which has stirred the hearts of multitudes to rush to "liberty or death." Besides the "Marseillaise," the Spaniards have one that saw the light in the same way, and touches the same strains of the Spanish heart. This is called the "Riego," and was composed by San Miguel, a poet and soldier, to incite the people against the despotism of Ferdinand VII. A youth of but seventeen composed the music in a few hours, he being an enthusiast for the rising liberty of the country.

The national hymn of Belgium is the "Brabançonne," in which we see its Brabant origin. It was composed in 1830, at the period of the great struggle against Holland. The words are by Jenneval, a famous player and poet, and the music by Campenhout. The author was killed in fighting for Belgian liberty. His countrymen paid him a posthumous homage by granting a pension to his mother.

"God Protect the Czar" is the famous Russian hymn. It was composed by General Alexis Livoff on his return from a visit with the Emperor Nicholas to Prussia and Austria; they heard the national hymns of these countries, and felt that they alone of all the countries of Europe should not be without a national anthem. When it was presented to the emperor he listened to it several times, declared it superb, and decreed its adoption for the country.

We need scarcely say that the national air of United Germany is "The Watch on the Rhine," with which the French are but too well acquainted; it has defended the sacred stream more than once at the price of blood. It was composed in the warlike effervescence of 1840, and replied to by the French poet, De Musset, in the song commencing, "We have had it, your German Rhine," and this bitter taunt inspired the Germans to take it back

in 1871. The words were written by a rather obscure German poet named Schneckenburg, whose worth was not acknowledged till after his death. The music was by Wilhelm, and it immediately touched and inspired the German heart.

VICTOR EMMANUEL'S recognition by his own dear country is now complete. His monument in the Pantheon at Rome is now finished, and accepted by his family and the liberal element of all Italy. On the occasion of the recent anniversary of his death, King Humbert and Queen Margherita knelt in the Pantheon before his tomb, and listened to a low mass by the royal chaplain.

The temple was closed to the public during this time; the household of the court and the president of the association of veterans who have guarded the tomb of the patriot king were the only ones allowed to be present at the ceremony. But after the departure of the sovereigns and their suite the doors of the Church were thrown open to the local authorities, the patriotic societies of working-men, the deputations of the army, etc. These all defiled before the tomb, and laid on it their wreaths.

This ceremony will be repeated annually in the future. The reverence for the memory of the sovereign to whom Italy owes its unity and independence remains very vivid in the minds of the masses, and the pilgrimage to the Pantheon will always be performed with eagerness.

This year the king and queen have enjoyed the privilege of seeing the tomb of the "Father of his Country," for this is now the common appellation given to Victor Emmanuel. Nine years were consumed in endless discussions as to the form to be given to the monument. In the month of September last the king became fatigued at the delay, and ordered the adoption of a plan, and the completion of the monument by the anniversary of the hero's decease. By working night and day the work was completed.

THE QUIRINAL AND THE VATICAN still find it difficult to settle on a *modus vivendi*, notwithstanding so many reports to the contrary. The Minister of the Interior has just informed the Cardinal Archbishop of Turin that the amount of the annual appropriations to His Holiness now reaches the enormous sum of £2,000,000 sterling.

As it is now nineteen years that the Vatican has refused to receive the annual moneys from the State, the minister thinks the period arrived to declare that if this state of things continues for five years longer the period will have arrived to proclaim that the claim has lapsed. It is also known that the Pope has been informed of this correspondence, and that he has declared that there is nothing in the canon law forbidding a restitution, under some form, for the damage done by the loss of the temporal power. But he thinks that the reparation ought to be made to the Catholics of the world for the loss of their spiritual privileges in the ecclesiastical capital of the world, and because they have found it necessary to aid the Holy See by precarious subscriptions. From this it is easy to see that the Sovereign Pontiff endeavors *sub rosa* to contrive a means to receive this *nervus*

rerum for the Church, which he refuses on a sort of principle, as it might seem tacitly to acknowledge to the State the right to assume the temporal power of the Vatican on the condition of a large annual subsidy in lieu of it. It is quite probable, therefore, that in the near future the Church will find a means to accept this sum, which act will be likely to create serious difficulty to the Italian treasury.

"THE DRAMA OF QUERETARO," as the history and fate of Maximilian in Mexico is often called, has again been revived to the European mind by the publication of the memoirs of the deceased Chancellor Beust, who was better acquainted with the story of the catastrophe than any other living man. He was present at the interview in Strasburg, in 1867, between the Emperor Napoleon and the Emperor of Austria, brother of the victim and martyr, and knew the promises made by the ambitious French emperor. This was about the period of the famous Exposition of Paris, to which Napoleon invited most of the crowned heads of Europe, and which invitation many of them accepted.

In the beginning the Emperor of Austria had expected also to be there, but after the tragic end of Maximilian he found many diplomatic objections to making the visit. Apart from the bitter quarrel that this affair gave rise to in the imperial family of Austria, Francis Joseph felt himself deeply aggrieved by the conduct of Napoleon in having forced the crown on Maximilian and then deserting him in the hour of trial.

One day Francis Joseph bid his chancellor tell him the whole truth about the matter without reserve; and Beust did so, in the following manner: He reminded Francis Joseph that he had induced the King of Hanover to oppose Prussia, whereby he had lost his throne, and was not sustained by the Austrian emperor. It was a similar case, said Beust, between Napoleon III. and Maximilian. The French emperor did not dare risk a struggle with the United States, and he was forced to abandon Maximilian, as you were to abandon George V. Francis Joseph was magnanimous enough to accept these bitter words with the frankness with which they were given.

A TUNNEL UNDER THE SIMPLON is now the watchword of the French, who are extremely nettled at the fact of the success of that of St. Gothard, which puts Germany in such direct and easy communication with Italy. The Geographical Society of Paris is now discussing the question, and declares that a new tunnel will always pay if it is put through the Simplon range, which is decidedly the shortest route from Paris to Milan, and which the French believe will attract all commercial travelers and many tourists.

And there is a national and patriotic feeling connected with the Simplon, as this is the great pass put across the Swiss Alps by Napoleon in order to facilitate his access to Milan and Italy. The French will have the advantage of the large experience gained in such work by the Germans and Swiss, and also of the great improvement in the machinery for such labor now in vogue. Millions were sunk in the St. Gothard tunnel in gaining this

knowledge, which is now, of course, at the command of the French engineers. The commission appointed to examine the matter report that they find easy grades, and recommend a tunnel longer than any yet constructed, and with a single track. The St. Gothard cost nine years of labor ; it is estimated that the Simplon will be constructed in six.

A RUSSIAN EXPLORER is trying his hand in New Guinea, and thinks he finds reasons for claiming for his country a portion of the north-eastern coast in partnership with the German Empire. He describes a portion of the coast as containing immense forests, comparable only to those of Central America for the size and height of the trees. The inhabitants are still in the stone age, and they keep their prisoners of war as slaves, if no worse fate befalls them. The shells which he took with him as currency were not acceptable to the Papuans, and he thus came near starving, with his suite, until he bethought himself of turning doctor for the tribe. The effect of his medicine covered him with glory, and they soon acquired a great respect for the brave explorer.

He remained with them, married a wife to satisfy them, and became a magisterial authority among them. His wedding was a festival on a scale so grand and fantastic that he thought himself playing a part in the grand opera of Paris. But a Russian vessel was sent after six years to seek, and, fortunately, to find him. He returned, and now offers his country the chance of a protectorate over the land thus gained.

THE JESUITS are slowly but surely making their way back into Germany. Several members of prominent noble families have recently entered the order, and one of these families has been in the lead in the great *Kulturkampf* that now seems about closing. In addition to these, several princely families are named that have gone over to the enemy in the hope of thus receiving a support for the waning aristocracy. One reason for this may be found in the fact that nearly all distinguished Catholic families are having their children educated in the institutions of the Jesuits. Another set of German nobles are sending their children to French or Belgian Jesuit colleges. This is certainly a very strange proceeding, and a novel way of subverting that law of the empire which forbids the Jesuits from acting as teachers to German youth. It is virtually treason to the country.

THE BELGIAN MONARCH seems, better than some others, to understand the situation as to the working-classes, for he addresses them virtually from the throne, thus showing his appreciation of their sorrows. He believes their condition in his country worthy of much sympathy, and presses on his legislators and magistrates increased attention to their petitions and their wants. He declares it but just and wise to give especial care and protection to the weak and the unfortunate. This opens the way to the true principle of modern social reform; namely, a just and sacred regard for all classes. The king's programme is : Improvement of the relations between employer and employed by the establishing of courts of

arbitration to settle disputed questions; regulation of the hours and conditions of labor of women and children; better pay, better homes and schools, and thus on through the list of evils.

HOLLAND'S MINISTER OF JUSTICE has just laid before the Chambers a bill for the furtherance of Sabbath observance. According to this all work outside of the house, and even inside in case it can be heard in the street, is forbidden on the Sabbath. No public sales or auctions will be allowed, except for the necessaries of ordinary life. Further, it is prohibited on Sundays, before eight o'clock in the evening, to arrange any public amusements, and on Sundays to sell any intoxicating liquors before noon. In explanation the minister says: "A complete prohibition of Sunday labor is now not practicable, but the government desires to do its best toward the realization of this aim." He thinks, also, that stricter regulations regarding Sunday amusements would not now be practicable. We simply wonder that he ventures to ask so much.

THE SWISS FEDERAL COUNCIL seems inclined to be very active in the work of moral reform. It has just placed a pretty heavy tax on the production and sale of ardent spirits. The main idea seems to be a good income from high license, and a tax on home and foreign production in this line. In the cantons of Schaffhausen and Berne the apothecaries are following the example of their colleagues in Basel, namely, that of closing their stores in turn on Sundays and holidays. The Common Council of St. Gall have rejected a petition requesting that the stores might be open on Sundays, and the Reformed Protestant ministers of the same canton are recommending more ornamentation in the churches in order to make them more attractive. In this line a Protestant professor has delivered a course of lectures advocating the adoption by Protestantism of the *Madonna* as a symbol of family purity. This is simply queer.

THE BALTIC PROVINCES still continue to feel the iron heel of Russia in relation to all that concerns their churches and schools. The Orthodox Greek Church is determined that the Lutherans shall yield, and virtually abandon their Church. When they decline to do this they are treated as rebels and surrounded with spies. The very servants in their households are often paid to act as informers. If these people report that their employers have spoken disrespectfully of the emperor or the Russian Church, a sentinel is put before their doors and they are summoned before a civil court. The Russo-Greek Church makes its propaganda in the most shameless way. The simple peasants of the country are promised land without payment and a church without tithes if they will come over and be converted, and such offers are very tempting to the poor and ignorant peasantry. This promise is a falsehood; and when, too late, they learn this, and complain, they are persecuted as disloyal to the national Church.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

PROGRESS IN CHINA.—It is now about eighty years since the first missionary work was begun in China. The London Missionary Society sent out Morrison in 1807, but it was seven years before a single convert was secured. China was not then open to the Gospel, and it was only in a very limited and cautious way that Morrison could work at all. After the war of 1842, Hong Kong, which was ceded to England, and five ports were opened to foreigners. In 1860 missionaries were allowed to travel throughout the empire, and other cities were designated as free to foreigners for residence. From that time on, the missionaries have been gradually gaining liberties and opportunities, until now the whole of China is open to missionary effort. China has proved to be a hard field; but there are indications that the stubborn opposition of the people to the introduction and spread of the Gospel is almost ready to break down. Most of the difficulties have been fomented by the *literati* class, who rouse the rabble and precipitate conflicts, and themselves remain in the background. Protestant missions are being gradually extended into western and south-western China, and by the end of the present century every province will probably have mission centers. The territory and the population are, however, so vast that it must be many years before the empire is occupied in any real sense by Christian missions. From this time forth the Chinese themselves must take a more and more prominent part in the evangelization of the millions upon millions of their countrymen.

The growth of missions in China since the Shanghai Conference of 1877 has been very encouraging. It has, in fact, been as large in the past nine years as in the previous twenty-four years. In 1843 there were only six Protestant converts, so that all that were reported in 1877 were really gained in that period. The total of communicants in 1877 was 13,515, which was regarded at that time, taking every thing into consideration, as an encouraging exhibit. It indicated an average gain of 563 converts a year, or a fraction under 11 a week. According to a table compiled by Dr. Luther H. Gulick, editor of the *Chinese Recorder*, from reports received up to December 31 of last year, there are now 28,119. Some reports were, however, not complete, and it is his belief that the actual strength of Protestant Christianity in China cannot fall below 30,000. But taking the smaller number we find that the 13,515 of 1877 has considerably more than doubled in the nine years that have elapsed. The net gain is 14,604, which gives an average of 1,623 a year, or 31 a week. It may seem a small result in proportion to the labor and money expended; a "thin harvest," as our English paper in Shanghai calls it, but it is not so when the obstacles are properly estimated; it is not so when the difficulties which have been overcome are considered; it is not so when the character of the influence missions are now exerting in China is taken into account. A converted Chinaman is a

more positive force to-day than he was nine years ago, and the prospects of the coming nine years are surely much brighter than they were in 1877 of the past nine years. For an example of improved prospects, take the present attitude of the Government as indicated in the proclamations issued in the provinces last October. These proclamations were issued in response to directions from Peking, and express the will of the imperial Government, with the object of allaying the hostility of the people toward the "Jesus religion," and softening their prejudices, and of affording the fullest protection to the missionaries. The people are told that the Christian religion teaches them to do right, and ought therefore to be respected. The governor of the district which includes Shanghai begins his official notification by explaining that under the treaties missionaries have the right to lease ground and houses, and to travel about to preach, "*their sole aim being the inculcation of the practice of virtue,* and having no design of interfering with the business of the people. Such of the subjects of China as wish to become converts may lawfully do so, and so long as they abstain from evil-doing there is no law prescribing inquisition into or prohibition of their action." A recent outbreak, resulting in the destruction of churches and chapels, is then referred to, and summary vengeance, it is stated, will be taken on the ringleaders, "for the consequences of such misdoings are manifold and far-reaching." The proclamation continues as follow:

> I have accordingly ordered all officials in every jurisdiction to act in strict compliance with the Imperial will, and it is now my duty to issue this urgent proclamation for the information of all persons in the circuit of which I am Intendant. Bear in mind that when missionaries live in the midst of your villages you and they are mutually in the relationship of host and guest. Under ordinary circumstances it is your foremost duty to act toward them with courtesy and forbearance. More is involved than the mere protecting of missionary chapels; the weal and woe of yourselves, your homes, and your livelihood are assuredly concerned. Let such of you as are fathers and brothers do your utmost to teach the necessity of turning away wrath and putting an end to strife. Cast your eyes ever on the warning example which has preceded, and avoid a day of repentance in the future. This is my earnest wish. Do not disobey this urgent and special proclamation.

When did Chinese governors ever before speak in such appreciative terms of Christianity? What will be the influence of these proclamations on the people to whom they are addressed? Will they not have great effect in removing popular delusions and prejudices respecting Christianity? It must be remembered that no special pressure was exerted on the Chinese Government by other nations to induce it to take this action. It was a voluntary proceeding, and shows, whatever the motive inspiring it may be, the desire of the Government that missionaries shall in no way be hindered in their work. "Those who embrace Christianity," says the governor of the province of Chch Kiang, "do not cease to be Chinese." This is what he calls putting "the matter plainly." Such official utterances show that Christianity has at last won the respect, if not the confidence, of Chinese rulers, and will henceforth meet with fewer obstacles.

Taking up Dr. Gulick's statistics again, we find much to encourage in them. They show that eight more societies and nearly twice as many

missionaries are at work as in 1877. The figures respecting native preachers and contributions are, unfortunately, very defective. But it is not a matter of dispute that there has been a great gain in these respects. We give two of Dr. Gulick's tables in one:

Name of Society.	Foreign Missionaries.					Native Ordained Ministers.	Unordained Native Helpers.	Communicants.	Pupils in School's.	Contributions by Native Churches.
	Date of Mission.	Men.	Wives.	Single Women.	Total.					
1 London Missionary So....	1807	24	17	6	47	8	66	3,052	1,711	$5,000 00
2 A. B. C. F. M.....	1830	26	25	12	63	..	80	1,175	....	.....
3 American Baptist, North..	1834	9	9	5	23	8	72	1,433	175	491 26
4 American Protestant Epis.	1835	11	9	3	23	17	13	384	801	500 80
5 American Pres., North..	1838	44	32	14	90	14	16	4,368	1,804	1,472 00
6 British and For. Bible Soc.	1843	11	5	..	16	..	82	....	....	.....
7 Church Mission Society...	1844	24	23	..	47	4	186	2,724	1,089	2,103 00
8 English Baptist.....	1845	15	14	1	30	..	17	994	46	.....
9 Methodist Episcopal.....	1847	24	24	12	60	(!) 68	136	2,408	988	3,121 10
10 Seventh Day Baptist.....	1847	1	1	1	3	..	8	18	69	88 00
11 American Baptist, South..	1847	11	9	4	24	..	...	547	....	600 00
12 Basel Mission.....	1847	19	19	..	3	4	49	1,611	461	.....
13 English Presbyterian.....	1847	22	17	7	4	5	121	3,312	....	1,524 74
14 Rhenish Mission.....	1847	3	3	..	6	..	6	60	200	.....
15 Meth. Episcopal, South...	1848	8	8	7	23	3	7	146	653	222 11
16 Berlin Foundling Hospital.	1850	1	1	4	6	..	...	....	80	.....
17 Wesleyan Mission Society.	1852	20	8	4	32	..	28	679	587	.....
18 Am. Reformed (Dutch)...	1858	5	5	2	12	(!) 3	20	784	....	2,008 43
19 Woman's Union Mission..	1859	..	..	3	3	..	....	....	....	.....
20 Meth. New Connection ...	1860	6	5	..	11	..	54	1,186	142	.....
21 Soc. Promotion Fem. Edu.	1860	..	..	3	3	..	...	....	....	.....
22 United Presbyterian, Scot.	1864	7	6	..	13	..	17	306	....	.....
23 China Inland Mission.....	1865	92	40	55	187	..	114	1,314	274	408 13
24 National Bible Soc. Scot...	1868	3	2	..	5	..	...	....	....	.....
25 United Meth. Free Church.	1868	3	3	..	6	..	10	297	....	300 00
26 Am. Presbyterian, South..	1868	8	6	4	18	..	10	44	207	35 00
27 Irish Presbyterian.....	1869	3	3	..	6	..	...	....	....	.....
28 Canadian Presbyterian....	1871	2	2	..	4	..	32	1,128	55	.....
29 Soc. Propagation Gospel..	1874	4	2	..	6	..	...	....	....	.....
30 American Bible Society...	1876	8	4	..	12	..	40	....	....	.....
31 Established Church Scot..	1878	2	2	..	4	..	3	30	438	.....
32 Berlin Mission.....	1882	5	5	..	10	..	27	119	84	.....
33 Gen. Prot. Evang. Society.	1884	1	..	..	1	..	...	....	....	.....
34 Bible Christians.....	1885	2	..	..	2	..	...	....	....	.....
35 Disciples of Christ.....	1886	3	..	..	3	..	...	....	....	.....
36 Book and Tract Society...	1886	1	..	..	1	..	...	....	....	.....
37 Society of Friends.....	1886	1	1	1	3	..	...	....	....	.....
38 Independent Workers.....	1886	3	..	2	5	..	...	....	....	.....
Total.....	....	432	310	150	892	134	1,114	28,119	9,864	$17,874 57

The total of missionaries in 1877 was 478, of whom 238 were men, 172 married women, 63 single women. These numbers have been doubled, nearly since 1877. The China Inland Mission has the largest number of workers—187; the American Presbyterian Mission, North, comes next, with 90 missionaries; then the American Board with 63; and then our own Church with 60. The China Inland Mission had only 54 missionaries in 1877, and was second in the list, the American Presbyterian, North, being first, with 59. The American Board has added only 13 to its force. Of the whole number of missionaries 650 have entered the field in the

last decade. The oldest in the field is Dr. Hopper, his term of service extending over 48 years.

Allowing China a population of 350,000,000, we have at present one missionary, including women, to every 389,000 Chinese. What is this handful of workers to the work? The great hope for China lies in the development of the native ministry. We wish there were at hand complete statistics of the strength of this arm of the service.

PROGRESS IN INDIA.—The Gospel has had one great difficulty to contend against in India that it has not encountered in China—the evil of caste. Caste is the most monstrous system ever invented in the interest of the devil's kingdom. It holds India in fearful bondage, and it will require centuries after its power shall have been broken to efface the stamp it has set upon the people. When its sway shall cease nobody can predict. Of course it cannot be in this century; perhaps not in the next. It is being gradually undermined by various causes, the Gospel being, of course, the most potent. As Christianity takes root and spreads caste loses in power, and becomes modified; but its day of doom does not appear to be near at hand. Considering how stringently its lines are drawn it is a wonder that Christianity has made such headway in a century. It is to be remembered, however, that it is the lower castes and outcasts that have been reached principally, although some impression has been made on the higher castes. The sacred sign of Siva has been washed from the forehead of the Brahman, in not a few cases, by the water of Christian baptism, and the sacred thread has been laid aside for the ministerial robe. There is, indeed, a large Christian constituency in India compared with that of China. India has been open much longer to the preaching of the Gospel than China, and Christian influences are vastly stronger than in the more northern empire. It is now ninety-five years since Carey inaugurated modern missionary work in India, and a vast amount of missionary effort has been put forth.

The increase of communicants, it will be observed, averages over 6,000 a year, and yet the number of missionaries is smaller by a hundred than is reported for China. There is a large gain in native ministers, one fourth of the whole number of whom are connected with the Church Missionary Society. Our own Church, which is third in the list of missionary agents, is seventh in that of ordained native preachers, and sixth in that of communicants. Our missions have gained heavily, however, since this table was made up. In North India alone the increase of communicants last year was about a thousand. The accessions of adult Hindus amounted to 1,324, besides 30 Moslems and 29 others. The increase in native ordained ministers for the four years is distributed as follows: Church Missionary, 22; Methodist Episcopal, 19; Gospel Propagation Society, 14; Gossner's Lutheran Mission, 9; London Missionary Society, 7; American Board, 7. In the Church of England missions the native agents outnumber the regular missionaries. The increase of native Christians may be divided as follows:

Gospel Propagation Society	10,076
American Baptist Missionary Union	7,480
Canadian Baptist Mission	2,682
American United Presbyterian Mission	2,585
Church Missionary Society	2,340
Methodist Episcopal	1,550
Leipzig Lutheran Mission	1,317
German Evangelical Mission (U.S.A.)	1,271

The American Baptists report the largest gain in native communicants, 5,618; next comes the Methodist Episcopal Church, with 2,397; Gospel Propagation Society, 2,338; Church Missionary, 2,218; American Evangelical Lutheran Mission, 1,179; American United Presbyterian Mission, 1,778; German Evang. Lutheran Mission, 1,500; Gossner's Mission, 1,319.

The results of missionary labor in India appear from time to time in statistical tables, the latest of which are due to one of our own missionaries, the Rev. B. H. Badley, whose *Indian Missionary Directory*, first published in 1876, again in 1881, and the third time in 1885, is a valuable depository of figures and facts. The following table, compiled by him for 1885, deserves a careful study:

Names of Societies and Missions.	Began work in India.	Foreign Missionaries.	Native Ordain'd Agents.	Native Christians.	Communicants.
1 Baptist Missionary Society	1793	43	50	10,000	4,000
2 London Missionary Society	1798	47	44	55,029	6,221
3 American Board	1813	24	37	14,475	4,626
4 Church Missionary Society	1814	115	132	101,333	23,289
5 Gospel Propagation Society	1817	53	71	90,888	21,996
6 Wesleyan Missionary Society	1817	44	9	4,200	1,800
7 General Baptist Missionary Society	1822	8	9	3,393	1,259
8 Church of Scotland Mission	1828	17	3	1,306	396
9 Free Church of Scotland Mission	1828	32	10	1,598	1,527
10 American Presbyterian Mission	1834	36	12	1,743	1,000
11 Basel Missionary Society	1834	79	10	8,513	4,445
12 American Baptist Missionary Union	1836	27	55	64,500	28,127
13 American Free Baptist Mission	1836	6	4	1,085	558
14 Gossner's Missionary Society	1840	17	11	32,000	12,131
15 Leipzig Missionary Society	1841	25	12	13,589	4,130
16 Irish Presbyterian Mission	1841	10	..	1,418	302
17 Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission	1841	8	..	3,719	852
18 American Evangelical Lutheran Mission	1842	10	4	9,360	3,842
19 American Reformed Mission	1853	8	4	5,437	1,610
20 Moravian Mission	1854	3	..	36	11
21 American United Presbyterian Mission	1855	8	3	3,245	2,176
22 Methodist Episcopal Church Mission	1856	72	36	8,604	5,486
23 United Presbyterian (Scotland) Mission	1860	16	1	960	441
24 Danish Lutheran Mission	1861	6	..	481	80
25 Presbyterian Church of England Mission	1862	1	..	34	15
26 Hermannsburg Lutheran Mission	1866	11	..	800	300
27 Friends' For. Miss. Association Mission	1866	3	..	36	18
28 Indian Home Mission	1867	5	5	4,273	3,500
29 Canadian Baptist Mission	1868	9	3	4,500	1,870
30 German Evangelical Mission (U. S. A.)	1869	4	..	530	234
31 Scotch Episcopal Church Mission	1870	..	1	28	8
32 Original Sect'n Church of Scotland Miss	1872	1	..	53	6
33 Canadian Presbyterian Mission	1877	5	..	126	72
34 Swedish Evangelical Mission	1877	8	..	34	16
35 American Free Methodist Mission	1880	1	..	....	....
36 Disciples of Christ Mission	1883	3	..	8	8
Private and Other Missions	....	26	4	2,421	1,152
Total		791	530	449,755	137,504
Increase since 1881		133	69	82,383	24,179

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN ASIA.—Protestant missions in India and China make a small showing, so far as statistics are concerned, in comparison with those of the Church of Rome. But it must be remembered that a "convert" to Catholicism does not mean what a "convert" to Protestantism means. It is possible to be a Catholic and still be largely heathen. The head, whether of infant or adult, that has received the water of baptism in the name of the Trinity is a Christian according to the Catholic idea. The large figures given for Catholic dioceses or vicariates in India and China and Indo-China must, therefore, be taken with due allowance. India, according to the latest statistics, (*Catholic Missions*, December, 1886), is divided into nineteen vicariates apostolic and two prefectures apostolic. In these twenty-one ecclesiastical divisions there are reported 1,185,538 Catholics, out of a total population of 253,907,500. For the spiritual care of these Catholics there are 1,089 priests, of whom over a hundred are natives. Of churches and chapels there are 2,687, of schools and colleges, 1,591, and of scholars, 66,941. There are also 16 seminaries and 872 seminarists, most of whom we may suppose expect to qualify for the priesthood. Of these seminarists 480 are in a single vicariate, that of Pondicherry, which is the second largest vicariate in India in point of Catholic population, reporting 199,396, with 5,000 scholars in the schools. There are 80 European missioners and 30 native priests in this vicariate, or rather in the vicariate and prefecture which bear the same name. The largest vicariate is that of Verapoli, which has 280,600 Catholics out of 2,671,000 population. In China there are 26 vicariates and 2 prefectures, and a total of 488,408 Catholics. The table gives the population of the empire at 390,000,000, which is probably too high by 40,000,000. There are 47 European missioners, 281 native priests, 2,429 churches and chapels (almost as many as in India), 1,779 schools and colleges (nearly 200 more than in India), and 25,219 scholars. The seminaries number 33, against 16 in India, with 654 seminarists. The largest number of Catholics are reported from the vicariate of Nanking, 101,000, which is occupied solely by missioners of the Jesuit order. In the three vicariates in the province of Peche-li, there are 82,500 Catholics; in Sechuen about the same number also in three vicariates. Four vicariates in Mongolia and Manchooria and one in Korea are not included in the statistics for China There are in the four vicariates about 32,000 Catholics, in Korea 13,642, in Japan, two vicariates, upward of 30,000. Thibet appears in this group with 1,000 Catholics. The group in south-eastern Asia includes 14 vicariates, with 280 missioners, 373 native priests, 1,950 churches and chapels, 1,028 schools and colleges, 19,399 scholars, and 16 seminaries, with 1,042 seminarists, and 694,286 Catholics in a population of 44,444,48.8 The grand total for these countries of Asia is 2,639 European and native priests, 7,293 churches and chapels, 4,469 schools and colleges. 112,359 scholars, 71 seminaries, with 2,746 seminarists and 2,440,481 Catholics in a total population of 745,351,988, or fully half the population of the earth. Of the European missioners, 671 are sent out by the Paris Society of Foreign Missions, 287 are Jesuits, 62 are Capuchins, 300

Carmelites, 45 Lazarists, 60 Oblates, 42 Dominicans, 16 Benedictines, and 4 Augustinians.

THE TONGAN DIFFICULTIES are increasing rather than diminishing. Our readers will remember the account we gave of the division in the Wesleyan forces. Two or three missionaries poisoned the mind of the king against the Superintendent and planned a secession, forming substantially a State Church and using outrageous methods to induce the ministers and churches to join their party. Persecution has been pretty constantly exercised in the name of the king against all those who preferred to adhere to the Australasian Wesleyan Society, and the shallowest pretexts have served as the ground of criminal or treasonable accusation. Recently Joel Nan, a native minister, was prosecuted for having said that he had been informed that under certain circumstances Mr. Watkins would leave the Free Church, the name which the seceders adopted. For this offense he was sentenced to imprisonment for two years and to pay a fine of one hundred dollars. As soon as this charge was disposed of another was presented. Nan was charged with having said that, like Paul, he obeyed his king in earthly matters, but not in spiritual. This was construed as intimating that King George was a Nero, and Nan was sentenced to another period of five years hard labor and to pay a fine. A third charge, of having said that the king erred, was brought, and another five years of sentence added, making twelve in all, with several hundred dollars in fines. As Nan is a man fifty years old he can hardly hope to live to serve out his sentences. He is said to have proved himself to be a worthy minister and to have done excellent work in the Fiji Islands. Everywhere native ministers and members are summoned to court on trivial charges, and fined and imprisoned. In many cases they have chosen rather to go to prison than to burden their churches with the payment of their fines. The native ministers and their families on one of the islands were compelled to remove on twenty-four hours' notice to another island, leaving all their property behind them. All these acts are said to be instigated or approved by Mr. Baker, formerly a Wesleyan minister. The stories told of the high-handed proceedings of Messrs. Baker and Watkins in the name of the king seem almost incredible, but they are well vouched for. The Anglican Bishop of Nelson was so impressed by what he saw in Tonga during a visit that he moved his synod to protest against the "very stringent and severe measures put in force by the Tongan Government against a minority, whereby the great principles of religious toleration and freedom are violated." It would seem to be a good case for the interference of the British Government. Mwanga of Uganda is not more regardless of justice and humanity than these ex-Wesleyan dictators.

THE MARTYRDOM OF BISHOP HANNINGTON continues to excite a lively interest among all classes of English Christians, as is evinced by the publication of a Sketch of his Life and Works in London, a notice of which, in the *Contemporary Review*, characterizes the deceased bishop as

"one of the best types of English manhood—practical, resolute, single-minded, hearty, and resourceful, rising vigorously to difficulty and danger, and sustained by a strong and straightforward religious faith."

GREAT INTEREST is also felt in the fate of the solitary missionary of the Church Society in Uganda—Mr. Mackay. The Rev. R. P. Ashe, his companion, whom Mwanga permitted to leave, has been in London some months, making speeches in the interest of missions and conferring with officers of the society concerning the policy to be pursued in Uganda. The latest news from Mr. Mackay shows that he is well and has not lost courage, but is anxious that large things shall be devised for the mission. He is visited by inquirers under cover of darkness, and is doing what he can under the most adverse circumstances to win converts from heathenism. The visit of Stanley, on his way to relieve Emin Bey, may, if it be not too late, result in saving Mr. Mackay from an awkward fate, and in securing toleration for the mission. It seems that over two hundred conversions have resulted from the labors of the missionaries, and the mission has a long roll of martyrs.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

THE question of the disestablishment of the English Church, like that of Home Rule, is one that will not down. Welsh disestablishment has been inevitable since tardy justice was done to Ireland by removing the legal supremacy of the Irish Church. In several parts of the British Isles the cry goes up, "Relieve us from the burdens and predominance of an unwelcome Church." In Wales, where the Welsh Calvinists form the largest denomination, and an immense majority of the people do not belong to the Established Church, the cry, just at present, is loudest. In the *Contemporary Review* for December, Stuart Rendel, M.P., shows that the Welsh perceive that just as in the past England used the English Establishment for purely English purposes in Wales, so many Englishmen decline to withdraw the Establishment lest English interests should suffer in England also. It is not to the Church as a Church that they object, but to the Church as an Establishment. If the English Church were a voluntary body, it would be regarded as a valuable fellow-worker in the Welsh vineyard. Welsh non-conformity sprang from the bosom of their Church. It was not dissent, it was evangelization. The English Church is rejected as English, as Episcopalian, and as Established. It can be truly said that the history of the English Church in Wales shows the same degree of wrong, except in quantity, as in Ireland. At the time of the English Reformation the Latin ritual was displaced for the English tongue—not for the Welsh. The Welsh gentry being, in 1745, Jacobite, English statesmen used the Church as an Anglicizing and denationalizing organization. From 1845 to 1870 not a single Welshman filled a Welsh see in the Established Church.

As bishops in Wales appoint the deans and hold the bulk of the patronage, English bishops in Wales made English deans and English clergy. This, of course, emptied their churches of all Welsh-speaking people. Then when the churches were emptied followed nepotism, pluralism, and absenteeism, until the buildings fell into ruin. As late as 1880 in one Welsh see three quarters of the whole endowment of the diocese went to members of the bishop's family and absentees. Religion was saved in Wales only by the humble evangelists who began in the seventeenth century, and who have wrought so well that they have built three thousand chapels and have a voluntary income of $2,000,000 a year. It is evident, therefore, that the Establishment drives a hard and cruel wedge into the midst of a friendly and trustful people, splitting it asunder just where class, religion, and politics furnish so unhappily a common line of cleavage. Another very great injustice is, that while the Anglican Church is the Church of a ridiculously small minority she has practically the use of all the old educational endowments in Wales. If any are disposed to look upon the continuance of the English Establishment as in any degree an act of security, they have but to read to correct their view, the many additional points of unhappy contact set forth in this article. Political sentiment in Wales is rapidly approaching a point where the Liberal party will very soon be compelled to be Welsh first and English afterward. This will bring another difficult question, in addition to the Irish, before Parliament, and as the Welsh are intensely Protestant and non-conformist, they will make themselves heard more quickly than Catholic Ireland.

Canon Westcott has a most scholarly and broad paper in this number on "Christianity as the Absolute Religion." The object of the Gospel is stated to be to reach all men, all time, all creation; to effect the perfection as well as the redemption of finite beings; to bring about a perfect unity of humanity without destroying the personality of any one man. It claims to deal with all that is external as well as all that is internal; with matter as well as with spirit; with the physical universe as well as with the moral universe; to realize a re-creation co-existing with creation; to present Him who is the Maker of the world as the heir of all things; to complete the cycle of existence, and to show how all things come from God and go to God. The incarnation and the resurrection furnish the basis for a religion which is intensely human, and which at every moment introduces the infinite and the unseen into a vital connection with the things of earth. Without the Gospel, men, as Dr. Newman once impressively said, look upon the face of nature for tokens of the presence of God, and it is "as if I looked in a mirror and saw no reflection but my own face." But Christ justifies our highest hope, opening depths of vision below the surface of things, transforming suffering, showing us the highest aspirations of our being, satisfied through a way of sorrow; disclosing the supernatural qualities of life by revealing its external glory; enabling us to understand how, being what we are, every grief and every strain of sensibility can be made in him tributary to the working out of our common destiny. As to the objection to the claims of Christianity

that they are paralleled by the claims of other religions, and that they are disproved by the crimes of Christians. Canon Westcott remarks, If it could be shown that the vital force of any other great religion was alien to Christianity—if it could be shown that the crimes of Christians arose from that which is the essence of their faith—then the objections would be weighty; but if, on the other hand, it is obvious that the other religions of the world each touch the hearts of men by a power of ardor of devotion, of a sympathy with nature, or of surrender to a supreme king, then each pre-Christian religion becomes a witness to the faith which combines with manifold powers in a final unity. The wickednesses of Christian men and Christian states are obviously in defiance of the message of the incarnation; and only prove that the approach to the ideal is slow, and that the ideal arises above attainment to condemn and to encourage.

The work of Bishop Taylor makes every article on the exploration and religious condition of Africa interesting to Methodists. Joseph Thompson has a study in this number on the present condition and prospects of Mohammedanism in Central Africa. The writer issues a warning voice against the misapprehension of Mohammedanism which is very much of the same kind as that against which Canon Westcott inveighs in the article from which we have quoted. Very few know that Mohammed said, that the worst of men was the man who sold men. The writer holds that the Mohammedan has as much right to lay our brutal slave-trade and our incessant wars, and all the crying evils of the gin-trade, to the teaching of Christianity, as we have to say that the slave-trade is produced and encouraged by Islam. The author has conducted three expeditions in East Central Africa, but saw nothing in these expeditions which suggested Mohammedanism as a civilizing power. There were no missionaries to preach Islam. Five hundred years of contact on the part of the tribes adjacent to Muscat had left the blacks without any reflection of the higher traits which characterize their neighbors, and this has been equally true, in his judgment, of Christian efforts, at which he ceased to wonder when he saw how the missionaries attempted the impracticable, expecting to do in a generation the work of centuries, and to instill the highest conceptions of religion into undeveloped brains. Last year the writer was converted from this skepticism in West Central Africa. Yet, notwithstanding his conversion, he declares there is no shirking the naked reality that in West Africa our influence for evil enormously counter-balances, thus far, any little good we have produced. His conversion took place when passing up the Niger through the degraded cannibals who inhabit its lower reaches. He found undoubted Negroes very different from the naked barbarians he had previously seen. He saw cities of ten thousand to thirty thousand inhabitants, well clothed, self-possessed, dignified men, an industrious community; no native beer or spirits, no European gin and rum found place in their markets. Outside the towns no forest covered the land. Agriculture was the habit of the people. Contact with Europeans had had nothing to do with it. This was almost exclu-

sively, in the view of the author, due to Mohammedanism. Mohammedanism supplied the tie which bound one hundred families together. The Koran supplied a new code of laws, swept away fetichism, nature-worship, and made the people reverent worshipers of the one God. While retaining polygamy, the Soudanese do not seclude their wives in harems nor compel them to be veiled. In this part of Africa Mohammedan missionary work is very intense and active. It is, then, strange to say, in the success of Mohammedanism that this writer finds the prophecy of Christian success, holding that it contains as much of good as the Negro can well assimilate. Mohammedanism has succeeded because it has asked of the Negro apparently so little, and yet in that little lie the germs of a great revolution. The Negro is able to comprehend a very terrible one God who sits in judgment with rewards for the good and punishment for the wicked; belief in these, in God's messenger, and devotion to a few duties. Because of its inferiority as compared with Christianity, he holds that it has succeeded. As to missionary work, the author strongly recognizes a similar policy on the part of Christian missionaries.

Our readers will not forget that Bishop Colenso once advocated missionary advance by concessions to heathen prejudice, especially with regard to polygamy. We know of no nation that has been Christianized by concession. The whole history of the Church shows the best results secured by the teaching of Christian morals, by requiring, as strictly as possible, an obedience to its moral law, and by teaching the doctrines of Christianity in their higher, more spiritual phases as rapidly as experience and mental development permitted. There is no question, and the Roman Church in some of its fields has given examples of this, that the adoption of well-known practices into the Roman ritual may give an external aspect of conquest which is very seductive. But that which is received is quite as likely to be as permanent a force of corruption as that which is given; hence the slow moral progress of many of the nations and peoples which have been Christianized according to the Roman idea. Mohammedanism, younger than Christianity, is no preparation for Christianity. Allying itself, as it does every-where, with the polygamous tendencies of mankind, it breaks up the ideal of the Christian family, degrades womanhood, and smothers religion. In India, Mohammedanism is the bitterest foe of Christianity, even while it admits the beauty of the Christian teaching and character. Mohammedanism succeeds because it lays few burdens of restraint upon the worst passions of humanity; Christianity grows slowly in contact with Mohammedanism and heathenism, because it demands self-mastery at the beginning. The experience of the Protestant Christian every-where shows, that when once the idea of a divine Saviour enters the mind that is already seeking, it relieves it from sin; astonishing results in intellectual stimulus and moral sobriety constantly appear, compelling those who observe these results to feel that the elevating influence of the Gospel is the same to-day as when it was preached by the apostles and spread among idolaters of the lowest kind in every nation; and it will not be found that the great apostle to the Gentiles preached a

modified Gospel, with accommodations to the low state of morals, in order to win his converts.

The January number of this same Review appears in a much more attractive form than the older and thicker issue, with smaller pages. The Earl of Selborne opens this number with "Thoughts About Party," which, while dealing with the English system, has many relations to our own. It would appear from this paper that the English system is slowly giving way to the American; which, while not especially alluded to, is yet portrayed in the words that the old liberal idea would remove the center of gravity from Parliament to a federation of delegates from political unions, which would limit the choice of electors to persons who had first approved themselves to the managers of an inner conclave, holding the leading party in leading strings, transforming Ministers of State into dictators, by enabling them, through these agencies, to ostracize all who do not obey the party leader. This is evidently a close description of what we have here; but the writer declares that party government will soon cease to be tolerable if it cannot be emancipated from this slavery. That a machinery should exist by which a party, without change of name, by reason of the subjection of local majorities to that machinery, should be liable to have its character and objects transformed into something different from what they were understood to be before is something intolerable. Men of independent minds are compelled to remember thus, that there are duties and obligations paramount to those of party association.

Referring to a paper on "The Higher Education of Women," Helen M. Kirlie writes in this number of "The Lower Education of Women." That article held that a highly educated woman was incapacitated for her natural functions. She is a woman destroyed and a man not made. The writer holds that underneath all such opinion there is the notion that there is but one sphere for woman's thought, work, and action, and that sphere is only that of wife, mother, and household drudge. The education which is given with this end in view, according to the writer, has not tended to elevate the mental and moral strength of woman. There are a great many lamentations, she says, about constitutions ruined by exertion in study, but where are the lamentations about over-dressed, over-danced girls, over-driven girls, over-dissipated girls? What of mornings begun at mid-day; afternoons harassed in getting through in one day a week's social duty; of days spent in railway traveling for two days' giddy visit to a fashionable house? The old notion seems to be, that a present generation of one sex is to be sacrificed for a future generation of the other. To set out to make a good wife or a good mother, without making first a good woman, is folly. This is a very sharp paper, with a little tinge of the bitterness to which we have been accustomed from the woman's rights advocates in favor of free suffrage in America; but the literary tone is vastly higher, and the argument in favor of the best education for women unusually clearly stated and enforced.

The advantage of an alliterative title is seldom better shown than in the article by Sir Wilfred Lawson, in the *Nineteenth Century*, in the title,

"The Classes, the Masses, and the Glasses," being a strong paper in favor of total abstinence as a cure for many of the evils of English society. He touches the root of the whole matter in the question, Is it not a little selfish to resist a reform which aims to benefit the whole public through fear of some slight personal inconvenience? English society is certainly coming to see, as we see here, that the public-house or saloon is the hot-bed of crime and pauperism. This article shows that in England, as here, the liquor interests are a tremendous political power banded together, acting intelligently and unitedly. The private interests thus are made to stand against public rights, money against men, the gains of the few against the lives of the many. It is the enormous influence of the liquor trade in England which has prevented the right of local self-government with regard to the liquor traffic, as it has prevented it in many parts of the United States; and he puts a strong argument in the mouths of the American Prohibitionists, when he makes the statement that if any body has a scheme to suggest that has not been tried and failed, this is the time to produce it. Lord Brassey has a very pleasant and appreciative article on "A Flying Visit to the United States." England seems to be passing through the same change in respect to the character of her seamen that America has undergone. The old English and American sailor element, thrifty and intelligent, and well educated in duties of sea-faring life, is passing away, giving place to Scandinavians of another type. With the wages of seamen as they are at present, one who would equal the income of a blacksmith or a carpenter must become an officer. But this is not true in the engine-room. The engineers are mostly Scotch, and the stokers Irish. This last is the most dreadful employment in the world. The stoker, black with coal-dust, has to work in a temperature of 130 degrees Fahr., and shovel every day five tons of coal into the furnaces, and keep the fires clear and bright by constant raking and the removal of ashes. It seems strange that so intelligent a man as Lord Brassey should speak of the Garden Battery, thus confounding Castle Garden with the Battery. He speaks of the destruction of the architectural beauty of the city by the great masts of the telegraph and telephone companies, and states that the elevated railway system is vastly better than the underground, and not objectionable from an æsthetic point of view. The relations between labor and capital in America, he holds, call for self-denial not less than in the countries of the Old World. Chicago fills him with astonishment, but is not, in his judgment, an attractive city. The city of Pullman is altogether too patriarchal, in his judgment—minuteness of regulation having been carried too far, and not sufficient scope given for individual liberty. His words are only too true with regard to the wickedness of recklessly wasting timber. The author is not in sympathy with the prevalent English impression, that there is more sharp practice in business in the United States than in other countries. Life in America differs, in the judgment of Lord Brassey, where it differs at all from the best in England, only in being more vivacious and less ceremonious. The mass of the people in the United States are in a condition superior to that attained in the most

fortunate countries of the Old World. The political institutions of the United States have the greater merit of not having presented obstructions to the material progress of the people; they have facilitated the progress of the country in civilization and wealth. Measured by political results the constitution of the United States has been eminently successful. Lord Brassey shows himself a true Englishman in his aversion to our system of protection.

Concerning "Locksley Hall and the Jubilee Year of Queen Victoria" Mr. Gladstone writes in the January *Nineteenth Century* much more hopefully than does Lord Tennyson. It was natural that there should be this contest of wits between the statesman and the poet, as much of the legislation which stirred the poet's bile occurred under the inspiration of Mr. Gladstone. The mass of mankind will sympathize with the great Liberal rather than with the great Tory. This article is valuable to all political students as exhibiting the marvelous progress of the English people toward that democracy which Americans believe to be the surest guarantee of liberty and progress. Political students and lovers of historical inquiry will find much to please, stimulate, and satisfy in this paper. Under the quaint title "Bishops and Sisters-in-law," Lord Bramwell discusses the old question, Can a man lawfully marry his deceased wife's sister? In answering the Bishop of Oxford, he shows the hardship and cruelty which the law of England puts upon two persons who have everything to lead them to marry but the existence of the law, and also shows how the present English law upon the subject, which is only maintained by the influence of the House of Lords, puts a premium upon social misconduct. Lord Bramwell declares absolutely that there is no prohibition of such a marriage in the New or Old Testament. The law lord seems to have a large advantage in this article over the spiritual lord. The question has little interest for America, where such marriages have been from time immemorial permitted, beyond the illustration which the discussion gives of the curious conservatism of the English clerical mind. It is a very singular fact that some of the English colonies do not accept the English prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, so that such a marriage is legal in the colonies of the British crown while illegal in England itself; and it is a fact that some eminent persons have temporarily emigrated in order to be married under colonial law and have suffered very little if any social disadvantage from that fact at home.

George J. Romane seems to be the accepted heir of a large part of Mr. Darwin's intelligence and scientific influence. His paper on "Physiological Selection" in this number is a defense of the hypothesis which the author presented to the Linnæan Society, which conveyed an additional and important suggestion on the origin of species, and to which he gave the title of "Physiological Selection." It was put forward as a hypothesis requiring a long and arduous work of verification. The author has learned that there is no bigotry more intense and persistent than scientific bigotry, for the storm of attack and criticism has been visited upon him, with the result that he thinks more highly than ever of the proba-

bility of the suggestion. The underlying facts which led the author to assert the inadequacy of natural selection form three distinct heads of evidence: the inutility to species of a large number of their specific characteristics; the general fact of sterility between allied species; the swamping influence upon even useful variations of free intercrossing with the parent form. Those who study this paper will see that the objections which have been raised by theologians with regard to Darwin's theories find unexpected re-enforcement from one who accepts those theories so far as the facts warrant.

The second article of Bishop Dudley, of Kentucky, on "Why I am a Churchman," in the December *North American*, abundantly illustrates the difficult position in which those are placed who undertake to defend the authority of a Church which encourages mutually destructive doctrines. Truth is liberal only as it allies itself to all other things which are true, but truth is exclusive toward all things which are false. We have long been astonished at the ignorance of men who claim by their very position to be intelligent, and never more so than to find this writer using such a sentence as this: "No confession is demanded by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the secrecy of the confessional box or in the noisy excitement of the class-room." There has never been a time in the history of Methodism when the class-room has been held to be in any sense a confessional, or when confession has been invited or even approved, and yet we suppose for some generations men who are filled with the bigotry of indifference will be making that assertion. It seems a strange thing also that one in the eminent position of a Christian bishop should call attention to the fact, as a merit in his Church, that neither in the liturgy nor in the Articles is there presented any theory of the nature and operation of the Holy Sacrament; and it is absolutely certain that a view of the holy sacrament which makes it substantially the Roman mass cannot be true if it can also be taught that it is a solemn memorial whose value to the recipient is wholly dependent upon the religious state of the communicant. Both these views cannot possibly be true, and it is no merit in a Church to allow the two views to exist side by side with their corresponding practices. One is exclusive of the other. Quoting from the work of Rev. Heman R. Timlow on "Divers Orders of Ministers in the Scriptures," we find Bishop Dudley attempting to prove that episcopacy, substantially as it now is, appeared so close to the apostolic times as to create an assumption that it was created by apostolic authority, and he quotes Drs. Schaff and Fisher and others as admitting the early appearance of the bishop in a place of authority. No one is disposed to discredit these admissions, but they are to be taken only for what they are worth, and it by no means amounts to the doctrine of Apostolic Succession. They simply show that there was a superintending and authoritative office in the Church, sometimes exercised over an individual church or a group of churches, very much as in the Presbyterian Church of to-day the pastoral authority of Dr. John Hall extends over the mother Church and over the mission churches which are sustained by the liberality of his congregation.

But this forms a very flimsy basis for the tremendous structure which is raised upon it by all those who defend the doctrine of Apostolic Succession; and it is plain also from the *Teachings of the Twelve Apostles*—that most unwelcome document to all who maintain the Roman teaching as to the authority of bishops—that in the middle of the second century the churches were exhorted to appoint themselves "bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord," the power of appointing bishops and deacons residing in the church and not in the bishop; and in this same section counsel is given with regard to the measure of respect due to them, which is utterly inconsistent with the idea that their place was already assured and their functions declared. Their service is that of prophets and teachers (see line 280). The injunctions about baptism, prayer, eucharistic service, breaking of bread on the Lord's day, reproof and discipline are addressed to Christians as such, and not to those who receive authority by ordination. Apostle and prophet are the names given to traveling teachers; they are not carefully discriminated. A prophet was not necessarily an apostle; an apostle was a prophet. An apostle might not remain more than two days in one place; a prophet might stay in any community, yet a community might be without a prophet. The eucharist itself is not described. If the Lord's Supper had, as the Romanist and Romanizing ministers declare, from the first the quality of a mass, and if this was, as they claim, the central act of worship, it is impossible that such Christian society as is indicated in the "Teaching" should have been owned and acknowledged, as it plainly was, as a true Christian Church.

The literature of the War receives a further addition in this number by the printing of a posthumous military autobiography by General Garfield on his campaign in East Kentucky, which had such large influence in holding that State to the Union. Gail Hamilton, who usually dips her pen in acid, writing of "Heathendom and Christendom," accomplishes a sweeter-tempered paper than is common with her, yet it is not without traces of the old-time pungency. The writer illustrates for the thousandth time the immense difficulties into which thoughtful people are plunged by their Calvinistic education, if not by the survival of their Calvinistic faith.

The January number of this *Review* has very little in it of value beyond the exposition of Swedenborgianism by Rev. James Reed, and the paper by Joseph Hewes on the question, "Are the Heathen our Inferiors?" which last is but a brief letter. The spirit of this letter is generally bad, but some of the statements with regard to the actual teaching of Jesus are forcibly put.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Ben-Hur. A Tale of the Christ. By LEW WALLACE, Author of the *Fair God.* 12mo, pp. 552. New York: Harper & Brothers.

THE romance of *Ben-Hur*, now in the seventh year of its career before the public, must be acknowledged the champion in the "battle of the books." It came forth unheralded—a story located in the Jewish-Roman world about the time of Christ—the work of one who, though not unknown as a patriot-soldier, enjoyed no great literary reputation, and it suffered by contrast with the many able and scholarly Lives of Christ recently published, and also by association with such abortions as *The Prince of the House of David.* It was received by the public without any acclaim, and was read by the omnivorous few; but instead of then quickly sinking out of sight and being forgotten, it was read by others, and those of another class, till it became one of the books that one might speak of with the assurance of being understood; and so each year has added to its popularity and to the extent of its sale, till now the old and battered stereotype plates have become so worn and smoothed by over-use—with more than a hundred thousand impressions—that an entire new mechanical outfit has become a necessity.

Ben-Hur is the story of a young Jew, born in Jerusalem about the time of our Lord's advent, of one of the principal families of the nation, his father being a man of great wealth, position, and culture, and a favorite of the Roman emperor. But at length, through a concurrence of disasters, the father having perished at sea, the surviving members of the family fell victims to the vengeance of the Roman governor; the mother and daughter were thrown into prison, and the youth of sixteen condemned to the galleys. After three years in that service, having rescued the commander of the fleet from drowning, he became the adopted son of one of the great men of Rome, and was trained in all the learning and arts of his class. Then he appears at Antioch, and finds in the person of a former slave of his father the wealthiest merchant in all the East. Once away from Rome, and in the atmosphere of his ancestral nation, the deathless love of the Jew for his country and race revives in him, and he solemnly devotes himself and all that he has to the rescue of his people from the yoke of the Romans. His connection with Balthasar—one of the "wise men" who brought presents to the infant Christ—and with a rich sheik from the desert opened to him an idea of the intense hatred toward Rome that prevailed through all the East, and also of the earnest expectation of the Jews that the promised Messiah was about to appear to deliver the nation and restore the throne of David. At Jerusalem he heard of a wonderful person who was going out and in among the people—a Galilean, but often visiting Jerusalem—whose teachings and power to work miracles had led many to believe in him as the hoped-for Messiah, and for a

year he mingled with the multitudes that followed the strange preacher, and became convinced that this was, indeed, the "promised hope of Israel." When Christ made his last journey to Jerusalem he followed in the train, having before prepared a vast multitude of Galileans to be on hand in Jerusalem, ready to aid in the proclamation and the coronation of their king. Then follow the scenes of the crucifixion, and the crushing out of the undeveloped rebellion. The last scenes find Ben-Hur a Christian at Rome, using his vast wealth to shield the infant Church by the preparation of the catacombs of St. Calixtus.

The two distinctive literary properties of the writing are its sustained vivacity and its fidelity to nature. The former is all-pervading and perhaps somewhat in excess, for except the very first scene, when the three wise men meet in the desert to begin their journey to Jerusalem, there is no time of quiet, or scene of idyllic loveliness. It is said that the author had never visited any of the places which he describes so graphically, and with such remarkable fidelity to the minutest details. Some of the descriptions are to the last degree exciting, and often, indeed, terrible, but every-where is—half-hidden indeed, but still a real presence —the demon of revenge, rising up against the destroyers of his father's house, and against Rome as the tyrant power that was grinding the people of God under its iron heel; and while the reader must sympathize with the hero of the tale, the sympathy itself becomes not only painful, but also hateful.

The Jewish misconception of the character of the kingdom which the Messiah was to set up is well illustrated in the ruling thoughts and purposes of Ben-Hur and his purposed action at Jerusalem; while the true and spiritual side is brought out in the words of old Balthasar, who declared that the new King of Israel would not set up his kingdom by the sword. This Ben-Hur himself came at length to understand, and also himself consciously experienced the power of that kingdom in his own character and life. At this point the author's early training and his later associations with spiritual and evangelical Christians served him a good purpose, and one is ready to ask whether it can be possible that one could so accurately indicate the facts and phenomena of the Christian life without some personal knowledge of them. We once asked that question respecting the author of *Adam Bede*, while as yet the identity of George Eliot was unknown, and the facts of the case when ascertained justified our suspicion; so we suspect that the author of *Ben-Hur* has learned the nature of the strange transformation that passed upon the character of his hero, either from personal experience or from observations made at very short range.

Old Faiths in New Light. By NEWMAN SMYTH, Author of "The Religious Feeling." Revised Edition. 12mo, pp. 391. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Dr. Newman Smyth's "Old Faiths in New Light," issued some years ago, was the signal-gun that brought on the conflict now in progress concerning the "New Theology" or "Progressive Orthodoxy," which has

accidentally found a central location at Andover Theological Seminary. The interest awakened by the discussion has caused the first edition of the book to become exhausted, and accordingly a new one is now issued, slightly enlarged and modified, but substantially the same as before. That the school of theologians represented by Dr. Smyth have broken away from their ancestral positions is well; nor is it strange that when loosed from their moorings they should occasionally drift upon shoals, although their general tendency may be from worse to better. It is good to get out of the old ruts of opinions, and to employ improved methods of thinking; it is especially so to occasionally re-examine the grounds of one's convictions—and yet the process is not wholly without peril. Even Dr. Smyth and his friends are experiencing both of these results. Let all who would study up the subject read this volume.

Lectures, Chiefly Expository, on St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians. With Notes and Illustrations. By JOHN HUTCHISON, D.D. 8vo, pp. 317. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

This is an exceedingly pleasant book to handle, for it is not too heavy to hold in the hand while reading, and the paper and typography are such as to make the reading pleasant, even for weak eyes and in a dim light. The matter, too, is alluring, for it is learned without pedantry, and devout without narrowness or acridity. There are here twenty-four lectures, not long, of course, as the size of the book shows, each employing and expounding, with "improvements," a paragraph of the epistle, and, all together, pretty fairly taking in the whole substance of the document. The matter is good—plain, forcible, evangelical truth, filled with the unction of grace, yet learned, critical, and eminently doctrinal in either sense of that term. The author is somewhat known by his two formerly published works of much the same character with this—a *Commentary on the Epistles to the Thessalonians*, and another on *Our Lord's Messages to the Seven Churches of Asia*. He has also contributed pretty liberally to some of the better class of religious periodicals. This will be a worthy companion to those, and the whole will prove helpful to devout and teachable readers.

The Parables of Our Saviour Expounded and Illustrated. By WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D.D., LL.D., Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York. 12mo, pp. 445. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

The parables delivered by Christ are an unfailing fountain of the very best style of spiritual instruction. They have been expounded and applied, and their teachings "improved" by many hands, and no doubt they will continue to afford matter for religious teaching in all the future, for what may have been before said does not supersede what may still be further set forth. The author of this volume is well known as one peculiarly adapted to this style of writing; and although he has heretofore written and published many excellent works, it may be doubted whether any other has been better than this. It will prove an excellent Sabbath companion for the Christian deprived of the privileges of the sanctuary.

The Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuchal Codes. By GUARDUS VOS, Fellow of Princeton Theological Seminary. With an Introduction by Professor WILLIAM HENRY GREEN. 12mo, pp. 263. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

This work, we are told, was first prepared as a thesis in competition for the Hebrew fellowship at Princeton, and was accepted as entitling its author to the place to which he aspired. It is simply a restatement in concise forms of the chief arguments that have been offered in answer to the destructive criticism of Graf, Wellhausen, and Kuenen, and reproduced in English by Robertson Smith. A pretty full epitome of the whole argument is given; the learning and the force of the opposers are conceded, and the whole subject is discussed as if something may be said on both sides; and, while the writer succeeds in the defense of all that is really valuable in his position, yet he yields not a few points that were held by the older class of biblical scholars. This volume has the advantage of giving the gist of the whole argument in a form so condensed that it may be available for others besides specialists. No doubt this whole subject will have to be re-examined and largely restated; some indefensible outposts will be given up, but the citadel will stand sure.

The Transfiguration of Christ. By FRANK WAKELEY GUNSAULUS. 18mo, pp. 267. Boston & New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

A volume made up of eight chapters, or meditations, built up about the facts and incidents of the Transfiguration. There is a fair display of biblical learning, but not much to enhance the stores of exegesis, or to illustrate biblical truth and doctrine.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Essays, Reviews, and Discourses. By DANIEL D. WHEDON, D.D., LL.D., Author of *The Freedom of the Will*, etc. With a Biographical Sketch. Edited by his son, J. S. WHEDON, M.A., and his nephew, D. A. WHEDON, S.T.D. 12mo, pp. 352. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Statements: Theological and Critical. By DANIEL D. WHEDON, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 400. (Same Editors and Publishers.)

At the close of Dr. Whedon's long and fruitful literary career, which was so soon followed by his decease, his surviving friends, and both the Methodist and the general public, had a right to expect that a selection from his multifarious writings, scattered so very widely in periodical and other temporary publications, would be made, and put in a permanent form. We accordingly urged the performance of that service upon the members of his family, whose well-known fitness for the work was a sufficient guarantee that if undertaken by them it would be well done. The accomplished results are seen in the two handsome volumes whose titles are given above. Of the skill and ability displayed by the editors much might be justly said. We will, however, only remark that their rather difficult and delicate task seems to have been performed with both tact and judgment, judiciously and conscientiously. The prefixed "Bio-

graphical Sketch," covering nearly fifty pages, is executed in good taste, sufficiently full, moderately eulogistical, but not unduly laudatory.

The first volume is largely made up of Dr. Whedon's more extended discussions of philosophical, theological, and ecclesiological themes. The first class are distinctly Christian, in opposition to the falsely so-called "liberal" philosophy of the day, which is, however, virtually non-theistic and agnostic. The theological portions are, for the most part, moderately polemical, and designed, to set forth and defend Arminianism as opposed to Calvinism. The essays on ecclesiastical subjects are mostly devoted to the statement and defense of the author's views respecting Church polity, and especially that of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The second volume is more diversified in the subjects discussed, and also less systematically elaborated, and the pieces are generally much briefer and more compactly written. The matter has been gleaned, for the most part, from the editorial remarks scattered through the successive issues of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*—often from "Book Notices"—made during the twenty-eight years of the author's editorship of that publication. The work devolved upon the editors in making up this part of the work was one of peculiar difficulty, in respect to the including and excluding of portions of the over-abundant material from which the selection was to be made; and while some may think that they have occasionally erred in both directions, the impartial reader, if competent to judge in the case, will find much less to censure than to approve in the performance.

Dr. Whedon was a man of decided opinions, and he always had the "courage of his convictions;" and, because he possessed the ability to state his positions very clearly, he seldom failed to make manifest his slightest variations from his readers' preconceptions, so many times bringing him into intellectual antagonisms. He was especially inexpert in respect to the convenient indefiniteness of conception and exposition in which others have excelled—and which is not altogether an unmixed evil; neither in framing our own system of beliefs, nor especially in formulating a concord of opinions for associate bodies, in the form of "confessions."

The editor of a denominational "review" becomes, by virtue of his position, an expositor of the distinctive opinions and views of his denomination on all doctrinal and ecclesiastical matters, according to his conception of them, and Dr. Whedon was not the man to hesitate in respect to the responsibilities of his position. He found himself forced into a kind of championship of Methodist theology, in defending which he was often called to define it; and just here was the peril of the proceeding. He was an Arminian, as are all Methodist theologians; but there are Arminians and Arminians, and, with his peculiarly logical habits of thinking, Dr. Whedon was pretty sure to follow out the first postulates of his system to possibly perilous results. He accordingly developed a sub-species of philosophic theology differing in some important points from that taught in the usually accepted standards of Methodist theology. These views he presented very clearly and defended with both skill and force; and while probably

they will not be of long continuance, yet they are well worth one's study, if for nothing else than as specimens of theological philosophizing.

He also became the champion of a specific form of Methodist ecclesiasticism in respect to the nature of the Methodist episcopacy. How thoroughly he elaborated his views on that subject, and how he had a not inconsiderable following, for a time, is well known; and his literary executors have done the right thing in perpetuating his discussions in these volumes. But that either he failed to convince the Church generally of the correctness of his peculiar views, or else the conviction ran its course and died out while he was yet at his desk, is seen in the fact that, just as his official term was ending, the General Conference, by its formal action, asserted another and incompatible theory of its episcopacy.

All through the twenty-eight years of the *Review* while conducted by Dr. Whedon are found usually brief, but always incisive, remarks and suggestions upon one and another subject in the domain of Christian eschatology. The destructive madness of the Millerite "craze" (1840–45) called his attention to the subject of the Second Advent and the Millennium, and led him to publish his strong arguments in opposition to all specifically chiliastic views. In his view the millennium cannot be brought in until the Gospel shall have prevailed over all the earth, and then its period will not be bounded by such lines as are constructed by a literal and mathematical interpretation of a single and not-well-understood passage in the Bible. His discussions of this class of subjects, filling the last fifty pages of the second volume, are able and ingenious, and always reverent and deferential to the traditional beliefs; but their careful consideration will be likely to leave the impression that the last words have not yet been spoken.

For more than fifty years Dr. Whedon was a living, active force in the thought of the age, and especially so in Methodism, to whose interests he devoted his best energies with unfaltering fidelity. His work will live after him—chiefly in the intellectual and spiritual characters of future generations, but also, it may be hoped, through his writings, to which these goodly volumes make the final contribution.

History of Mediæval Art. By Dr. FRANZ VON REBER, Director of the Bavarian Royal Galleries, etc. Translated by JOSEPH THATCHER CLARKE. With 422 Illustrations, and a Glossary of Technical Terms. 8vo, pp. 743. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The revived and growing popular interest in esthetic matters makes the appearance of really learned and plainly written histories of art, as it rose and flourished and decayed in former times, especially acceptable. Such a work is that now before us, which undertakes to trace the progress of the three principal forms of artistic production—painting, sculpture, and architecture—downward from the fall of the Roman Empire. Although that great catastrophe seemed to extinguish the light of former times, yet it is plain that the beginnings of Christian art were survivals of that of the Græco-Roman civilization. The Byzantine variety possessed

a kind of derived individuality of its own, which, however, never became naturalized in western Europe, nor did the Saracenic. To the present time painting, and still more sculpture, are largely affected by the classical models of Greece and Rome, and even architecture has all along felt their influence. Germany alone, of all the nations of Europe, seems to have produced original forms of art.

Christian art began in the Catacombs, and after those examples its development in the forms that still survive was slow, and very much interrupted, until its revival in Germany during the ninth and tenth centuries. But, still, German art was itself a revival of the ancient types with important modification as to its details. Its nearest approach to something really original, and that which is intrinsically its best production, is the Gothic ecclesiastical architecture.

The work before us is able, and sufficiently full for its purpose; but the author's stand-point makes it essentially a German work, treating nearly exclusively of German art, with but scant notices of that of other countries of the Continent, and almost none at all of that of England—which country, however, has not contributed much that was original to the domain of art. To all who really love the subject this volume will prove an acceptable companion as well as a worthy instructor; and it is itself a worthy contribution to the literature of art adapted to popular use.

The Provinces of the Roman Empire, from Cæsar to Diocletian. By THEODORE MOMMSEN. Translated, with the author's sanction and additions, by WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. With Maps by Professor KIEPERT. Two Volumes. 8vo, pp. 397, 396. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Mommsen's *History of Rome* was issued nearly thirty years ago, and having been read and approved by two generations of scholars and general readers it has come to be recognized as a classic. It has, however, been felt that the work was incomplete because of the want of sufficiently full accounts of the affairs of Rome in the provinces, which, during the period of the empire, constituted such a very considerable part of the imperial domains. And now the veteran author comes forward with the needed complementary matter, prepared with the same painstaking and conscientious regard for the truth of history which distinguished the earlier work. The first volume is devoted to the European Provinces, the Italian Frontier, Spain, Gaul, Germany, Britain, the Danubian Provinces, Greece, and also "Asia." In the second volume are accounts of the Parthians, Syria and the Nabathæans, Judea and the Jews, Egypt, and the African Provinces, that is, Numidia and Mauritania.

These local histories sometimes present episodes of the most interesting kind, and because they often touch upon matters that affect our own times, from both religious and social relations, and also since in them are found the germs of modern ideas and institutions, their study becomes peculiarly interesting; and to these latter classes of subjects the author devotes no less attention than to political and military affairs. The work

is one with which no student of Roman history, nor indeed of later European history, can afford to be unacquainted, and these volumes will form a valuable accompaniment to the author's larger and wider work, with which they are made to conform in their material make-up.

Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography. Edited by JAMES GRANT WILSON and JOHN FISKE. Vol. I. Aaron—Crandall. Imperial 8vo, pp. 768. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Something of the character indicated by the above title has long been a felt want, and we are glad that the preparation and publication of such a work has fallen into good hands. The editors are well known as at once men of wide general information and adept writers of personal sketches; and behind these, unseen by the public, is also one whose skill in book-building gives promise of good results. The plan contemplates the widest comprehension of subjects, so that the name of every person who has become conspicuous in any pursuit or calling, or achieved even a local reputation, shall appear in its pages. This fullness, of course, necessitates great brevity, and allows room for only the merest record of the chief facts of individual history, and yet it is remarkable how much may be said in so few lines. In its form and material make-up, the volume in hand is very nearly the same with the volumes of the *New Cyclopædia*, and altogether has an attractive appearance. The work will prove invaluable to all who have to do with names and dates and special facts in any department, and in no place will it be more acceptable than in an editorial office. As a personal remark, by which to do justice to all parties, it is only proper that we should say that the really excellent sketches of Bishops Coke, Asbury, and Andrew found in this volume were prepared by another hand than that to which the preparation of articles on Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church has been assigned.

The Midnight Sun. The Tsar and the Nihilist. Adventures and Observations in Norway, Sweden, and Russia. By J. M. BUCKLEY, LL.D. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 376. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co.

Traveling in foreign lands is a valuable means of instruction to the individual, and in a greatly less degree the records of travel may be made valuable to their readers; and, because they constitute an easy and pleasant kind of reading, they are usually appreciated beyond their relative merits. Dr. Buckley wisely selected a route not already rendered familiar by the reports of annual multitudes of tourists—regions sufficiently known to render them points of interest, and yet so far unknown that further information is gladly accepted. His methods of examination and inquiry brought him an amount of knowledge of the things seen and heard quite beyond what would be gained by the average tourist. His statements appear also to be based upon the best of foundations—his own observations, or else information gained upon the spot. The descriptions of scenes and places in Russia are especially valuable because the subject is quite the opposite of hackneyed, and they will tend to whet the appe-

tite for a fuller study of the subject. The revelations respecting nihilism may be valuable as well as curious, but, like disclosures from masonic lodges or star-chamber courts, all such must be accepted as possibly correct, and probably, at best, mixed.

History of the Irish Presbyterian Church. By Rev. THOMAS HAMILTON, M.A. 12mo, pp. 192. New York: Scribner & Welford.

A series of "Hand-Books for Bible Classes and Private Students" has been in course of publication for several years past by T. & T. Clark of Edinburgh, with Rev. Marcus Dods, D.D., and Rev. Alexander Whyte, D.D., for editors; and these publications are sold in this country by Scribner & Welford. The books are chiefly devoted to religious and Church subjects, history, theology, and biblical learning, condensed into small volumes, but very full of matter. That now in hand is of their best: clearly and ably written, and as little affected by partisanship as the case will allow; for every thing Irish seems to be tinged with partisanship. The record is certainly a noble one, and the work is honorable to all concerned.

A Short History of Parliament. By B. C. SKOTTOWE, M.A., New College, Oxford. 12mo, pp. 345. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The history of the British Parliament is substantially the civil and political history of the nation for the last six hundred years. The rapid sketch here given must necessarily exclude all details, and yet, by a judicious course of selections and exclusions, it is a somewhat comprehensive record of the development and growth into a kind of autocratic omnipotence of the freest and ablest deliberative body in the world. The sketch here given is well adapted to the use of the many intelligent readers whose occupations forbid the complete mastery of so broad a subject, but who still desire to know something respecting a body of so much general interest. The book is well written, and quite fair to all parties though not without clearly marked predilections. A good book for schools or for private study.

Sir Philip Sidney. By J. A. SYMONDS, Author of *Sketch of Shelley*, etc. 12mo, pp. 186. New York: Harper & Brothers. (Mr. John Morley's *English Men of Letters.*)

The name of Sir Philip Sydney is accepted as a synonym for *chivalry* of the purest and noblest style. He was of a noble family, highly educated, learned in the literature of his times, and himself gifted as a writer of both prose and verse, a courtier and a soldier, a man of unspotted morals and of simple but earnest Christian character, and his death while yet a young man, among such peculiar conditions, has caused his name to come down to our time enveloped in a bright glamour which seems to endure through all changes. The volume here given is only a brief *résumé* of the principal events in Sidney's career, with a hasty review of his times and an estimate of his character. The often told story of his affair with the wounded soldier, after the battle at Zutphen, where Sidney received his own fatal wound, which Motley makes out to be apocryphal, is here repeated without any suggestion of want of trustworthiness.

LITERATURE AND FICTION.

Locksley Hall, Sixty Years After. By ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON. 16mo, pp. 44. New York: Harper & Brothers. (Harper's Handy Series.)

As every body who pretends to keep pace with the literature of the present and the recent past may be supposed to know all about "Locksley Hall," as it came forth to the parents and grandparents of the present generation, so it is safe to assume that the same persons have not failed to familiarize themselves with its companion piece of "Sixty Years After," by the same hand. This way of setting old age over against youth, by comparison or contrast, seems to be a favorite fancy with some authors. We have a memorable case of the kind in Bryant's "Thanatopsis," written at eighteen, and his "Flood of Years," nearly sixty years later. The two cases of Bryant and Tennyson are, indeed, very much alike in respect to the time of life of the two authors when the two several poems of each were produced, but they have this remarkable difference: that in the case of the former the boy was sadder and less hopeful than the old man, while in the latter the gay and hopeful aspirations of early life are sadly clouded, and the present is embittered, by reason of the discovery of the fallacious character of early anticipations, while old age seems to be only faintly illuminated with hopes of the hereafter. If Bryant's death-song comes very far short of the tone and tune of the ninety-first psalm, this of Tennyson is a veritable *threnody*, and is all through attuned to the key of Ecclesiastes. Both are Christian—each in its own way—but neither of them makes any very near approach to the real Christian's assurance and joyful hope of immortality; and, while hope prevails in the former, in the latter despondency predominates.

The appearance of this poem suggests a further comparison between its author and another Englishman who is also almost exactly his coeval—the statesman, sage, and scholar of Hawarden. Gladstone and Tennyson are strictly contemporaries, and both of them are eminently representative Englishmen of the nineteenth century. They began active life at nearly the extreme opposite sides of the prevailing thought and opinions of their age and country; but while the former, who dwelt at first in an atmosphere of aristocratic exclusiveness, has tended steadily toward the developing spirit of the age, with ever-increasing confidence in God and hope for humanity, till now he is characteristically the liberal leader of his times, the latter has gone further and further in the opposite direction, till again the two stand, as at the beginning, face to face, each having gone round the half of the circle. Gladstone the commoner, who proudly refused to become a lord by royal patent, with his party in the minority in Parliament and his cause helplessly in abeyance for the time being, is still buoyant with hope for man as man, and for the whole race, because he believes in God—or, as Faber voices it, "Since God is God, the right must win;" because with him

> "To doubt would be disloyalty,
> To falter would be sin—"

and is satisfied to await the ripening of his purposes. Tennyson, having become a lord by royal favor, looks out upon the world and thinks he sees every thing going to the bad. The "vanity of vanities," of the pseudo-Solomonic "preacher," rings out with almost interminable variations in this new "Locksley Hall." All of Johnson's "Vanity of Human Wishes" re-appear with increased force and piquancy, and with illustrations in proof drawn not so much from individual examples as from the distinctively revolutionary tendencies of the times. Before his eyes "Celtic Demos rises a demon;" "chaos" and "cosmos" seem not to be discriminated, and the extension of the franchise is stigmatized as the "sovereignty of the plow;" and this whole career of ruin—its cause, its process, and its results—are at length sketched in a single ringing distich, that tells what "Progress" is about:

> "Bring the old dark ages back without the faith, without the hope,
> Break the State, the Church, the throne, and roll the ruin down the slope;"

and while lamenting the loss of the old art and beauty, "Poor old Heraldry, poor old History, poor old Poetry," he casts himself into the chaotic mass, with

> "Poor old voice of eighty crying after voices that have fled,
> All I loved are vanished voices, all my steps are on the dead."

This may be all very natural, and because it is true to one aspect of nature, though as a whole it is essentially untruthful, it has certain poetical capabilities. Still, the man of fourscore whose mind dwells among such scenes is truly pitiable. It is a noticeable fact that faith in God, with its resultant hopefulness, is usually attended by faith and hope in respect to humanity; while, on the contrary, doubt and uncomfortable forebodings nearly always apply alike, in the same person, to both worlds.

MISCELLANEOUS.

What Shall We Do with the Sunday-School as an Institution? By GEORGE LANSING TAYLOR, D.D. Square 16mo, pp. 46. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. 30 cts.

The great value, and indeed vital importance of Sunday-schools, as a department of church work second only to the preaching of the word, justifies the frequent and careful re-examination of its methods, and also all judicious attempts to harmonize these with the other forms of church activities. And that consideration is a sufficient apology for the appearance of this little book. Free discussion does not injure any really good cause, and even a little fault-finding, if done in the right spirit, may be quite the opposite of harmful. We therefore welcome this essay of Rev. Dr. Taylor as timely and calculated to do good. The controlling thought, that the Sunday-school should be made and considered an integral part of the Church's work, and not a somewhat separate auxiliary, is good and very important; but since it is not entirely so, the practical question may be

whether it is not better to endure existing infelicities rather than adopt or attempt to execute measures that must call for radical changes. The faults and causes of weakness in the Sunday-school as it is are at once obvious and formidable; but still the work it does is incalculably valuable, and for that reason only headlong reformers will consent to see it very much changed until it shall be shown that an alternative scheme is prepared, and ready for immediate use, which shall surely obviate the present infelicities of method without endangering any real excellence. On all these points this essay will prove helpful by what it suggests not less than what it declares.

The Life of Christ in the World: Sermons. By Rev. ARTHUR BROOKS, Rector of the Church of the Incarnation, New York. 12mo, pp. 360. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Price, $1 50.

These are carefully written discourses—twenty-five in number—on themes such as thoughtful persons like to dwell upon. The "Life of Christ" here spoken of is not the physical and visible life in which he was known in the days of his incarnation, but his inward, spiritual life, that lives on especially in the hearts of his people. This is indicated by the titles of some of the sermons, as, "The Message of Christ to the Conscience," "God the Power of Man's Social Life," "The Sifting of Life," etc. The tone and spirit are good and wholesome, the composition is suitable to the character of the work; and though, while in the form of sermons, they have largely the character of elaborate essays, that fact is not against them.

The Anatomy of Negation. By EDGAR SALTUS. 12mo, pp. 226. New York: Scribner & Welford.

To deny is the least difficult of all mental processes, and often it requires the best efforts of the strong and wise man to effectually antagonize the caviling of a fool. It is for that reason that mere negation is found to be so tenacious of life, and that defenses of whatever is positive must be wrought out by well-sustained arguments. The author of the little volume named above undertakes the task of showing what has been the history of negativism in religion in all the past, and to demonstrate its identity in its ever-changing forms. And yet under most systems of negation there has lurked a modicum of truth, which has given a measure of stability to the superimposed falsehood. The rapid sketch of religious untruth, extending from Buddha to the latest time, will serve to illustrate the futile efforts of human reason untaught by the Higher Reason to attain to the truth, and the indestructibleness of the persuasion that there is reality in that for which souls instinctively yearn.

The Life of Rev. John Wesley, A.M. Written from a Spiritual Stand-point. With five Illustrations. By Rev. EDWARD DAVIES, Author of the *Life of Bishop Taylor*, etc. Introduction by Dr. CHARLES CULLIS. 18mo (paper), pp. 261. Holiness Book Concern, Reading, Mass.

Wesley's biography seems to be an inexhaustible resource for religious instruction and edification. The number of his Lives is "legion." This one may be read with profit.

About Money and Other Things. A Gift Book. By the Author of *John Halifax, Gentleman.* 12mo, pp. 234. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The author of *John Halifax* is one of the characters who will not get out of the way; so, though she is remembered by a few as the friend of "auld lang syne," she still persists in making herself heard, and the people like to hear her. The present volume is made up of reprinted articles. That "About Money" is only one of ten, of about equal length. They are good, well-written, and readable.

Some Problems of Philosophy. By ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, Professor of Philosophy in Columbia College. 16mo, pp. 170. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

There are known to be not a few problems in the realm of metaphysics which have been recognized by thinkers in all ages, but which are now as far from settlement as when they were first propounded. More than a dozen of these, including the most celebrated, are discussed in this little book with a good share of acuteness, and with the usual results, or, rather, lack of results. The exercise of such studies is wholesome, though the game is much like that of battledoor and shuttlecock.

Morning Family Prayers for a Year. Founded on Select Passages of Scripture from the Old and New Testaments. By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D. 12mo, pp. 598. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Written and printed forms of prayer have a place in religious and devotional literature. They are valuable for private reading and meditation, and are not to be despised for family use. Ministers might study them as aids to greater fullness and richness in their public exercises; for good praying is scarcely less helpful to the people than good preaching, and some good preachers are not good pray-ers. The prayers that make up this volume are thoughtful rather than worshipful, stately rather than tender, but reverent in tone and suggestive of motives to devotion.

Haifa; or, Life in Modern Palestine. By LAWRENCE OLIPHANT, Author of *The Land of Gilead,* etc. Edited, with Introduction, by CHARLES A. DANA. 12mo, pp. 369. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Books on Palestine seldom fail to command a deep and abiding interest, and especially when, as in this case, they are the works of actual observers who unite the keen preceptions of the practiced traveler with the literary skill of the accomplished book-maker. Mr. Oliphant lived among the scenes that he described, and evidently his heart not less than his understanding entered into the descriptions given. The brief introduction by Mr. Dana very handsomely presents the work, without attempting to either anticipate or summarize it.

True Words for Brave Men. By CHARLES KINGSLEY, Late Rector of Eversley, etc. 16mo, pp. 246. New York: Thomas Whittaker (Bible House).

It is a good thing to read Kingsley as a mental tonic and stimulus; for there is also a decided dash of the moral element in the draught. This little volume is made up of selections, brief sermons, with not much of the ordinary sermonic form or style. It is a good book, especially adapted to teach the young man wisdom.

Our Youth. A Paper for Young People and their Teachers; published every Week. J. H. VINCENT, D.D., Editor. Vol. 2, June 5, 1886, to November 27, 1886. 4to, pp. 416. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

The second volume (bound) of *Our Youth* continues to justify all the commendations that we gave to its predecessor six months ago; and some of the betterments we then suggested seem to find place in increasing degrees as the work grows older. We are glad to learn that it is meeting, in its circulation, with a share of the success that it deserves.

From the Forecastle to the Cabin. By Captain S. SAMUELS. Illustrated. 12mo. pp. 308. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This is said to be no fiction, but a genuine life-sketch of a remarkable man who actually accomplished the transition indicated in the title. It is quite well written, is full of force and vivacity, and shows its hero to have been a real man. But the story of his boy-life was quite the opposite of commendable, and the work as a whole is not without its exceptionable features.

The Last Week with Jesus. By T. J. MCCONNELL, A.M. 18mo, pp. 219. Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

The subject of this little book has been often treated, but it is always fresh, and cannot be exhausted or rendered insipid. The story of those eventful days is here rehearsed with devout reflections and suggestive meditations, tending to lead the hearts of believers into a qualified form of fellowship with Christ's sufferings.

Retrospections of America. 1797–1811. By JOHN BERNARD, Author of *Retrospections of the Stage*, etc. Edited from the Manuscript by Mrs. BAYLE BERNARD. With Introduction and Notes. 12mo, pp. 380. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A collection of decidedly lively sketches of the celebrities of the American stage of three quarters of a century ago,—now forgotten.

Out of the Toils. By JOHN W. SPEER, Author of *Grace Winslow*, etc. 12mo, pp. 389. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

HARPER'S HANDY SERIES. (Latest Issues.)—110. *Britta.* Illustrated. By GEORGE TEMPLE. — 111. *A Child of the Revolution.* By the Author of *Mademoiselle Mori.* Illustrated. — 112. *A Strange Inheritance.* By SKENE. — 113. *Locksley Hall, etc.* By TENNYSON. — 114. *Regimental Legions.* By J. S. WINTER. — 115. *Yeast.* By CHARLES KINGSLEY. — 116. *Cranford.* By Mrs. GASKELL. — 117. *Lucy Crofton.* By Mrs. OLIPHANT. — 118. *Mignon's Secret, and Wanted—A Wife.* By J. S. WINTER. — 119. *Samuel Johnson.* By LESLIE STEPHEN. — 120. *Edward Gibbon.* By J. C. MORISON.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

JULY, 1887.

ART. I.—WHAT ENGLAND IS DOING IN INDIA.*

NEITHER the pessimist nor the optimist can logically estimate the prospects of the human race if he does not take into the account, as a chief datum, the modern invasion of nearly all the outlines of the world by Christian civilization. Long ago there were spirited navigation and discovery, and some partial settlements in the foreign world, notably by the Portuguese, Spaniards, and Hollanders. But colonization, prompted by commerce, yet tending to the civilization and unification of the world, is a characteristic, if not a peculiar fact, of our times. Considered in its connection with the modern means of rapid intercommunication, it becomes a profoundly interesting fact. In its most general aspect it means the domination of the Aryan race, especially of its great Teutonic branch. We write this paper in the oldest historic field of that race, India; the arena of one of its earliest migrations from the Bactrian highlands. It is a curious thought for an American, here amidst these hoary Oriental scenes, that he and all his kindred nationalities, with, indeed, all the great peoples of Europe, are Hindus —or at least brothers of the Hindus; that from those northwestern table-lands emigrant hosts descended into these plains, and founded the Hindu race and the Brahmanic faith; into Persia, and founded the Zoroastrians; into Hellas and Latium, and founded the Greek, Etruscan, and Latin peoples; into the north-west, and founded the varied Germanic nations, peopling England with Anglo-Saxons and Northmen, and invading, at

* *India's Needs.* By John Murdock, LL.D. Madras, 1886.

last, America, Australia, and the South Sea Islands. But though the mighty movement began in prehistoric times, nothing in history is more certain; linguistic science has demonstrated it. The elder emigrants, Hindu, Persian, Greek, and Latin, have long since decayed; but the Teutons are to-day in full vigor, and, under the ancient impulsion, are marching around the planet. Their Anglo-Saxon branch, especially, seems destined to a universal mission of colonization and civilization. While Russia is bearing European thought and civilization (though in a rude form) into northern and central Asia, and France into northern Africa, the Anglo-Saxons are not only dominant in the United States, in Canada, and in the great island world of the South Seas, but in southern Africa, Ceylon, and above all in India.

What, in a century or two, must come of this almost universal movement of Aryan migration and colonization? The coasts of Africa, north, west, south, and east, are now dotted with its settlements; and it is reaching her very heart by the Congo, and all the outlines of Asia are more or less studded with them. Steam navigation, railroads, magnetic telegraphs, and Christian ideas go with them every-where. Can these powerful agencies continue to operate without dispelling the barbaric traditions and the moral darkness of the whole foreign world?

The question is peculiarly relevant to the English sway in India. That sway has no parallel in the history of the world. It controls twice the population that imperial Rome ruled in her greatest power. No Moslem sovereign now reigns over a Mohammedan population as large as that which Victoria rules in this remote land, to say nothing of the millions who are of other religions. An incredible but an incontestable fact it is, that Christian England is to-day the greatest Mohammedan dominion on earth.

Including the various religions of India, some two hundred and fifty millions of its people acknowledge the scepter of England. They amount to about one sixth of the human race. If we add the growing millions of the United States, Canada, Australia, Ceylon; the recent British acquisitions in Burmah; the experiment on the Congo; the tentative projects of the German Empire in Zanzibar and elsewhere, it evidently can-

not be long before the Teutonic Aryans will rule a fourth of the human race; and if their industrial and Christian civilization is a blessing, pessimism will need to qualify much its speculations on the destiny of the world. European thinkers now admit that the English language is to be the leading speech of the earth. The American traveler hardly needs any other in Europe, and here in India and Ceylon he hears it almost every-where spoken, imperfectly, indeed, but intelligibly, by men, women, and children, not only in the hotels, but in the shops and along the streets.

And yet this British sway in India is a constant subject of hostile criticism both at home and abroad. The home English journals borrow their invectives largely from the native Indian press; but the very existence of the latter is one of the most significant proofs of the beneficent tendency of the English rule. India knew nothing of the newspaper till England gave it to her. Few foreigners know how extensive this great exponent of civilization has become there. The first vernacular periodical was issued by missionaries in 1822. When the "Press Regulations" were repealed, in 1835, there were but six native papers, and not one of them political. The press is now as free, and, it must be added, as vituperative, as that of London or New York, and last year (1885) the public statistics showed it to amount to about 450 distinct periodicals. They are: English, 175; Bi-lingual, 51; Bengali, 24; Burmese, 1; Canarese, 3; French, 1; Gujarati, 31; Hindi, 15; Malayalam, 4; Marathi, 17; Oriya, 3; Punjabi, 1; Persian, 1; Portuguese, 4; Sanskrit, 1; Tamil, 10; Telugu, 3; Urdu, or Hindustani, 102. One of the sixteen English "dailies" is conducted by natives; and English is one of the languages of most of the Bi-lingual journals. Some of the native papers are of high character, but many of them have very limited circulation, and most of them show crude notions of political science, especially of political economy, and recklessly criticise the administration of the government, particularly its most important schemes of internal improvement. A publicist said, two years since, that "any one who will go through the weekly reports of the native papers cannot help thinking that, in the current vocabulary, education means the loss of respect for government; public spirit is synonymous with empty bluster; patriotism is

hatred of Englishmen; and impartiality is gross abuse." An attempt of Sir G. Campbell to introduce gymnastic exercises for the physical improvement of native pupils in the English schools was opposed by an editor as a project for disabling the students that they might not successfully compete with Europeans in civil service examinations. The creation of an agricultural department, by Lord Mayo, was stigmatized by a Calcutta journal as a scheme for providing "a wider field for the extension of vice-regal patronage." The creation of new functions, however necessary to develop the country, is opposed by the Calcutta *Liberal* as having no other purpose than to provide for "the bureaucracy and their relations at the public expense." These journals continually embarrass the administration by blundering comments and deprecatory denunciations, mourning over "the spoliation of India," the "official greediness of foreigners," "India bleeding to death," etc. Some of them do not hesitate to make preposterous comparisons between the ancient native and modern European civilization. Popular opinion is thus heedlessly flattered, and, at the same time, perverted. Enlightened natives deplore this fact. Monamohun Ghose complains of his countrymen as "doing a great deal of mischief" by such follies. "It is quite sickening," he says, "to hear the remark made at almost every public meeting, that the ancient civilization of India was superior to any that Europe has ever had." The editor of the *Indian Mirror* says: "Modern science is still very much in its infancy, and has yet to make much greater progress to enable it to even approach one tenth part of the ancient philosophy of the East. Our modern scientists are not fit to hold a candle to some of those learned men of our country who are well versed in the scientific teachings of the East."

Such ridiculous nonsense saturates the native press. The government, in its beneficent schemes, especially of education and internal improvements, has to confront every-where this ignorant babble, and the popular prejudices produced by it. But, we may repeat, the very existence of this unshackled press is proof of the advancement of civilization under the British sway. Bad as it is, the press is the mightiest organ of modern progress. No people among whom it is allowed free play can be stagnant; even its calumnious recklessness may

have a salutary influence on governments. The discussion and collision of opinions, which are its life, cannot fail to fill with life the popular mind; and to make men think is always to make them better. Set them thinking, even to quarreling about their thoughts, and sooner or later the truth will emerge from their disputes and prevail over their fallacies. England, then, has done a good work in producing in India a free and numerous press; an instrument entirely un-Asiatic, and perhaps the most effective one that could be introduced for the resurrection of the dormant Oriental mind.

By this, and still more by other means, England has initiated European civilization in India, which promises to be permanent. Perverse as is the native press, and pervasive as may be the popular prejudice to which it so heedlessly ministers, she has reclaimed a host of the best native minds by her educational institutions, and set in operation internal improvements, commercial schemes, and social changes which certainly can never be reversed, and which cannot continue without revolutionizing the social, religious, and material condition of these thronging millions. Enlightened natives cannot doubt the superiority of the English sway over that of any preceding government in their recorded history. The "young India" educated in the English colleges can no longer accredit the native superstitions; if they do not immediately become Christians, they either reject the old religions or "rationalize" them away. The higher mind of India may be said generally to have become imbued with European thought. The early stages of such changes are usually, if not necessarily, slow, but they sooner or later reach a crisis where they are no longer ambiguous, but become dominant, and, thenceforward, determine all things. The boasted "ancient civilization" is seen by these advanced minds to have been a huge though splendid fallacy. Modern science refutes it at almost every important point; and modern thought is daily gaining ground in India. Max Müller says: "Readers who have been led to believe that the Vedas of the ancient Brahmans, the Avesta of the Zoroastrians, the Tripitaka of the Buddhists, the King of Confucius, or the Koran of Mohammed are books full of primeval wisdom and religious enthusiasm, or at least of sound and simple moral teaching, will be disappointed on consulting these volumes. . . .

It is but natural that those who write on ancient religions, and who have studied them from translations only, not from original documents, should have had eyes for their bright rather than dark sides. No one who collects and publishes extracts can resist—no one, at all events, so far as is known, has ever resisted—the temptation of using what is beautiful, or, it may be, what is strange and startling, and leaving out what is commonplace, tedious, or, it may be, repulsive. . . . We must face the problem in its completeness, and I confess it has been for many years a problem to me, ay, to a great extent, is so still, how the sacred books of the East should, by the side of so much that is fresh, natural, simple, beautiful, and true, contain so much that is not only unmeaning, artificial, and silly, but even hideous and repellent. This is a fact, and must be accounted for in some way or other." Splendid as may be the old poetry of India (the Ramayana, Mahabharatta, etc.), profound (though unsubstantial) as may be her early philosophic speculations, her real science was of the most limited extent, and mixed and mystified with endless puerilities. It has been justly said that "her best development was represented by Europe in the Middle Ages." Excepting the enlightened, the "Anglicised," minds to which allusion has been made, she is to-day in the condition of Europe in the thirteenth century. She claims to have had sixty-four sciences; among them are:

12. The science of prognosticating by omens and augury.
14. Science of healing, which may include restoration to life of the dead, the reunion of severed limbs, etc.
15. Physiognomy, chiromancy, etc.
36. The art of summoning by enchantment.
37. Exorcism.
38. Exciting hatred between persons by magical spells.
41. The art of bringing one over to another's side by enchantment.
42. Alchemy and chemistry.
44. The language of brute creatures from ants upward.
47. Charms against poison.
48. Information respecting any lost thing obtained by astronomical calculations.
50. The art of becoming invisible.
51. The art of walking in the air.
52. The power of leaving one's own body and entering another lifeless body or substance at pleasure.
56. Restraining the action of fire.

57. The art of walking upon water.
58. The art of restraining the power of wind.
62. The art of preventing the discovery of things concealed.
63. The art by which the power of the sword or any other weapon is nullified.
64. The power of stationing the soul at pleasure in any of the five stages.

"India," says Dr. Murdock, "never ranked higher in civilization than it does at present. A Pundit and a university graduate represent the two types of civilization." The university graduates are becoming numerous, occupying official posts and wielding social influence. Their modern scientific ideas are quite incompatible with their old faiths. One of them has said, what now most of them believe, that "the much vaunted civilization of India was of a peculiar type, and can never bear any comparison to what we call modern civilization."

Murdock mentions, with strong emphasis, as one of the greatest benefits conferred on India, that "England has given her peace." Before the English domination the peninsula was, for ages, like the Italian peninsula during the Middle Ages, the arena of continual invasion and battle; of territorial division and subdivision; with resultant massacres, famines, and devastations. Dr. Hunter, an able and altogether trustworthy authority, writes:

India has, at its north-eastern and north-western corners, two opposite sets of gateways which connect it with the rest of Asia. Through these gateways, successive hordes of invaders have poured into it; and in the last century the process was still going on. Each set of new-comers plundered and massacred without mercy and without restraint. During seven hundred years the warring races of Central Asia and Afghanistan filled up their measure of bloodshed and pillage to the full. Sometimes they returned with their spoil to their mountains leaving desolation behind; sometimes they killed off, or drove out, the former inhabitants, and settled down in India as lords of the soil; sometimes they founded imperial dynasties, destined to be crushed, each in its turn, by a new host swarming into the country through the Afghan passes. In the middle of the last century six such inroads, on a great scale, took place in twenty-three years. Invasion signified not merely a host of twenty to a hundred thousand barbarians on the march paying for nothing, and eating up every town, and cottage, and farmyard; burning and slaughtering on the slightest provocation, and often in mere sport. It usually also meant a grand final sack and massacre at the capital of the invaded country.

On the first of the six invasions, eight thousand* men, women, and children were hacked to pieces in one forenoon in the streets of Delhi. The border-land between Afghanistan and India lay silent and waste; indeed, districts far within the frontier, which had once been densely inhabited, and which are now again thickly peopled, were swept bare of inhabitants. The history of the fertile valley of Assam, in the north-eastern corner of India, is one long narrative of invasion and extermination. Anciently the seat of a powerful Hindu kingdom, whose ruined forts of massive hewn stone we find buried in the jungle, Assam was devastated, like the rest of eastern Bengal, by the fanatical Mohammedan invaders in the fifteenth century from the west. A fierce aboriginal race (the Koch) next swooped down on it from the north. They in turn were crushed by another aboriginal race (the Ahams) from the east; and these again were being exterminated by the Burmese from the south, when they implored the English to interfere. During the last century, large tracts of Assam were depopulated, and throughout that province and eastern Bengal thirty thousand square miles of fertile frontier districts were laid waste. The task of reclaiming these tracts has been a heavy one. In the now prosperous districts of Goalpara, with its half million of inhabitants, more money was spent, until twenty-five years ago, by government, in rewards for killing the wild animals than the whole sum realized from the land revenue. Not less than thirteen thousand square miles of border district have been reclaimed, and yield each year, at the lowest estimate, eighteen millions sterling worth of products, or more than the average normal cost of the Indian army and the whole defense of the Indian Empire.†

Macaulay, writing of the ravages of the Mahrattas, says:

The highlands which border on the western coast of India poured forth a yet more formidable race, which was long the terror of every native power, and which yielded only to the genius of England. It was under the reign of Aurungzebe that the wild clans of plunderers first descended from their mountains. Soon after his death every corner of his wide empire learned to tremble at the mighty name of the Mahrattas. Many fertile viceroyalties were entirely subdued by them. Their dominions stretched across the peninsula from sea to sea. Mahratta captains reigned at Poona, at Gwalior, in Guzerat, in Berar, and in Tanjore. Nor did they, though they had become great sovereigns, therefore cease to be freebooters. They still retained the predatory habits of their forefathers. Every region which was not subject to their rule was wasted by their incursions. Wherever their kettle-drums were heard, the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle, and fled

* Elphinstone thinks thirty thousand nearer the truth.

† *England's Work in India.*

with his wife and children to the mountain or the jungle. Many provinces redeemed the harvests by the payment of an annual ransom. Even the wretched phantom who still bore the imperial title stooped to pay this ignominious blackmail. The camp-fires of one rapacious leader were seen from the walls of the palace of Delhi; another at the head of his innumerable cavalry descended year after year on the rice-fields of Bengal.

Even the sea, says Hunter, was a source of danger. On the Bay of Bengal the pirates from the Burmese coast sailed up the great rivers, burning the villages, massacring or carrying off into slavery the inhabitants. On the other side of the peninsula, in the Indian Ocean, piracy was conducted on a grander scale. Wealthy rajahs kept up luxurious courts upon the extortions which their pirate fleets levied from trading vessels and from the villages along the coast.

For a century England has checked this general disorder and "protected the country from all external enemies." She has done so at an annual expense to the people of only one rupee per head of the army. "The value of the product of a single province reclaimed from ruin is equal to the whole outlay." This single blessing of peace, though itself won by the sword, is an inestimable benefaction from the English to the Indians. Without it there could be no prosperity, no hope for the country; with it, she has been able to enter upon a career the possibilities of which seem limitable only by her own will.

Under the English sway India has not only been protected against the old almost habitual invasion and ever-recurring devastation, and, thereby, enabled to pursue in peace her industries and develop her material interests, but a truly immense system of internal improvements has been prosecuted by the government facilitating this material development. "The English," says Hunter, "have had to build up, from the very foundations, the fabric of a civilized government. The material framework for such a government—public buildings, court-houses, barracks, jails, hospitals, and schools—has cost not less than five hundred millions of dollars." Even the common roads had to be largely reconstructed, for the English found the country in general ruin. The statistics of the roads of Bengal and the Bombay Presidency are imperfect; not including them, the other provinces reported, three years

ago, 84,000 miles of roads. In 1884 there were 11,527 miles of railroad in operation, and 3,355 miles in course of construction. The telegraph is beginning to thread the whole country; in 1883 no less than 21,740 miles of wires were reported. The irrigating canals (a most important provision in India) have been greatly extended. Murdock affirms that the improved private buildings by which India has been enriched during the century "far exceed in value the public buildings."

This certainly is progress; it is renovation, it is "modern civilization," and it is placing India foremost in the Asiatic world in what has been distnguished as our new "era of industrial civilization." And these are the substantial, the fundamental conditions of that civilization—conditions that cannot readily be counteracted. They imply infinitely more than they express. A sagacious observer, Sir Arthur Lyall, in his *Asiatic Studies*, says:

> It is not easy to conceive any more interesting subject for historical speculation than the probable effect upon India, and consequently upon the civilization of all Asia, of the English dominion; for though it would be most presumptuous to attempt any prediction as to the nature or bent of India's religious future, yet we may look forward to a wide and rapid transformation in two or three generations, if England's rule only be as durable as it has every appearance of being. It seems possible that the old gods of Hinduism will die in these new elements of intellectual light and air as quickly as a netfull of fishes lifted up out of the water; that the alteration in the religious needs of such an intellectual people as the Hindus, which will have been caused by a change in their circumstances, will make it impossible for them to find in their new world a place for their ancient deities. Their primitive forms will fade and disappear silently, as witchcraft vanished from Europe, and as all such delusions become gradually extinguished.

A momentous result of the improved roads, especially of the railroads, is the means they afford of combating one of the most ancient and formidable calamities of the country—the frightful famines which have devastated its population in spite of its tropical fertility. "A hundred years ago," says Hunter, "famine was regarded here, not as a problem of administration, but as a visitation of God, and utterly beyond the control of man." British intelligence saw it in another light. It

seldom prevails over the whole land. One province may be starving while another has superabundant food; but the intercommunication was difficult for want of roads, and before British rule "the country," says Murdock, "was comparatively without roads. When famines prevail over a wide range, pack-oxen and carts, the old means of communication, become almost useless. The oxen require water and fodder; on the other hand, the railroad train carries its own supply of water and fuel, and conveys as much as a thousand oxen at forty times greater speed. Thus railroads are the best means of mitigating famine. In 1770 Bengal was desolated by this evil. The husbandmen sold their cattle, their implements of agriculture, devoured their seed grain, sold their sons and daughters, till at length no buyer of children could be found; they ate the leaves of the trees and the grass of the field, and in June it was reported that the living were feeding on the dead. Two years after the dearth, Warren Hastings made a progress through Bengal, and he states the loss to have been at least one third of the inhabitants, or probably about ten millions of people. Nineteen years later Lord Cornwallis reported that one third of Bengal was a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts."

As lately as 1877–78 five millions of people perished by famine in southern India; for the railroads were still inadequate to the urgent needs of the country. During the decade ending in 1883, the government spent eighty-seven and one half millions of dollars in "famine relief." But this was only tampering with the evil. The railroads were pushed onward. An American traveler, Mr. Harnaday, says:

> It would be impossible to say too much in praise of the energy and activity displayed by the Madras government in fighting for the lives of the millions under its charge. I do not see how a government could have done more. Month after month a perfect torrent of grain was poured into Madras from seaward, and for months the entire resources of the Madras railway systems were strained to the utmost to carry it into the famine districts fast enough to keep the people from dying by thousands.

The railroads also give industrial occupation to the people; indirectly to millions by facilitating nearly all kinds of business, directly (in 1884) to nearly 200,000 functionaries and workmen, only 4,069 of whom were Europeans.

We have alluded to the irrigation works of the government, so important to a country like India. The ancient rulers constructed tanks, and some other provisions of the kind; the English found many of them in ruins, but have repaired them, and are pushing the improvement throughout the country. Murdock says:

> The Ganges canal is the greatest irrigation work in the world. It takes about half the water of the Ganges, and distributes it between the Ganges and the Jumna. Including its branches, the canal is about seven hundred miles in length. The Bari Doab Canal, from the Ravi, waters the country between that river, the Beas, and the Sutlej. Other similar works are either completed or in progress. With the branches, there are already about thirteen thousand miles of canal. The large rivers of South India formerly rolled great volumes of water uselessly to the ocean. Anicuts, or bunds, have been constructed across the most important, as the Godavari, Kistna, and Cavery, by which extensive tracts of land are irrigated.

These grand provisions, we repeat, are substantial conditions of civilization; they befit the legislation of great rulers, for they form the basis of enduring prosperity. They have prompted the energies and resources of the country generally. India, Murdock assures us, is rich in good iron ore, but without coal it cannot be smelted on a large scale. For a number of years scientific men have been engaged upon its geological survey. Valuable coal fields have been discovered. The East India Railway uses Bengal coal, costing only two rupees per ton, while imported coal costs fifteen rupees. The saving last year alone amounted to upward of thirty lacs.* Cotton is the most valuable Indian export, but being much inferior in quality and price to American cotton the government imported American seed and employed American planters to improve the indigenous cotton. It commenced tea cultivation, the annual exports of which now amount to about three crores† of rupees. It sent an officer to South America to bring the cinchona plant, which yields the best medicine known for fever. Botanical gardens have been established to introduce new plants; museums have been opened to make known Indian products and lead to their purchase. The government has sought, as far as

* A lac is one hundred thousand.

† A crore of rupees is nearly five millions of dollars.

possible, to educate all classes. There are colleges for high education, but schools also for the children of peasants and artisans. Even those who are degraded by the Hindus as outcasts have been considered. Through examinations for the public service an attempt has been made to give offices to the best qualified. "Fifty years ago," says Hunter, "the natives of India were not capable of conducting an administration according to our English ideas of honesty. During centuries of Mogul rule, almost every rural officer was paid by fees, and every official act had to be purchased. . . . It is difficult to discriminate between fees and bribes, and such a system was in itself sufficient to corrupt the whole administration. It has taken two generations to eradicate this old taint from the native official mind. But a generation has now sprung up from whose minds it has been eradicated, and who are therefore fitted to take a much larger share in the administration than the Hindus of fifty years ago." That the young princes of India are now taking a higher view of their responsibilities is one of the most hopeful signs of the times. Institutions, like the Mayo College, Ajmere, for the education of young princes and nobles have been established. "Every improvement," says Murdock, "adopted by any civilized country in the world is sought to be introduced." Bagehot says that the ancients had no conception of progress; they did not so much as reject the idea; they did not even entertain it. This applies peculiarly to India. The Hindus were guided by the Institutes of Manu, the Mohammedans by the Koran, and things remained stationary. While the British government has been exposed to incessant misrepresentation and violent calumny, it is satisfactory that some of India's most distinguished men have acknowledged the advantages it has conferred on the country. Sir Madhava Rao says: "The longer one lives, observes, and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils, and more from self-inflicted, or self-accepted or self-created, and, therefore, avoidable evils, than the Hindu community."

We have said little thus far respecting education and Christian missions, the most effective of all agencies for Indian regeneration. The truest heroes of this great field are the

Careys, Judsons, and Butlers, and their successors.* The government, in order to be effective, has had to be prudent in its treatment of the religious prejudices of the people. It can only maintain universal religious toleration; and it thereby provides the freest action of Christian propagandism, and effects through missionaries what it could not do by any interference of its own. It has nevertheless dared to arrest some of the worst evils of the old faiths. It has put an end to the burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands. Sanctioned, as this hideous evil was, by religion—the native "civilization"—it was so obviously an atrocity that its interdiction could be attempted, though not without some hazard. The government has delivered India from it, we trust, forever. It is too well known to need description.

The English sway has also extinguished Thuggism, one of the worst features of the "ancient civilization." India had over a hundred robber castes, and assassination was a religious characteristic of their robberies. The Thugs consecrated their crimes by fanatical devotions, and went forth on their depredations in the name of a deity—Kali or Devi—one among the thirty-three crores of Hindu gods—more than one for every man, woman, and child in that country. They reveled in their sanguinary piety for two thousand years. They claimed that their goddess had given their ancestors waistbands with which to strangle first demons and then men. "I am a Thug of the royal records," exclaimed one of them; "I and my fathers have been Thugs for twenty generations." They went over the highways strangling and robbing unsuspecting travelers, without remorse, and as a homage to their favorite deity. "Did you never feel pity for the old men and young children whom you murdered?" asked an English officer, facing one of them. "Never," was his prompt reply. Lord William Bentinck resolved to exterminate this ancient horror. Colonel Sleeman was commissioned to suppress it at any risk; but it was a difficult task; he had to ferret it out, by troops, in its hidden places, but at last succeeded, and established "schools of industry" for the guilty populations and their children.

* Here we may heartily commend to our readers interested in Indian missions Dr. Butler's new book, *From Boston to Bareilly and Back*. An admirable volume both in style and entertaining facts; one of the very best works in missionary literature.

Thuggism is now amenable to the law as murder. But it exists no more as a recognized order.

Such are some of the capital improvements and provisions with which England has blessed India. She has made them not by exactions but with a great reduction of the old charges on the people, especially of taxation on the lands. At least eighty per cent. of the population live by agriculture. Justice Cunningham, one of the Famine Commissioners, says:

> The usual share claimed from the cultivator by native governments was three fifths of the gross produce of the soil, out of which the zemindar was generally allowed a tenth or three fiftieths of the whole, as a reward for his services in collection. The cultivator was thus left with two fifths of his crop for his own maintenance and the expenses of cultivation. But the share of the gross produce now claimed as land revenue has sunk under British rule from more than a half to a proportion ranging between three and eight per cent. (one thirty-third to one twelfth), and though local cesses add a fraction to this percentage, the proportion at present received by government is a mere fraction of that which, under Akbar's famous settlements, was claimed as an unquestionable and immemorial due.

Sir James Caird affirmed, in the London *Times* (1883), that "India is not expensively governed. Compared with other countries, the Indian government expenditure, per head of the population, is one twenty-fourth that of France, one thirteenth that of Italy, one twelfth that of England, and one sixth that of Russia." Without doubt one might record pages of her errors and sins, from Clive to Hastings, and from Hastings to our day, especially of her flagrant opium culture and opium trade with China. We need not hesitate also to acknowledge that self-interest has influenced largely her work; but let us not be inconsiderate on the latter point. Self-regard is not essentially vicious selfishness; it is a universal, an instinctive law of human nature. It is often a positive virtue. The best men approve of the "co-operative" principle in business, and believe it to be the best solution of the great problem of the relation between capital and labor. "Business men know well that to give their clerks and workmen an interest in their business above mere wages is one of the best means of its prosperity. England has worked for herself in India; but has worked also for India, as the best way of working for herself.

She has done more; she has done here a great deal of real philanthropic and Christian work. The public policy of few Christian nations can compare, in beneficence, with hers here in the ends of the world. She has found here a magnificent field of action, full of sublime incentives; such a field as no other nation ever possessed. The local press which she has inaugurated; the presence of numerous Christian missionaries; the vigilant criticism of the home government; and, above all, the public Christian opinion of the home country, have doubtless influenced greatly her Indian administration. All impartial men may heartily acknowledge her beneficence in these circumstances. Enlightened natives do not hesitate to acknowledge it. We have already cited the opinions of some of these. One of them, Ranade, has publicly declared that

> The administration of this country by a handful of men, one for every hundred thousand of population, is a wonderful feat; but even this may find its parallel in the world's history. There is, however, no parallel in history where the representatives of the ruling classes have thought it their duty to strive for the moral and social regeneration of the many millions intrusted to their care.

The present dewan (prime minister) of Travancore has published his opinion of the British rule:

> We live under the mildest, the most enlightened, and the most powerful of modern governments; we enjoy in a high degree the rights of personal security and personal liberty, and the right of private property; the dwelling of the humblest and meanest subject may be said to be now as much his castle as that of the proud Englishman is his, in his native land; no man is any longer, by reason of his wealth or of his rank, so high as to be above the reach of the law, and none, on the other hand, is so poor and insignificant as to be beyond its protection. In less than a short century anarchy and confusion have been replaced by order and good government, as if by the wand of a magician, and the country has started on a career of intellectual, moral, and material advancement of which nobody can foresee the end. Whatever may be the shortcomings of government (and perfection is not vouchsafed to human institutions and human efforts), in the unselfish and sincere desire which animates them to promote the welfare of the millions committed to their care, in the high view they take of their obligations and responsibilities as rulers, in the desire they show at all times to study the feelings and sentiments of the people and carry them along with them in all important measures, and in the spirit of benevolence which underlies all their actions, the British Indian government stand without an equal.

Another influential native (Sindia) says:

Your prestige fills men's minds to an extent which to men who know how things were carried on scarce fifty years ago seems beyond belief. Within that period, when Mahrattas went from time to time from Gwalior to the Deccan, small bodies were not safe. The departure was an epoch in the year. Their friends parted from them knowing that they had to set out on a journey of danger—perils through Thugs, robbers, spoliation, and black-mail levied on them by the States through which they must pass; these things men not old still speak of. Now all pass to and fro without danger or hinderance—the poorest traveler feels as safe as the richest—for you make as much effort to protect the poor as the rich. I never put myself on the mail-cart, unattended and perhaps unknown, without appreciating the strength of your rule. It is a substance—I leave Gwalior without apprehension, and my absence occasions no distrust.

Such testimonies, uttered to their countrymen by educated and distinguished natives, are worth citing. They could not be uttered before a generally abused and suffering people. They would recoil and be ridiculous, were they not demonstrably attested by manifest facts. We have given, thus far, only a few of these facts, but they suffice to show that with all the faults of the Indian government Christian England is doing a good, a great, a sublime work in this land; a work which pledges a new destiny not only to India but to the whole Oriental world. The "Light of Asia" is the light of India; she has sent forth Buddhism over the East and made it the most extensive religion numerically on the earth; but her modern, her true light is this light of Christian civilization. It has dawned at last upon all her plains and hills; it still gleams dimly amidst the general darkness, but we have good reason to believe that it has risen like the sun, inextinguishable, and to shine brighter and brighter unto the perfect day. We often speak of the future as belonging to America; it belongs also to Asia, as Japan and India manifestly show. John Bright prophetically but soberly asks, "If the English language is being spoken so widely over India, if the English literature is being read and studied, if the science of this country and of western nations becomes the science of the people of India, what must be the result? . . . Caste and idolatry cannot stand against the literature which is now being freely read and studied by multitudes of the most intelligent people of India."

Art. II.—HIGHER CRITICISM.

THE CANONICAL PROPHETS AND THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL.

The term "higher criticism" has become very familiar to all students of the Bible. Its prominence before the public in a great variety of ways—in books and periodical literature, in lectures and even sermons—has been quite remarkable. It has not lacked defenders, advocates, and expositors among the most brilliant scholars of the day. To mention of the most radical only the names of Kuenen, Wellhausen, and Stade, and of the more conservative Delitzsch, Driver, and Briggs, is to affirm that it has no mean supporters. To be sure, the term is not the most pleasant to the ears of those who cling to the Bible as it is, and cherish it as the word of God and as an authentic representation of events as they occurred in the early ages of the Hebrew people. If, however, it represents a criticism which is far too radical for even a liberal conservatism, and has taken positions whose boldness and apparent peril alike startle the average man, it is only what might be expected of it in the excessive enthusiasm and energy of its youthful life. True or false in its opinions, it is yet fruitful of good in the remarkable interest which it has awakened in the critical study of the Old Testament, and in the hope which it holds out that the necessary result of the most minute and fearless examination of the Scriptures will surely lead to a more correct understanding of them.

Higher criticism differs from lower criticism, which is textual criticism, or an examination and correction of the text of the Scriptures. The former has to do with the matter of the Bible, and seeks to settle on a scientific basis all questions as to the genuineness, authenticity, credibility, literary merits, and order of the several books and parts of books. It touches lower criticism in the one direction, and does not hesitate to question its decisions; and in the other direction it looks forward to biblical theology, and dares to say what it ought to be. It avails itself of all the recent discoveries in archæology, philology, history, geography, and ethnology, which have become very abundant, and are constantly growing more so through the increased energy with which scholars are prosecuting their

investigations. With the most painstaking and minute analysis it compares Scripture with Scripture in most searching internal study of the Bible. Discarding mere tradition, however hoary its antiquity, it penetrates the obscurity of the earliest ages of Old Testament history, if possible to bring order out of confusion, and to put the sacred record on a rational and scientific basis. These are the professed aims of higher criticism in its relation to the Old Testament. Whatever may be the results, the aims are worthy of all praise. If any danger is to be apprehended from such a free and thorough examination of the venerable pages of the Bible, it must lie in the false principles involved. The Christian Church has nothing to fear from correct methods and just principles, however severely they may be applied. The results must, in the end, be altogether in the interest of truth.

The positions, however, which the most radical of the advocates of higher criticism have taken are somewhat startling, and quite remove from the Bible the old familiar story of the history of Israel as it has been generally apprehended. We have no longer to do with familiar scenes. At least, if the scenes are familiar, their relations and significance are so changed that they seem strange and unreal. In the matter of the composition of the different books of the Pentateuch, for instance, there has manifestly been a most radical revolution. All that can be relied upon as belonging to the times of Moses is the Book of the Covenant, which is admitted to have contained Exod. xx-xxiii. Deuteronomy is claimed to have come to light no earlier than the times of Manasseh, and probably not until the reign of Josiah, about the middle of the seventh century. The priestly code, or Leviticus, also is assigned to the times of the exile or later. The narrative parts of the Pentateuch, which existed as traditions during the earliest ages of the history of Israel, received shape, we are thus told, about 800 B. C. Even among scholars who accept in the main the results of higher criticism these dates are in some dispute, but they represent the foremost of the above stated views. The Pentateuch, substantially as we now have it, had taken shape and was read to the people by Ezra, 444 B. C.* It is easy to see that such a reconstruction of the order of the development of the legis-

* Wellhausen, *History of Israel*, p. 497.

lation of Israel must make great changes in the facts connected with the history and with their relations and significance.

The accredited results of higher criticism, however, are not more radical and important to the reconstruction of the Pentateuch, and in the view which is given of the rise, progress, and order of the development of the legislation of Israel, than in the changes which it necessitates in the apprehension of the nature of the religion itself. It has been commonly believed, that while the religious truths of the Old Testament gained enlargement and clearness in the unfolding of the national life, its fundamental truths were revealed at or previous to the Mosaic period. Moses was chief in revealing and setting in order those truths of God which should be the guide of the nation through all its history. Israel subsequently neglected, and to a degree lost, those truths. All this higher criticism denies. According to this, the work of Moses was not very great. According to this conception,

> Moses was not regarded as the promulgator, once for all, of a national constitution, but rather as the first to call into activity the national sense for law and justice, and to begin the series of oral decisions which were continued after him by the priests.*

The Law, or Torah, was not a completed code, but "consisted entirely of the oral decisions and instructions of the priests," given from time to time. The principal truth connected with Jehovah was this: that "Jehovah is the God of Israel." Only that moral character which the name received from the Book of the Covenant and the decisions of the priests relieved the utter barrenness of such a fundamental truth, except, perhaps, the distinctive thought connected with all tribal deities—that of power. Such a meager and altogether void conception of Jehovah, as we might well believe, gave free license to the adoption of all the peculiarities of the religious worship of the neighboring nations. Images, altars on high places, human sacrifices, the abominable rites and customs of Baal, Asherah, Astarte, and even the name of Baal as a synonym for Jehovah, were received into the popular religion of the people in both kingdoms, and became the only religion of Israel. This was the syncretism into which the simple

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition, p. 399.

beginnings of Moses developed. The only great principle which stood out against such a development of foreign admixtures was simply this: "Jehovah is the God of Israel." No wonder that such a spiriting away of all the fundamental truths supposed to lie at the basis of the religion of Israel should cause great disturbance to the minds of devout readers of the Bible.

The vital question, then, with which biblical scholars have to do is this: Can all this be true? Has the real history of Israel lain so long unknown or distorted, through the extravagant conceits or at least the misconceptions of later Israel? Is it possible that tradition has been so greatly at fault, and that twenty-two centuries or more have been duped by this conscious or unconscious perversion of history? This is the question. It might seem to be easy to answer this question from the spirit of honesty and frankness which pervades the Pentateuch, from its unity, and from the incidental references in it which usually count so much as undesigned evidence in favor of the truth. The unhappy fact is, that these are the very weapons which are used against the Pentateuch. Again, it might be thought that the history in Samuel and the Kings, as well as that of the Chronicles, might be relied upon to settle the difficulty. Here we are again at fault. The history of Samuel and the Kings, we are told, was at best but a compilation from more or less traditional sources. It was written, also, after the Deuteronomy was discovered; and the author was, consequently, more or less under the influence of the presuppositions which were contained in the Deuteronomy; and by so much he must be regarded as unreliable for critical purposes. The same is true of the Chronicles, which were written after the Levitical code was elaborated, and in a similar manner were affected by the contents of Leviticus.* The Pentateuch is greatly at a disadvantage, unless it is possible to prove, as we think it is, that the evidence from the historical books is of more value than is allowed to them by the most radical of the supporters of higher criticism.

There are a number of ways of testing this question. The one proposed here is an examination of the canonical prophets, particularly those of the eighth century B. C.: Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and perhaps Joel. Higher criticism claims for

* Kuenen's *National Religions and Universal Religions*, p. 78.

them that they were the real authors of the religion of Israel as it is now conceived. To these prophets, therefore, we may now look, for they occupy a place in the history of Israel which renders them particularly valuable as witnesses in this matter. They began their work while both the northern and the southern kingdoms were yet in their strength, and when reliable traditions of the past were within easy reach. They have also left in writing enough of what they proclaimed to the people to reveal to us the convictions which they entertained. So great were these prophets themselves, ranking with the Wiclifs, the Luthers, and the Wesleys of these later ages, that they command attention and inspire confidence. The essential relation which they held to the religious life of Israel—being exponents of its truths and requirements in ages which were characterized by the triumphs of idolatry and irreligion—gives to them personally the greater authority, and imparts to their utterances the greater weight. On the whole, it may be said that they furnish us with a most reliable medium through which to look at the religion of Israel as it really was, and as it was received from the ages which preceded them.

Whatever may be proved from such an examination of the canonical prophets as this, it is not the aim of this paper to prove that the Pentateuch, as we now have it, existed previously to the times of these prophets. It may be a fair inference, however, so far as the prophets themselves are concerned. At least, on the supposition of the existence of the Pentateuch at that date as the ancient possession of Israel, the prophets present no difficulties, but, on the contrary, receive a much better explanation. There will, however, be much more than a simple inference that a ritual, a legislative code, and fundamental truths with reference to the nature of Jehovah and his claims upon his people, were in existence previous to the times of these prophets, and formed the basis of all their teachings and exhortations; also that these elements of the religion of Israel had been transmitted from the times of Moses, and had been preserved by the pious and God-fearing in the nation. That these were identical with the Pentateuch can only be proved by other lines of argument. All that is here intended to be shown is, that the prophets imply the ancient existence of what is found substantially in the Pentateuch.

Was there a consciousness among the prophets, especially those of the eighth century B. C., of a syncretism in religion as the regular and established religion of Israel? Do the prophets manifest no consciousness of a difference between the mixed and idolatrous worship which prevailed so generally both in the northern and the southern kingdoms, and the worship which, in spirit and form, was alone acceptable to Jehovah? The people, we are told, "were unable to distinguish sharply between the local worship of Jehovah and the worship of the Canaanite Baalim. The god of the local sanctuary was adored as Jehovah, but a local Jehovah was practically a local Baal. The people, whose worship of Jehovah was hardly to be distinguished from a gross polytheism, could not be adverse to worship other gods side by side with the national deity." * We affirm, on the contrary, that in the writings of the prophets there is no apparent consciousness of such a syncretism existing for ages previous to their times, and never seriously opposed, from which it was their peculiar mission to rescue the people. This is remarkable, if true; for, if such a syncretistic religious life had been the only recognized religious life of Israel, it is altogether beyond belief that the prophets should not have declared, or at least intimated, it. They would naturally have done this in making a way for their new doctrines, which could hardly have been received under the circumstances unless it had been clearly shown that the syncretism had done its work, and the distinctive religion of Jehovah was now to be exclusively established. It is safe to say, however, that no such treatment of the old in introducing the new can be found described or intimated in the writings of the prophets; but how could they have reasonably hoped to succeed without making some such effort in the interest of their new and more spiritual doctrines? It is impossible that the people, with so little knowledge of Jehovah, and with such long-continued relations to their mixed worship, could have paid any attention to them.

It is equally strange, on the assumption of a syncretism unquestioned by any previous authority, that these prophets themselves, incidentally or directly, have not evinced some consciousness of the high vocation to which they had been called by Jehovah in the work of displacing the old faith by one en-

* Professor W. Robertson Smith's *Old Testament in the Jewish Church.*

tirely new in spirit and in letter. The characters of originator and reformer are so entirely distinct, and the exhibition of these different characters by each is so necessary, that it is a wonder that the prophets do not put forth the claim and exhibit the characteristics, if, as is affirmed, they were actually originators of the real religion of Jehovah. Moses, Christ, Buddha, Confucius, and Mohammed were originators of great religious systems, and have been so regarded by posterity. The prophets, however, make no such claims, give no indications of possessing such a character, and have never been so regarded by posterity. Tradition has preserved no such conception of their work or position. They stand in spirit and methods with Wiclif and Luther and Wesley, for whose use truths had already been prepared, and whose work it was only to vitalize and re-establish those truths. To their own thought, so far as their writings reveal any thing, they begin nothing, but they are merely the agents for carrying forward what had already and long before been begun.

Indeed, the whole manner of the prophets is such that they do not preach new doctrines. They do not endeavor to prove why people should comply with the religious and moral precepts; they rather presuppose that the sins of the people are transgressions against old and well-known laws and institutions. They live and have their being in the covenant relations, and accuse the people of unfaithfulness to this covenant.*

It is remarkable, also, on the supposition of a syncretism, that the prophets should have shown such a definite and bitter hatred toward the worship on high places, at Dan and Beth-el, and other places. If the religion of Israel had been from the beginning simply a development, and if it had begun its career with such a wretchedly meager basis upon which to build a great national religion as the announcement that "Jehovah is the God of Israel," and possessing only the few moral precepts, in themselves of the most general character, to be found in the Book of the Covenant, such a syncretism was to have been expected, and was altogether natural and necessary. It is difficult to see how it could have been regarded as abnormal or extremely censurable. What fault could have been found with it, in all justice, except in its gross exaggerations? Least of all, what occasion was there for the fierce and indignant de-

* C. J. Bredenkamp, quoted in the *Old Testament Student*, November, 1884.

nunciations of the prophets and the threatened punishments of Jehovah? Yet Hosea exclaims: "He hath cast off thy calf, O Samaria; mine anger is kindled against them: how long will it be ere they attain to innocency? For from Israel is even this; the workman made it, and it is no god: yea, the calf of Samaria shall be broken in pieces. For they sow the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind." * Amos scornfully and sarcastically exhorts: "Come to Beth-el, and transgress; to Gilgal, and multiply transgression; and bring your sacrifices every morning, and your tithes every three days." † The prophet then announces that for such transgression they have already suffered, and will suffer more in the future, unless they forsake it. Isaiah and Micah are equally severe. These quotations represent the general spirit which found expression constantly in the most indignant remonstrances and in threats of the severest punishment. On the suppositions of higher criticism, such a sudden announcement of new truths, with such an intense hatred of the old, and such haste in securing the adoption of the new on the penalty of the most terrible and destroying punishments from Jehovah, seem altogether unintelligible. If it is affirmed that there had been a gradual growth in the nation of doctrines and precepts similar to those of the prophets, but in no code recognized as authoritative, then not only are the prophets deprived of their exalted honor, but the further necessity arises of explaining the rise of such doctrines in the midst of a universal devotion to a syncretism to which there had never been a rival. Elijah is denied any part in such a work, since he was really a prophet of the syncretism.‡ Who else could have done it better? It is hardly supposable that the priests, generally devoted to the mixed worship as they were, could have added any thing to the distinctive faith of Jehovah. It is impossible to discover any one who could have done it under the conditions supposed. It is necessary to believe that it was not done; but, if it was not, the course of the prophets was inconsistent and unreasonable in the extreme.

The attempt, if made, must have proved inadequate. What were those prophets, with only their own characters and their

* Hosea viii. 5–7, Revised Version. † Amos iv. 4, Revised Version.

‡ *History of Israel*, p. 462.

unknown truths to recommend them, against an entire nation which was given, soul and body, to the service and support of a syncretism which they fully believed was a religion acceptable to Jehovah? On the contrary, the prophets betray a conscious dependence upon a faith so well known that it was not necessary for them to explain it. They had behind them strong supports which had been long familiar to the people, and which had inspired them with fearless zeal and tireless energy. They manifestly did not depend upon themselves. They were to their own consciousness, so far as that consciousness appears in their writings, only reformers, the substance of whose teachings had long been in the possession of the nation. They were called forth from their seclusion to develop in the national consciousness a clear conviction of truths which that nation had received from the remote past.

For all the great spirits of old Israel regarded themselves not as beginners, but as restorers of a condition of life seen in its most perfect form at the commencement of the national existence. And it must not, withal, be forgotten that the best representatives of the nation were really compelled by their own consciousness and the recollection of the people solely to dedicate themselves to the list of reformers, notwithstanding the warmth of their zeal and the energy of their own wills.*

Such a consciousness would be utterly inconsistent with the absence of any definite revelation of the will of Jehovah, any prescribed course of conduct or mode of worship recognized as peculiar to Jehovah alone, and the only authorized expression of his will. It harmonizes perfectly with the existence of an ancient order of things which had to a very large extent been sadly neglected.

We are not confined, however, to the consciousness of the prophets. It may be affirmed that they plainly exhibit a knowledge of a Law which represented the religion of Jehovah, and distinguished it from the foreign religious customs which had been grafted into the religion of Israel. That these references in the prophets do not amount to a demonstration that the Pentateuch was in existence may be readily admitted. On the supposition that it did actually exist at the time, it is possible to account for the omission of any formal or full reference to it. As teachers, commissioned to arouse the conscience of the people and

* Konig's *Religious History of Israel*, p. 25.

vitalize truths with which that people were familiar but which had been grossly neglected by them, it was perfectly natural and consistent that they should have appealed to the Law only in the most general terms. They could have done this, however, only on the assumption that the authority in whose name they spoke was well known, and to a degree revered. Then, too, in writings which are so meager as those which have been left us by the prophets, it could hardly be expected that there should be found full statements with reference to a national code, even though it existed in the full form of the Pentateuch.

Respecting these references in the prophets to the Law, they tell us that Israel had a Law or Torah from the earliest times. It was Mosaic, also, but hardly more than to this extent: that Moses gave the first of those oral decisions and instructions which were continued by the priests.* There was, it is said, nothing written, and no collection of these deliverances made, which constituted in their unity the Torah of Israel. In accordance with this explanation, the Book of the Covenant and these scattering decisions and instructions constituted all the Law to which Israel could lay claim previous to the times of the prophets, and for some time after the work of the oldest of the prophets. Deuteronomy, they say, was not in existence, and did not come into existence until a century or more after the times of Amos. As it was then regarded as something entirely new, when it was made known to Josiah, it is not to be supposed that the precepts and requirements of which it was composed, as detached and fragmentary bits of priestly decision and instruction, could have had much weight in the times of the prophets Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah. Such laws would have furnished but a poor and unsubstantial support for the lonely prophets, called upon, as they were, to rebuke the entire nation for prolonged and defiant disregard of all the principles of right and justice and obedience which belonged to the Law of Jehovah.

It is possible to show that the prophets require very much more than this to account for their references to a standing and ancient Law or Torah of Jehovah. Their indignant protests and severe rebukes reach far beyond the authority of such a

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition, p. 399; Wellhausen.

law as is allowed by radical critics to have existed from Mosaic times. Of course, it may be answered that a prophet might have been expected to go beyond the mere letter of the Law in a free representation of the will of Jehovah revealed in him in his prophetic character and office; but we should even then expect some attempt by argument to make way for the reception of purely individual utterances which must have sounded strange to the ears of the people as a whole. Nothing of the kind, however, appears, while the prophets seem ever to be speaking from a law which not only they receive, but which is not utterly unknown to a portion, at least, of the people. Hosea incidentally verifies this, and suggests one or two important facts. In chap. viii, 12, we read: "Though I write for him my law in ten thousand *precepts*, they are counted as a strange thing." Some entirely competent authorities, as Prof. Green of Princeton, render it as a matter of fact pertaining to a past revelation of the will of Jehovah: "I write to him the ten thousand precepts of my law; they have been counted as a strange thing." If the latter translation is to be received as the correct one—and it is certainly grammatically correct—then we are to understand the prophet to refer to a large number of precepts, ten thousand or more, which had been written for the instruction of Israel, here called Ephraim. Smend, as quoted by Professor Green, says of the passage:

> The words of Hosea prove that the Ephraimites had many written laws in the eighth century, which, whether in one or more books, although they were neglected by a large part of the people, were yet known to all, and, in the judgment of the prophet, demanded the obedience of all, since they were of divine obligation, as much so as if written by Jehovah himself.*

If the hypothetical rendering is accepted, there is at least the assumption that there were laws written, and that these were numerous and of binding obligation. It is as much as though the prophet had said, "I have already proclaimed to you the law of Jehovah; and yet you are so stubborn, that if Jehovah should give an unlimited number in addition, it would make no impression upon you." It is a significant fact, also, that while the prophets know of many precepts they know of only one Law. They never use the plural of the noun. It is one law,

* Smend, quoted by Professor Green in *Moses and the Prophets*, p. 115.

one collection of precepts. The absence of the article, which might perhaps be expected here, gives force to this unity. It is a code too well known and prominent to even need the article. This invariable unity in the prophetical conception of the Law of Israel is a suggestive fact. Why should the prophets have followed so uniformly the practice of using the singular number, if the precepts upon which they rested for their authority either had existed from the beginning in detached fragments, or were being revealed by them in this same fragmentary manner? There seems to have been no sufficient reason. It would have been quite unnatural. On the supposition of a body of precepts and regulations which had been a long time known to the nation as the Law, it would have been a perfectly consistent use of the word. Malachi employs it (iv, 4) in this way when, according to the most radical claims, he had the entire Torah, as it is now known, in his hands.

That this law was no new thought with the prophets is certainly implied in Hos. xi, 1–3: "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt." Even then, however, Israel "sacrificed unto the Baalim, and burned incense to graven images." Also, "by a prophet the Lord brought Israel up out of Egypt, and by a prophet was he preserved." (xii, 13.) The context shows that the prophets conceived of the Law as a guide and standard from the beginning, and of this they remind the people as a ground of repentance. They therefore make the Law of the most vital importance to the permanent welfare of Israel. It is more than independent decisions given from time to time by the acting priest—more than the brief Book of the Covenant—more than the traditions which had been accumulating through the centuries—more than the authority of the individual utterances of the prophets themselves. No such conceptions of the Law with which Jehovah was endeavoring to train up his people will answer the demands of the language of the prophets. On the contrary, the one Law, so definite and large and well-known and ancient that it could afford a proper basis for a national life, would alone justify the terrible punishments denounced against Israel for their violation of the Law. The language of Amos would then be natural, "They have rejected the law of the Lord, and have not kept his statutes. (Amos ii, 4.) Hosea could then in justice say, "Seeing that

thou hast forgotten the law of God, I also will forget thy children." (Hos. iv, 6.) If this law had been known and preserved there would have been occasion for the indignant spirit and words of the prophets, as the mouth-pieces of Jehovah. The Law would then seem to have been something so fundamental to the integrity of the nation, as Jehovah's peculiar people, that its rejection would have been substantially the rejection of Jehovah himself.

These intimations of a legal code receive re-enforcement from the indications of a belief in a covenant to be found in the writings of the older prophets. If they believed in such a covenant, existing between Jehovah and his people from the earliest period of the national life, it is clear that they must have believed as well in a legal code, which expressed the part which Israel was expected to perform in the covenant. Wellhausen, therefore, very properly denies the existence of any such relation in the earliest times between Israel and Jehovah. "Nor did the theocracy exist from the times of Moses," he says, "in the form of a covenant, though that was afterward a favorite mode of regarding it." * He could hardly have admitted any thing more, and at the same time have limited the precepts of Moses to the insignificant proportions which he assigns to them. A covenant carries with it the idea of obligations. These obligations must necessarily be regulated by particular precepts and laws. These precepts and laws would constitute the body of laws according to which the parties involved might fulfill the contract. The word BERITH, uniformly translated covenant, may certainly be found with that sense in Hosea and Amos, although Wellhausen affirms that one of the most important passages relied upon to confirm such a statement (Hos. viii, 1) was probably interpolated. There is, however, no good reason for making such a supposition, except that which arises from the demands of a theory which must be maintained. The thing itself is set forth carefully and solemnly in the figure of a marriage covenant, in which Hosea allegorically or actually represented in his own person the relation between Jehovah and his people from the very first manifestations of a distinctive national life. The interpretation of the first two chapters of the book of Hosea, so far as the prophet

* *History of Israel*, p. 417.

is concerned, makes no difference in respect to the aim of the prophet. The rest of the book is to be understood in the light of the introductory scene in these two chapters. The relation which is there set forth is that of a marriage covenant whose conditions had been shamelessly violated. The conduct of Israel which is condemned covered the entire period from the time when Jehovah had called Israel out of Egypt. (Hos. xi, 1; xii, 9–13; xiii, 4) Jehovah's love and care, his interference in their behalf by means of a prophet who was no other than Moses, and the ready response of the people themselves, were the appropriate signs of such a covenant relation. The existence of such a covenant between Jehovah and his people appears in Amos ii, 2, and Isaiah i, 2, and underlies all the exhortations of the prophets. Some peculiar and special right they assume for Jehovah, arising out of an accepted relation on the part of the representatives of the people. If it was not a covenant, as these prophets seem to affirm, what was the basis of such an obligation whose violation inevitably subjected the people to the most terrible punishments? Wellhausen answers: "According to the popular faith, it rested upon the fact that Jehovah was worshiped in Israel and not among the heathen; that in Israel were his altars and his dwelling. His *cultus* was the bond between him and the nation." Such an explanation, however, seems entirely inadequate to account for the peculiar expressions and assumptions of the prophets, especially when it is remembered just how much Jehovah was worshiped as the God of Israel in the pretended syncretism. The prophets evidently felt that there was something more than this in the relation of Jehovah to his people.

Do the prophets themselves prove that there could have been no priestly code previous to their times? The claim is made that the older prophets knew nothing of any such code, and in their spirit and direct teachings plainly declare that Jehovah required no sacrifices; that there were none certainly that were Mosaic in their origin. It is maintained that the prophets were called to make known a knowledge of the moral and spiritual character and requirements of Jehovah, and therefore betray an utter indifference, if not a positive hostility, to all ritual service, as foreign to the earliest and most essential nature of the religion of Israel. There can be no doubt that

the prophets were sent to enlighten the people on the moral side of their religious life, and to make clear the fact that clean hands and a pure heart were the necessary conditions of acceptable service to Jehovah. Inasmuch as they were sent to give such emphasis to moral character and spiritual service, they marked a decided advance in the religious life of the nation. Were they, however, hostile to sacrifices in themselves considered? It is thought to be clearly shown that they were hostile from such passages as the following: "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me, saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats." (Isa. i, 11.) "I hate, I despise, your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies." (Amos v, 21.) "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" (Mic. vi, 8.) These and similar passages have usually been supposed to teach simply the truth which the prophets appreciated to such a pre-eminent degree—that a heartless and immoral external service is absolutely of no value in the eyes of Jehovah. Terms as strong as those of the prophets might have been used without necessarily implying that no external service whatever could have been acceptable to Jehovah. In connection with the passage quoted from Isaiah, prayer is quite as positively rejected as are the various ritual services mentioned. The very clear reason for such a rejection was, that the people were in no fit condition to offer prayer. The remedy which was at once prescribed for such unfitness might just as well have included the preparation to offer external service, and probably did so. There are numerous indications that the prophets were not hostile to a proper ritual service. Hosea (vi, 6) confirms this when he says, "I desire mercy and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God MORE than burnt offerings." Why more than burnt offerings, unless burnt offerings in some form would have been acceptable? Again, in Hosea (ii, 11), it is threatened as a punishment that the time would come when feasts, new moons, sabbaths, and solemn assemblies would cease, and the people would mourn for them, because in a strange land, whither they would be carried captive, they could not participate in them.

The feast of tabernacles is plainly intended, in xii, 9, and, according to any theory, it must be acknowledged to have had appropriate ritual services. Amos (viii, 4) recognizes these solemn occasions by showing how the people pervert them for purposes of personal gain: "Hear this, O ye that would swallow up the needy, and cause the poor of the land to fail, saying, when will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat?" That these intimations of sacrifices are incidental is no more than ought to be expected, where it was no part of the prophetic work to define or confirm a ritual.

There are, however, two passages, the one in Amos and the other in Jeremiah, which are claimed unequivocally to deny any priestly code, of whatever dimensions, as a legitimate part of the service of Jehovah, at any time in the nation's history. Amos v, 25–27, as it is translated in the Revised Version, which is best supported, is this: "Did ye bring unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel? Yea, ye have borne Siccuth your king and Chiun your images, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves. Therefore will I cause you to go into captivity," etc. The fact was, as the prophet understood it, that Israel had offered no proper sacrifices in the wilderness. They had even then given themselves up to idolatry to such an extent that they vitiated whatever they might have rendered of the authorized service, and practically offered no service. They had continued to do the same thing up to the times of the prophets. "Therefore will I cause you to go into captivity," etc. This explanation is supported by eminent scholars. Jer. vii, 21–26, involves great difficulties. Verse 22 reads: "For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices." This is a plain denial on its face of any such thing as sacrifices in the Mosaic period. It is inconceivable, however, if the theory of the origin of Deuteronomy is correct, that Jeremiah, who must have been familiar with the fact of the discovery of the book of Deuteronomy, and, as some think, had much to do with its existence, should have uttered any such declaration as this. It is equally inconceivable that, if this was the meaning of Jeremiah, later prophets and the

author of other portions of the Pentateuch should have flown so directly in the face of one of the most widely read of all the prophets, and taught what he absolutely denied. Such considerations lead to the belief that Jeremiah could not have intended absolutely to deny that sacrifices were known in the wilderness, and were a legitimate part of the proper service of Jehovah. It involves quite as little difficulty, and is more in harmony with the deliverances of the prophets, to suppose that Jeremiah, in his contempt for the abominable idolatry which he saw about him, and to which the people had always inclined, should have denied that there had ever been any genuine offerings in the name of Jehovah, or that Jehovah had ever authorized any such service. Bredenkamp renders "concerning" "on account of" or "for the sake of." The passage would then mean: "For I spake not unto your fathers for the sake of burnt offerings and sacrifices in themselves considered. I had higher purposes." Whether this may be a correct rendering or not, it is quite certain that the passage does not furnish positive evidence against sacrifices as a part of the regular service of Jehovah. To the prophets there was also one place where sacrifices ought to be offered, and they manifest no disposition to palliate the offense of offering sacrifices elsewhere. Samaria and Beth-el and the high places are an abomination. The one altar at Jerusalem, as little as it might be held in proper reverence, was the place where men ought to offer sacrifices and burn incense to Jehovah. It is not too much to conclude that the prophets recognized a ritual service which was peculiar and agreeable to Jehovah, although it was their work to arouse the conscience of the nation to the moral side of religion. It is not an unwarrantable conclusion that the prophets were aware of a Torah, defined and authorized and written, as a legitimate part of the service of Jehovah.

Higher criticism attributes to the prophets the great work of revealing to Israel the real character of Jehovah. It only allows to Moses the wisdom of adopting as the fundamental principle of the new national life, "Jehovah is the God of Israel." Very little more, except such ethical teachings as were to be found in the Book of the Covenant and in the decisions of the priests, belonged to the name of Jehovah. One thing Israel knew well: that as Baal was the god of the Pheni-

cians, and Chemosh was the god of Moab, so Jehovah was the God of Israel. The power of Jehovah, as the national deity, was of course recognized, but only as the Moabites recognized the same element of strength in their god. It was the one attribute in all local deities in which every nation implicitly believed. Little more did Israel know; certainly not that Jehovah was a God of infinite holiness, and the Creator and Ruler of the universe. On the contrary, the prophets have been found to have entertained all those conceptions of Jehovah's peculiar essence and attributes which are so clearly revealed in the Pentateuch. Kuenen, in "The Religion of Israel," in the chapter on the religious condition of Israel in the eighth century, presents the views of the prophets with clearness, and credits them with the great work of giving to Israel the real character of Jehovah. He readily admits that the prophets taught that Jehovah was the Creator and Supreme Ruler of heaven and earth, of nature and mankind; that his nature was spiritual, and the service which he required of men was not merely the offering of sacrifices, but the rendering unto him of a heart of sincerity and truth; that he was holy and required holiness of every one who approached him in worship; that he was a universal deity, and was local only in that he had chosen Israel from all the nations of the earth to be his peculiar people. He was therefore not to be confounded with any of the gods of the neighboring nations, as though they were on an equality with him. Accordingly the name of Jehovah, to the conception of the prophets, stood for a future for Israel of spiritual prosperity and achievement. This was the secret of the bitter hostility of the prophets to the names of heathen deities, and to their corrupt and idolatrous forms of worship. All this may be conceded to the prophets, and much more might be granted than this meager description of their teachings shows, as their conception of Jehovah and the nature of his religion. It is a much more important question whether all this was really new with them.

An appeal to tradition, if we concede that the historical books contain traditions, very clearly reveals the fact that these ideas regarding Jehovah had been long cherished by the nation. This is too obvious, to any one familiar with the historical books, to require argument. Such a conception of the nature

and character of Jehovah, and of the worship which he desired, was apparently the occasion for the settled abhorrence of the sin and idolatry of the people which pervades both books of Samuel and of Kings. Wellhausen, however, accounts for this spirit in the fact that these histories were written up finally after the discovery of the Deuteronomy, and that the compilers, under its influence, attribute these great truths to those earlier times and denounce the people for their wickedness. They "partook of the spirit of the age in which they lived, and, forgetful or ignorant of the real past, did an injustice to those nations." Therefore, "we must not allow the Israelitish historians to shake the conclusions to which our investigations have led us."* This is certainly an easy way out of the difficulty, but the explanation is entirely inadequate. It is altogether incredible that even traditions could have been so greatly at fault. It is to assume such stupidity or knavery, on the part of compilers, as find no parallel in the records of any other nation. It is a singular fact that none of the later prophets, in the interest of the brotherhood and truth, attempt to set right what they must have known to be grossly wrong. Their spirit and their utterances, however, are in the most perfect harmony with these traditions, which are the only traditions of the nation.

While there is the greatest reluctance on the part of the most radical to acknowledge any particular critical value in the historical books, there is a very noticeable disposition to use every fact and incident, so far as possible, in the interest of adopted thories. This is the case with reference to Israel's conception of Jehovah. "It is very possible, and even probable," may sometimes be a sound argument, but generally, it must be confessed, it is of very little value. Then, too, the ease with which troublesome texts are disposed of is something astonishing. The conclusion that images were a legitimate part of the worship and representation of Jehovah—from the golden calf which was made at Horeb; from the teraphim which were possessed in a very few instances and employed as household gods; from the ephod which, on no authority whatever, is said to have had an image representing Jehovah, perhaps a bull, attached to it, or to have been itself an image;† from the calves

* *National Religions and Universal Religions*, p. 80. † *Ibid*, p. 87.

adopted by the northern kingdom as symbols of Jehovah; from the prevalence of images in both kingdoms—seems to be an exaggeration of the value of evidence. This is especially true when such practices are uniformly denounced as a violation of some fundamental law of the religion of Jehovah. To infer also, and to affirm with dogmatic positiveness, the legitimacy of human sacrifices from the story of Abraham's willingness to offer up Isaac, or from Jephthah's devotion of his daughter, or from the practice of causing children to pass through the fire, would seem to be entirely unwarrantable in view of what is said in all such cases. Such assumptions can only be held because the presuppositions of a theory make them necessary. These facts and inferences form to a very large extent the ground for denying such a character to Jehovah as the prophets give to him.

From the fact that the prophets entertained such exalted views of the character of Jehovah, and from their very evident disposition to assume that they were declaring nothing which had not long before been known and accepted in Israel, it is difficult to believe that they held any conceptions of Jehovah different from those which had been held from the beginning. They may have apprehended them more clearly and stated them more forcibly, but that they introduced new truths, fundamental to the very life of religion, naturally requires such conditions as are known not to have existed.

The view of the prophets in their relation to the religion of Israel which seems most consistent with all the facts is, that which sees in them reformers sent by Jehovah to recall the people to a devotion to his ancient requirements. They spoke not only with the authority of the living Voice within them, but also with the authority of laws and customs and truths which had been for generations in the possession of the nation. How much of the Pentateuch they may have had may be left to a sober criticism to say, but that they had all that can make the Pentateuch a part of Scripture, to be received, believed and revered, cannot be denied from the writings of the prophets. They evidently did not build upon myths and fables. With Jehovah's truth behind them and his Spirit within them, they were prepared to command a hearing in the nation.

ART. III.—ORIGIN OF PRESIDING ELDERS.

IN a former article we traced the origin of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the close of the General Conference of 1784–85, the so-called "Christmas Conference." The Church which that Conference constituted had but a slender organization. We propose in the present paper to show how the new Church secured a more perfect ecclesiastical polity. The history of the Church's advance in the matter of ecclesiastical adjustment and equipment will be shown in a great degree by a careful review of the rise and progress of the presiding eldership.

When the Christmas Conference had completed its work the presiding eldership had no existence in Methodism, though the germ of the office was found in some of its provisions. The ordination of the preachers and the celebration of the sacraments were the objects which Mr. Wesley contemplated in the embassy of Dr. Coke to America. Eleven preachers received ordination as elders, they having first been ordained deacons at that Conference. Two other preachers, namely, Henry Willis and Beverly Allen, were elected by the Conference to the order of elders, but were not present. Shortly after the Conference adjourned Mr. Willis was ordained by Asbury, and at the Conference in North Carolina, in April, 1785, Mr. Allen received ordination. Of these thirteen elders two were sent as missionaries to Nova Scotia, namely, Freeborn Garrettson and James O. Cromwell; and one, Jeremiah Lambert, was sent as a missionary to the island of Antigua. Upon the ten elders who remained in the United States devolved the work, in connection with the two superintendents, of giving the Lord's Supper to the members of the new Church. In their Notes on the Discipline, which by direction of the General Conference of 1796 Coke and Asbury prepared, those first bishops said that "when Mr. Wesley drew up a plan of government for our Church in America he desired that no more elders should be ordained in the first instance than were absolutely necessary, and that the work on the continent should be divided between them in respect to the duties of their office."

But as these newly ordained elders traveled abroad over

the land in the fulfillment of their office, Bishop Asbury saw that he could profitably utilize their assistance in the work of the superintendency. Accordingly, in their Notes on the Discipline, Coke and Asbury say:

> Bishop Asbury and the District Conferences* afterward found that this order of men was so necessary that they agreed to enlarge the number and give them the name by which they are at present called.

It thus appears that the presiding eldership grew out of the method which Mr. Wesley designed, and which the Christmas Conference adopted, of sending forth men invested with full ministerial powers through the land, each of whom was to devote himself to a given number of circuits, for the purpose of celebrating the holy sacraments. So, as in their annotations, the first bishops say, "In the year 1784 the presiding eldership did in *fact*, though not in *name*, commence." The General Conference of that year did not, however, constitute the office, nor, so far as appears, was it then thought of in the form which it soon after assumed, by the authority of Mr. Asbury and of the "District Conferences."

When, nearly eight years after the Christmas Conference, the first General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church assembled in Baltimore on the first day of November, 1792, the presiding eldership had taken quite definite shape under Asbury's episcopal hand, and with such other authorization as the District, or, as we would now say, the Annual, Conferences gave. There was, however, no formally constituted legislative body or power in the Church during that interregnum of eight years. The Christmas Conference adjourned without providing any plan for future legislation further than that of declaring submission to Mr. Wesley's control. Therefore, though at the convocation of the General Conference of 1792 this particular office existed, it was not by unchallenged authorization. One of the early writers of our Church has said: "No period of the same duration in the history of any Church exhibits such a jumble of powers as ours did from 1784 to 1792. Since the latter date the departments and powers began to be defined." Speaking of the General Conference of 1792 in its relation to

* "District Conferences" here mean the same thing as the phrase "Annual Conferences," which is of later origin.

the office of presiding elder, the first historian of the Church, Jesse Lee, says:

> Such an order of elders had never been regularly established before. They had been appointed by the bishop for several years; but it was a doubt in the minds of the preachers whether such power belonged to him. The General Conference now determined that there should be presiding elders, and that they should be chosen, stationed, and changed by the bishop.*

In respect to the authorization of the office by the first General Conference of the Church, that of 1792, Coke and Asbury, in their Notes on the Discipline, say:

> In 1792 the General Conference, conscious of the necessity of having such an office among us, not only confirmed every thing that Bishop Asbury and the District Conferences had done, but also drew up or agreed to the present section for the explanation of the nature and duties of the office. The Conference clearly saw that the bishops wanted assistants; that it was impossible for one or two bishops so to superintend the vast work on this continent as to keep every thing in order in the intervals of the Conference without other official men to act under them and assist them.

The title of "presiding elder" first appears in the Discipline in the year 1789. In the Discipline of that year there is no account given of the authorization or nature of the office, yet the recognition of its existence appears in parentheses in the following passage in the Discipline of 1789, namely:

> The bishop has obtained liberty by the suffrages of the Conference, to ordain local preachers to the office of deacons, providing they obtain a testimonial from the society to which they belong, and from the stewards of the circuit, signed by three traveling preachers, three deacons, and three elders (one of them being a presiding elder).†

In the same year (1789) that the title of the office first appears in the Discipline it also appears in the "appointments" as printed in the Minutes. It seems certain that until that year the office was not recognized in any official documents under its present title. Furthermore, after that year the prefix "presiding" was omitted in the appointments in the Minutes, and did not appear again until subsequently to the General Con-

* Lee's *History of the Methodists*, p. 183.

† Discipline. Fifth edition. New York, 1789, p. 5. There is no copy of the Discipline earlier than this known to be extant except that of 1784.

ference of 1792. The title, however, was continued in the Discipline in the passage quoted above down to the General Conference of that year, for it is found in the seventh edition of the Discipline printed in 1791. Why the title presiding elder should have been inserted in the printed "appointments" in the Minutes in the year 1789 and afterward omitted until after the General Conference of 1792 we cannot tell, unless it is explained by the statement of Jesse Lee already quoted; namely, that the preachers doubted whether the power to appoint presiding elders belonged to the bishop.

The Journal of the General Conference of 1792, if ever there was one, is unfortunately lost, but the Discipline of that year gives us information concerning the legislation which was then accomplished respecting the office of presiding elder. The Conference limited the tenure of the office to four years, although there was no other limitation of time to the appointments of the preachers until nearly twelve years subsequently. The Conference gave the power of appointing presiding elders to the bishop. It also defined the duties of the office. These were eight in number: 1. To travel through his district. 2. To take charge of all the traveling and local preachers and exhorters in his district in the absence of the bishop. 3. In the intervals of the Conferences to change, receive, or suspend preachers in his district in the bishop's absence. 4. To preside in Conference in the absence of the bishop. 5. To be present at all the quarterly meetings if practicable, and to call together the traveling and local preachers, stewards, class-leaders, and exhorters; that is to say, hold Quarterly Conferences. 6. To oversee the spiritual and temporal interests of the Church in his district. 7. To see that discipline is enforced. 8. To attend the bishop when present in his district, and to give him when absent all necessary information by letter of the state of his district. Provision was also made for giving each presiding elder a salary.*

Thus, nearly eight years after the first stage of the organization of the Church was completed, the presiding eldership was duly and fully constituted, substantially as it exists at the present time. In its inception and organization it was an adjunct to the episcopacy, and the presiding elder was in fact

* Discipline. Eighth edition. Philadelphia, 1792.

an assistant bishop, holding his office by the authority of his superior.

How came the first General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, namely, that of 1792, to be held? We have seen that no provision was made for such an assembly by the Christmas Conference of 1784. Asbury was almost a General Conference himself at that time in influence and authority. The Church had grown up under his marvelously efficient oversight, and his will was almost law. Yet he saw the necessity for some plan by which necessary legislation for the growing Church might be secured, and so, according to O'Kelly, he proposed the project of a General Conference. This was in 1789, after the Church had disencumbered itself of foreign control by the revocation by the Conferences in 1787 of the pledge of submission to the ecclesiastical rulership of Mr. Wesley. But, according to Rev. James O'Kelly, the preachers would not accept Mr.* Asbury's proposal. Mr. O'Kelly's statement of the case is in these words, to wit:

> And it came to pass in the second year of episcopacy (after the title of Bishop)† that Francis revealed his mind to the traveling preachers in the District Conferences respecting a change of government. Francis informed us of an uncommon and glorious union among the traveling preachers, so that the millennium was approaching or fast coming on. Then he proposed that a General Conference plan should be established, where all might assemble together at one place. This led us straightway into disputations. We raised several objections against his proposal, and our thoughts on such a plan of government were approved of through the districts The motion was lost and our objections published. And thus it is written in the Minutes for the year 1789, p. 12: "Whereas the holding of General Conferences on this extensive continent would be attended with a variety of difficulties and inconveniences to the work of God, loss of time, expense, etc."‡

Asbury, however, had another plan for securing legislation, which, according to O'Kelly, he submitted to the Conferences at the same time that he proposed a General Conference; namely,

* The title Mr. is generally given to Asbury in the Methodist writings of his day, instead of that of Bishop.

† O'Kelly here dates the rise of the episcopacy, not from the organization of the Church, but from the year that the title of bishop was assumed by the superintendents and sanctioned by the Conferences.

‡ *Apology for Protesting against the Methodist Episcopal Government*, (Richmond, 1798), pp. 13, 14.

a plan for a Council. Mr. O'Kelly says: "At the same time the General Conference plan was proposed Francis proposed a Council plan also, where a few [presiding] elders might meet with their bishop and do the business." *

It is perfectly clear that Asbury felt that some central body, such as a General Conference or a Council, which should be representative, in a degree at least, of all the preachers, was essential to the maintenance of the unity of the denomination. He found that however potential might be his personal influence and authority, his single voice could not decide all questions in debate. So he carried his measures from Conference to Conference, and submitted them to the preachers, who generally concurred in his plans. Thus for years he maintained harmony and unity. With the Church spreading with unexampled rapidity, and the number of Conferences consequently increasing, the prescient eye of the great leader saw that some better method of legislation was imperatively required. He had to tread an untrodden path. He thought first of one plan, and then of another, by which the Church's exigency might be met. The General Conference plan was rejected by the preachers, if we may accept the statement of O'Kelly, who at that time was undoubtedly one of the greatest preachers and leaders in the Church. Jesse Lee, in his *History of the Methodists*, says nothing about Asbury having proposed or advocated a General Conference, but speaks as if he determined upon a Council as his favorite method of providing for the urgent necessity of the new Church. Lee says:

> At these Conferences, in 1789, a plan was laid for the holding of a Council. The Bishops said they had made it a matter of prayer, and they believed the present plan was the best that they could think of. †

O'Kelly says:

> Francis said, "There must be something to preserve the union." However (said he), the Council shall only mature matters for the districts, and form no resolution without a unanimity. And after forming such resolutions they shall be binding on no district unless a majority of the preachers in the district agree to them. The Conference gave their voice in favor of the Council, and ordered that the following resolution be printed: "No resolution in Council shall be binding on any district unless a majority of the preachers agree to it." ‡

* Apology, p. 14. † Lee's History, p. 149. ‡ Apology, p. 15.

As it was constituted, the Council did not and could not meet the requirement of the Church. It was composed of the bishop and of the presiding elders, who were appointed by the bishop. Here, too, the Church recognized the office of presiding elder by giving to its incumbents, in virtue of that office, legislative powers. As they held office by the will of the bishop, he of course determined who should be members of the Council. The power of the presiding eldership was now very great. Those officers were not only assistant bishops, doing the work of the bishop in their districts during his absence, and even presiding in the Conferences when for any cause the bishop did not appear, but in addition to all this they were invested with legislative authority as members of the Council. None but a presiding elder could obtain a seat in the Council. There were, however, two exceptions to this, for when that officer was unable to attend he was authorized to send an elder of his district in his place; but the elder so designated by him could not take his seat unless the presiding elders in the Council, and the bishop also, consented to admit him. The Council was required to have at least nine members. If it was found that less than that number were present, the bishop had power to complete the requisite number by calling in men in full ministerial orders who were not presiding elders.

Only two sessions of the Council were held. The first was in Baltimore, in the first part of December, 1789. It consisted of twelve members: Bishop Asbury and eleven presiding elders. The Council formed a sort of constitution for itself, and did some legislating, and then adjourned to December 1, 1790. It met again on that date in Baltimore, with only ten presiding elders and Bishop Asbury as its members. It adjourned, after transacting considerable business, to December 1, 1792; but before that time a General Conference was held, and the Council was no more. Nicholas Snethen, in his reply to O'Kelly, says: "The instant a General Conference was acceded to the Council was superseded."

The Council proved very unsatisfactory, and notwithstanding Bishop Asbury used his great influence to sustain it he could not give it permanency in the Church. It was a sort of ecclesiastical oligarchy. A bishop was at its head, and its members were in reality selected by him. The power of the

bishop was already sufficiently great, without placing in his hands and those of his assistants, whose tenure of office was limited by his will, legislative authority. Jesse Lee says:

> We have sufficient reason to believe that the establishment of the Council was very injurious to the Methodist Connection. The plan produced such difficulties in the minds of the preachers and the people, and brought on such opposition, that it was hard to reconcile them one to another.*

James O'Kelly, who from the first was presiding elder of an influential district in Virginia which comprised several of the best circuits in the Connection, was a member of the first Council. He soon, however, became an ardent opponent of the scheme. He did not attend the second Council. His antagonism was so powerful that Asbury, contrary to his wishes, finally consented to the holding of a General Conference. The General Conference appears to have been decided upon because of the opposition to the Council, which opposition was led by Mr. O'Kelly. In his Apology, O'Kelly, in narrating some of the doings of the General Conference of 1792, says:

> They justly expected the affairs of the Council to have come before them, that being the business for which they were called together. Some of the members at sundry times would interrogate the president after this manner: "But where are the Council affairs, etc.—that being the cause of this meeting?" Thomas [Coke] would arise and warmly oppose, and demand silence on the subject, and silence it was.

Jesse Lee, in speaking of the General Conference of 1792, says: "The bishop requested that the name of the Council might not be mentioned in the Conference again." †

The failure of the Council to satisfy the Church necessitated a General Conference. Nicholas Snethen says:

> An attempt to convert a certain number of these officers [presiding elders] into a legislative Council led to a General Conference, and this in turn to a delegated General Conference.‡

Lee says that the Council's "proceedings gave such dissatisfaction to our Connection in general, and to some of the traveling preachers in particular, that they were forced to abandon the plan." § The fact was well recognized at that day that in abol-

* Lee's History, p. 159. † *Ibid.*, p. 158.
‡ *Wesleyan Repository*, vol. i, p. 213. § Lee's History, p. 177.

ishing the Council and securing a General Conference O'Kelly was a chief instrument. Asbury himself, in his Journal, March 23, 1791, says:

> Long-looked-for Dr. Coke came to town [Charleston]. I found the doctor's sentiments with regard to the Council quite changed. James O'Kelly's letters had reached London. I felt perfectly calm, and acceded to a General Conference for the sake of peace.

As Asbury in this passage intimates, O'Kelly was successful in bringing Coke to his side. O'Kelly says:

> I prepared a letter of information for Thomas [Coke], who was expected at the Charleston Conference. He came according to expectation. He received my letter and pleaded my cause in the Conference; withstood Francis to the face; condemned his conduct, and he being the senior had a general meeting appointed according to our request; at which meeting of the preachers [General Conference] the new form of government [the Council] should be fairly investigated and the institution stand or fall by the decision of that Convention.*

O'Kelly further says:

> And it came to pass after these things, that Thomas and Francis came to the Conference at Petersburg, where the preachers were assembled; where I attended also, for all this time I had labored in the word and doctrine. Thomas informed us that the General Conference was appointed in order to overlook the whole proceedings of the Council, and that it should stand or fall by the decision of that meeting. Francis was sore displeased. But Thomas highly approved of my conduct, and that the treatment I had met with in his absence should not pass in silence, but be laid over for Conference.†

O'Kelly then proceeds to insert a letter which Coke addressed to him, May 4, 1791, in which the doctor says:

> You may depend upon my being with you, God willing, at the General Conference. I think no step will be taken during my absence to prevent the General Conference. It would be so great an insult on truth, justice, mercy, and peace that it will not be, I think, attempted. If it be, and successfully, we will call a Congress. I expect you to be faithful. But as Mordecai said to Esther, "Think not with thyself that thou shalt escape more than all the Jews; for if thou . . . holdest thy peace at this time, then shall there enlargement and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place, but thou and thy father's house shall be destroyed." O be firm, be very firm, be very cautious and very wise, etc. And depend upon a faithful friend in Thomas Coke.

* Apology, p. 14. † Apology.

It appears, furthermore, that Dr. Coke printed a circular in which he set forth reasons for the new measures he had espoused, as follows:

> Five things we have in view: 1. The abolishing of the arbitrary aristocracy.* 2. The investing the nomination of the presiding elders in the Conferences of the districts. 3. The limitations of the districts to be invested in the General Conferences. 4. An appeal allowed to each preacher on the reading out of the stations; and, 5. A General Conference of at least two thirds of the preachers as a check upon every thing.†

It will be observed that this "circular" of Dr. Coke shows that even before a General Conference had been held the controversy respecting the election of presiding elders by the Conferences was initiated in the Church, possibly by Dr. Coke, and that he, then a bishop, put himself upon record as in favor of such election. Whether the doctor was right or wrong in advocating that particular measure, none can doubt that he was right in the successful attempt which he made to secure a General Conference.

Bishop Asbury has denied that he displayed any acrimony to Dr. Coke respecting the latter's advocacy of a General Conference when at Charleston, though, in the language of O'Kelly, Coke "withstood him to the face." About ten years after that historical interview Asbury said concerning it:

> There was no sharpness at all upon my side with Doctor Coke at Charleston respecting the proposed General Conference which was afterward held in 1792. I was fully convinced that nothing else would finish the unhappy business with O'Kelly, and that did finish it.‡

Respecting this interview Mr. Snethen says:

> It is nothing strange that Dr. Coke should be affected by Mr. O'Kelly's representation of Mr. Asbury's conduct; and finding Mr. Asbury averse to a General Conference, it is not surprising that the doctor should insist upon Mr. O'Kelly's request being granted.§

* By the abolition of the "arbitrary aristocracy" Dr. Coke must have meant the "Council."

† *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer*, vol. i, May 20, 1829, p. 70.

‡ Asbury's Journal, February 5, 1801, vol. iii, p. 8.

§ Snethen's Reply to O'Kelly.

The agitation of the subject disturbed the peace and threatened the unity of the Church. Says Snethen:

> Mr. Asbury submitted to a General Conference for fear of a division in the Connection. Like the true mother he could not bear the idea of dividing the living child. Note, the "General Meeting," or "Conference," is "appointed according to *our request.*" It is Mr. O'Kelly and his friends that request it, and Mr. Asbury and his friends consent to it for the sake of peace.*

We thus see that the presiding eldership and the relation which it was made to sustain to the business of ecclesiastical legislation became, under the leadership of James O'Kelly, the occasion, if not the direct cause, of the institution in the Church of a duly constituted legislative body—the General Conference. In a letter to Bishop Asbury dated February 2, 1808, Dr. Coke says: "It was at that General Conference which was held on the case of James O'Kelly that it was resolved to have in future regular General Conferences."

It was probably inevitable, from the nature of the case and the immediate occasion of its convocation, that the General Conference of 1792 should canvass the whole question of the prerogatives and powers of the episcopacy, and especially the power of stationing the preachers. It does not appear that there was any motion to abolish the superintendency; there was, however, a formidable movement developed to materially restrict the power thereof. Since the Christmas Conference, the bishop had appointed the preachers absolutely. Should he continue to do so? Here the members of the General Conference divided. O'Kelly powerfully, but not without some indiscretion, perhaps, led the opposition. With him stood a goodly array of the best and ablest leaders of American Methodism, notably Freeborn Garrettson, Richard Ivey, Hope Hull, William M'Kendree, Richard Swift, and Stephen Davis. The leaders of the episcopal side of the controversy were John Dickins, Henry Willis, Nelson Reed, Thomas Morrell, and Joseph Everett. The debate was long and very able. It was no doubt one of the most remarkable discussions, as to the logic and eloquence with which it was conducted, that has ever been witnessed in any ecclesiastical assembly on this continent.

A body of Methodist preachers who are often referred to

* Snethen's Reply to O'Kelly.

almost contemptuously in these days by some of their erudite successors as uneducated, crude, illiterate, but who, it is said, managed to get on in rural places and among uncultivated people, in a period when greatness was not called for by the Church, met a threatening crisis and mastered it in 1792 with a degree of intellectual acumen and vigor which showed them to be masters of the high art of parliamentary discussion. The cultured Coke, who was educated at Oxford, and who bore a university title, sat in their presence during their great debates, astonished at the ability which they displayed. Dr. Coke, speaking of that historic General Conference, says:

> I had always entertained very high ideas of the piety and zeal of the American preachers, and of the considerable abilities of many; but I had no expectation, I confess, that the debates would be carried on in so very masterly a manner, so that on every question of importance the subject seemed to be considered in every possible light.*

The shrewd, versatile, and eloquent Jesse Lee, in speaking of the debate upon the proposed restriction of the power of the bishop to appoint the preachers, says: "This motion brought on a long debate. The arguments for and against the proposal were weighty, and handled in a masterly manner."† Truly there were giants in those days; and we drop the suggestion in passing, that Methodist preachers who seek to give point to their arguments in favor of extended training in the higher institutions of learning, as a prerequisite for entrance upon the ministry, by declaring that the preachers of the heroic and shaping period of American Methodism were men of slender powers and resources because of their lack of such advantages, do not give evidence of possessing the wisdom of the fathers. Two facts stand, and will forever: first, that the present facilities for education are to be prized and availed of; and, second, that no abler nor more successful race of preachers ever led the sacramental host in America than that sublime and victorious phalanx of holy warriors who, in conquering the wildernesses of the western hemisphere for God, founded and reared in majestic proportions the goodly fabric of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

But let us return to the celebrated debate which gives such great historical interest to the General Conference of 1792.

* Coke's Journals (London, 1793), p. 163. † Lee's History, p. 178.

Shall there be any restriction placed upon the stationing power of the bishop? That was the question which rocked the first General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. How that question came up Mr. O'Kelly shall tell:

In our debates, if at any time we were led to speak of the conduct of Francis, he would leave the house. The debates of the synod turned chiefly on episcopal dignity. The Virginians for a while did distinguish themselves in defending their ecclesiastical liberties, but they fainted in the struggle. Richard Ivey* exceeded himself. He spake with tears and in the fear of God and much to the purpose, crying popery, etc. If at any time a minister would move to abridge in any degree the bishop's power, the defenders of that faith would not only oppose the motion, but would charge the member with something like treason, as it were.

It would have been an unspeakable blessing to the Methodist Church if we had been allowed to have done the business for which we met,† because it would have necessarily led us into the very merits of the cause, or a full investigation of Church government. I began to see that equity and gospel simplicity would be obliged to retreat, for power and policy would overcome the minority. I feared the ministers were carried away by an adventurous leader. I then arose and stood before the assembly with the New Testament of the Lord Jesus in my hand, and spake after this manner: "Brethren, hearken to me. Put away all other books and let this be the only *criterion*, and that will satisfy me." I thought the ministers of Christ would unanimously agree to such a proposal. But, alas! they opposed the motion. A certain member, whose name was John [Dickins, probably], withstood me, and spake after this manner: "The Scripture is by no means a sufficient form of government. The Lord has left that business for his ministers to do, suitable to times and places." I withstood him for a season, but in vain. The motion was lost. I now saw that moderate [episcopacy] was rising to its wonted and intended dignity. I discovered, also, that districts had lost their suffrage. I considered that the stations of the Lord's ministers rested entirely with Francis, so that unless the absolute power could be abridged the best of men might ever be injured and run out of the Connection. I now moved again after this manner: Let a preacher who thinks himself injured in his appointment have an appeal to the District Conference. The motion was seconded and warmly debated.‡

* Richard Ivey was an eloquent preacher. Thomas Ware has illustrated his skill as an orator, and the redoubtable Benjamin Abbott, in his Life, p. 81, says: "Abundance of people attended, to whom Brother Ivey preached with great power, being full of faith and the Holy Ghost. Many of the people wept, and it was a good season."

† The business referred to was the doings of the Council of presiding elders.

‡ O'Kelly's Apology.

It is due to history that the leader of the debate concerning the powers of the episcopate which distinguished the first General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church should thus be permitted to narrate in his own way his relation to the question, and the manner of its introduction before the body. The motion of O'Kelly was treated by the Conference as a measure of great gravity, and it was at first received with considerable favor. Even Coke himself had put himself on record as favoring such a measure,* although it would appear from O'Kelly's review of the case that the doctor did not stand with him in the General Conference. The Conference was quite full. O'Kelly says there were a hundred or more members. Thomas Morrell, who was prominent in the body, says in his manuscript journal that the General Conference of 1792 consisted of 116 traveling preachers, and that "Dr. Coke presided." Lee says the preachers came from all parts of the United States where there were circuits, expecting that something of great importance would transpire. He says of O'Kelly's measure, that "there had never been a subject before us that so fully called forth all the strength of the preachers. A large majority of them appeared at first to be in favor of the motion." †

The debate on O'Kelly's resolution was remarkable for the ability with which it was conducted, and also for its length. The subject was under discussion about three days. O'Kelly says:

> William McKendree, with several more, did with holy zeal strive with me for liberty. Conference adjourned till the second day of the next week, at which time they resumed the debate with double vigor. ‡

O'Kelly, as we shall see, again states that after debating it on that Monday it was adjourned to the next day, and then resumed. Jesse Lee, in his Journal, says:

> *Monday*, 5th. We spent the whole day in debating one point, namely, "Whether or not a preacher that thinks himself injured in his appointment to a circuit shall have an appeal to the District Conference." We had close and long debates, and at five o'clock we came to the Dutch Church, and about eight o'clock we broke up, and a majority was for no appeal. §

* See page 535.

† Lee's History, pp. 178, 179.

‡ O'Kelly's Apology.

§ Thrift's Memoirs of Lee, p. 182.

William Colbert, in his Journal, which exists in manuscript, definitely states that the resolution was introduced on Friday, November 2, and debated by several of the leading preachers, whose names he records; that the debate extended over the next day (Saturday), and then that it was resumed on Monday, and closed, as Lee states, after occupying the day.

No actor in that extraordinary struggle has written out to the extent that O'Kelly has done his recollections of it. It is quite possible that he wrote his Apology under a degree of prejudice; nevertheless his sketch of the contest, in those historic November days when the absolute power of the bishop over the appointments of the preachers was affirmed for the first time by a General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, bears the marks of historical credibility; and so far as we are informed its general accuracy has never been questioned. Some particular points or facts concerning which O'Kelly may have labored under misapprehension Mr. Snethen has explained or corrected in his Reply to the Apology, but the narrative in the main may, we believe, be regarded as historically accurate. Mr. O'Kelly says:

Conference adjourned to the second day of the next week, at which time they resumed the debate with double vigor. Some pretended fears that if an appeal were allowed it would reflect on the wisdom and goodness of the bishop, etc. Others saw, or thought they saw, that such liberty would be injurious to the Church, because preachers would ever be appealing, and they would take each other's part, so that easy and wealthy circuits would be crowded with preachers, while poor circuits would be left desolate. It was urged by several that the bishops always appointed well as far as they knew. I prayed them not to arrogate infallibility for the bishop, for in my judgment he made many very injudicious appointments. Then arose an elder and spake after this manner: "Where is the man who will say that the bishop ever wronged a preacher?" The interrogative was repeated, and at last a young man whose name was Rice assured the Conference that he knew two preachers who were injured by him, as he thought.* Then members arose out of due order as men alarmed, as though treason had been heard. The very cry was, "He has impeached the bishop!" The worthy minister arose and asked pardon (for speaking the truth), inasmuch as he did not

*Snethen, in his Reply to the Apology of O'Kelly, has explained at some length, no doubt upon the authority of Asbury, the case of the two preachers here referred to.

intend it as an impeachment. And it came to pass on the morrow, Conference met pursuant to adjournment and revived the former dispute. The appellants appeared to display invincible courage, and in a Christian spirit they still opposed the oppressive measures whereby the bishop or his deputy [that is to say, the presiding elder] might banish a minister, or expel him from the Connection. For if a minister should refuse to take a station even in the British Islands he must be neglected, having no station, and stand as a cipher with a wounded character. One arose and held forth after this manner: "This may fairly satisfy those who desire an appeal; that is, they may appeal to the General Conference." My answer to this illogical proposition was after this manner: "Shall a preacher who is injured this year, then, after passing through his distress (if not death), at the expiration of four years appeal?" For what? For vengeance? The mischief is done. Moreover what happened the last evening has not escaped my memory. A worthy character had to ask pardon for declaring the truth when asked. However, to come to the point at once, if you desire any further testimony relative to the bishop's injuring any one, I am the man he has injured." There followed a profound silence, a few sighs, but no reply. A little after the going down of the sun Conference adjourned to the Dutch Church, where the long dispute was finished by candlelight. The defense was more powerful than ever, yet with a deal of Christian moderation. I was entirely silent. Hope Hull,* a worthy elder, sounded a proper alarm. He exceeded himself by far. I could wish his words were written in a book. He spake after this manner: "O heavens, are we not Americans? Did not our fathers bleed to free their sons from the British yoke? And shall we be slaves to ecclesiastical oppression?" He lifted up his voice and cried, "What! No appeal for an injured brother? Are these things so? Am I in my senses?" Henry [Willis probably] arose and displayed his political abilities, exclaiming against the balance of power with an essay on Church history. Stephen Davis, with whom was the spirit of wisdom, withstood the celebrated Henry, assuring us that the last arguments were badly founded. "We are far gone into popery." Quickly after this the votes were taken. Ah, fatal hour! The motion was lost and out of a hundred or more we had a small minority. Some withdrew from that hour, resolving to enjoy their liberties at the expense of society, and hold fast faith and a good conscience. Will not these words cause the ears of an American to tingle: Shall an injured man have an appeal? No. †

* Hope Hull was a remarkable man. Coke speaks of him as "a flame of fire." Lovick Pierce says: "In many of his masterly efforts, his words rushed upon his audience like an avalanche." Snethen says: "I have seen persons fall under his preaching as though they had received a mortal wound, and vast congregations agitated like the trees of a wood in a tempest."

† O'Kelly's Apology.

Bishop Asbury was absent from the Conference room during the debate. He was not, however, without concern respecting what was transpiring in the body. While he was one of the most saintly and unselfish men of his generation he was a man of positive opinions and strong will. He held his power with a resolute and tenacious grip. He never welcomed any sign of a tendency in the Church to restrain or in any way qualify his absolute control over the appointments of the preachers. He had watched and fostered the cause to which he gave such unwearied and fruitful service from the time when only about half of a thousand persons in the country bore the name of Methodist. He felt toward the rapidly growing Church the solicitude of a father. Having never entered wedlock the Church was to him as a bride and as a child. His eye had witnessed the entrance of all the preachers into the itinerant service. In the turbulent years of the Revolution he clung to the fire-tried Methodists of America, and refused to leave them. It is not wonderful, therefore, that the preachers should hesitate to pass any measure which would seriously contravene the views or wound the spirit of one whom they so loved and revered as a father and so trusted and honored as a leader. Though absent from the Conference room, Asbury caused his opinion of the motion of O'Kelly to be understood by those whose votes were to determine the issue. He wrote a communication to the Conference in which he said:

> I am happy in the consideration that I never stationed a preacher through enmity, or as a punishment. I have acted for the glory of God, the good of the people, and the usefulness of the preachers. Are you sure that if you please yourselves the people will be as fully satisfied? They often say, "Let us have such a preacher;" and sometimes, "We will not have such a preacher; we will sooner pay him to stay at home." Perhaps I must say, "His appeal forced him upon you." I am one, ye are many. I am as willing to serve you as ever. I want not to sit in any man's way. I scorn to solicit votes.*

The failure in the General Conference of the attempt to abridge the power of the bishop gave genuine satisfaction to Asbury. He even contemplated it as a deliverance from satanic malice. Only a few days after the General Conference adjourned he wrote: "The General Conference and the District Confer-

* Asbury's Journal, vol. ii, pp. 172, 173.

ences have kept us long from our work; but after all Satan's spite, I think our *sifting* and *shaking* will be for good."*

The excitements of that eventful period in the history of the American Methodist Church have passed away with the men who were actors in those stormy scenes. James O'Kelly, who strove so strenuously for the less absolute form of episcopacy which his motion contemplated, was a man of uncommon resources. He was a commanding preacher and a leader of men. Though a Southern man he was a foe of human slavery. Of warm temperament and generous sympathies, he was perhaps betrayed into indiscretion of speech and manner in the great debate in which he stood foremost. Thus he contributed to his own defeat. Some of his coadjutors, even McKendree, also used strong words, which, amid the excitement of the contest, may have seemed to them sufficiently moderate, but which became effective weapons in the hands of their antagonists. Thomas Ware, who was present, says:

> Had Mr. O'Kelly's proposition been differently managed it might possibly have been carried. For myself, at first I did not see any thing very objectionable in it. But when it came to be debated I very much disliked the spirit of those who advocated it, and wondered at the severity in which the movers and others who spoke in favor of it indulged in the course of their remarks. Some of them said it was a shame for a man to *accept* of such a lordship, much more to *claim* it; and that they who would submit to this absolute dominion must forfeit all claims to freedom, and ought to have their ears bored through with an awl, and to be fastened to their master's door and become slaves for life. One said that to be denied such an appeal was an insult to his understanding, and a species of tyranny to which others might submit if they chose, but for his part he must be excused for saying he could not. The advocates of the opposite side were more dispassionate and argumentative.†

The defeat of his favorite measure by a considerable majority fell heavily upon O'Kelly. The day following he sent a communication to the General Conference declaring his purpose to withdraw. This caused much sorrow. "When the letter was read," says Lee, "many of the preachers wept heartily." The Conference sent a committee "to treat with him," one of whom was Freeborn Garrettson. It was found impossible, however, to reconcile him to the situation. "Many tears were shed," says

* Asbury's Journal, vol. ii, p. 175. † Life of Ware, pp. 220, 221.

Garrettson. He adds that O'Kelly's "wound was deep and apparently incurable."

Mr. O'Kelly left the Conference accompanied by McKendree and others, and went back to Virginia. McKendree also proposed to leave the traveling ranks. A few days after the close of the Conference, Asbury writes: "W. McKendree and R. H—— [Rice Haggard] sent me their resignations in writing."* Mr. McKendree, however, soon returned to the itinerant work.

Not so O'Kelly. He inaugurated the first schism known to American Methodism. He communicated his plan to McKendree on their way back from Baltimore. McKendree says:

> The old gentleman and myself traveled the greater part of the way together. He unfolded his plan. It was to be "a glorious Church"—"no slavery." But it was founded upon the supposition that a ruinous government was being introduced by the revolutionizing Conference he had left. The supposed design of the bishop answered to the root, and the more ingenious of our cabinet discovered the trunk and all the branches of this tree. *It was "dark"*—it was "popery!" It was a horrible thing.†

O'Kelly organized a new Church about 1794, which was called the Republican Methodist Church. Several years afterward it adopted the name of Christian Church. It was chiefly confined to a comparatively small portion of country in the South. Nevertheless, the schism caused a considerable loss of members to the Methodist Episcopal Church in the region where O'Kelly's ministry as a presiding elder had been so long and so effectively exercised. The church of O'Kelly is still in existence. He continued to preach the Gospel to the end of his long career, which reached the great limit of ninety-one years. His remains repose near a country church called O'Kelly's Chapel, on the road between Chapel Hill and Raleigh in North Carolina. He possessed in a high degree the confidence and esteem of the people in that region, where he long dwelt. One who was well acquainted with O'Kelly for thirty-five years says:

> I knew as much of his sentiments as any human being, and I declare that he always contended for the divinity of Christ and the fullness and extent of his atonement, with a strength of

* Asbury's Journal, vol. ii, p. 174.

† Paine's Life of McKendree, vol. i, pp. 64, 65.

thought and energy of expression that I have never heard equaled by any other man. This was the subject of the last sermon I ever heard him deliver, when bending under the weight of almost ninety years. His superior as a Christian and his equal as a preacher I have never yet seen. He died in the triumphs of faith.*

Mr. O'Kelly lived until the 16th of October, 1826, when he no doubt entered the heavenly rest into which Bishop Asbury had preceded him by more than ten years. We can only regret that O'Kelly did not, like Garrettson, Ivey, Hull, and McKendree, consent to submit to his defeat, and to stay in the Church whose battles he had fought so bravely in the days of her weakness, and through the trials and the perils of the Revolutionary War. Had he done so, we can scarcely doubt that his would have been one of the most honored and illustrious names in the galaxy of her great and saintly heroes.

Having, as the result of so thorough and heated a discussion, yielded to the bishop the absolute power of appointment in the distribution of the preachers, it was only natural and logical that the General Conference of 1792 should place the selection of the presiding elders, which office it accepted and formally incorporated into the Church's economy, with the bishop. The Asburyan theory of the episcopate having triumphed over the O'Kellyan view, Asbury was left in full possession of the field. This was too much for O'Kelly, and hence his secession.

It is an historical fact that almost from the beginning, and especially during all the nineteenth century thus far, the presiding eldership has been a perennial occasion of controversy in the Church. At the General Conference of 1800 the question of the election of presiding elders by the Conferences was before the body and elicited discussion. The question, as moved by William Ormond, a prominent preacher of the South, on May 7, was "that the yearly Conferences be authorized by this General Conference to nominate and elect their own presiding elders." It was made the order of the day for May 13. On that day the following record appears in the General Conference Journal: "Brother Ormond's motion with reference to the appointment of presiding elders was called up and negatived." At the next General Conference, 1804, a motion was made by Thomas Lyell, one of the foremost preachers of the body, that

* *Mutual Rights and Christian Intelligencer*, October 5, 1829.

there be no presiding elders. This was on Thursday morning, May 10. The Conference adjourned to the afternoon for the further consideration of the subject. "After a long debate the motion that there be no presiding elders was lost." *

Mr. Lyell subsequently withdrew from the Church and became rector of an Episcopal Church in the city of New York. He was a man of rare gifts. William Colbert, no mean judge, heard him preach at Baltimore during the General Conference of 1800, and after mentioning the fact in his Journal adds: "His powers of oratory are great indeed." Lyell retained his regard for his former Methodist fellow-laborers after he became an Episcopal rector. The Rev. Joseph Travis, of the South, was a member of the General Conference of 1812, which was held in the city of New York. He says:

> One day, during the sitting of our Conference, I dined with the Rev. Dr. Thomas Lyell, a Protestant Episcopalian minister, in company with Bishop Asbury, Lewis Myers, and Philip Bruce. The parson was truly polite, and gave us a princely dinner. †

At the General Conference of 1808 Ezekiel Cooper moved on the 16th of May the following resolution, which was seconded by Joshua Wells:

> *Resolved*, That in the fifth section of Discipline, after the question, "By whom shall the presiding elders be chosen?" the answer shall be: Ans. 1st, Each Annual Conference respectively, without debate, shall annually choose by ballot its own presiding elders. ‡

The next forenoon, May 17, Joshua Soule attempted to close the debate by moving the previous question. His attempt failed by a vote of 61 to 53. In the afternoon Samuel Draper tried the same means for the suppression of the debate, but his motion for the previous question, which Elijah Hedding seconded, was lost. Then Thomas F. Sargeant moved "that the motion for electing presiding elders be postponed." This motion was also lost by a vote of 59 to 56. Then Joshua Soule again moved the previous question, which also was lost.

On the following day, Wednesday, May 18, Thomas F. Sargeant moved the postponement of the motion for electing presiding elders until the 15th of August ensuing, which motion was lost. Then Elijah R. Sabin moved "that the vote

* General Conference Journal, vol. i, p. 54. † Autobiography of Travis, p. 79.
‡ General Conference Journal, p. 83.

be taken on the motion for electing presiding elders without further debate." On motion of Freeborn Garrettson the vote was taken by ballot, by which ballot Cooper's resolution was lost by 52 to 73.*

The controversy was renewed at the General Conference of 1812, when the movement of the election of presiding elders came within a very few votes of success. There were then no Methodist journals to discuss the subject, and therefore, so far as we know, the formal debates upon it were through all this period confined to the General Conference. At the General Conference of 1812 the strength of the measure was shown by the ability as well as by the number of the men who advocated it. Snethen, Laban Clark, Asa Shinn, Jesse Lee, Ezekiel Cooper, and many others stood for the change. Laban Clark introduced the question in the General Conference, and it called forth a long and strong debate. Nicholas Snethen, on the 19th of May, moved an amendment, giving to the bishops the power of nominating the presiding elders, the Conferences to vote on such nominations by ballot without debate, and the bishop to continue to nominate until an election should be accomplished. T. L. Douglass, of Tennessee, moved to lay the whole subject on the table till the bishops be requested "to explain their opinion respecting it." This motion was lost by a vote of 41 to 42. Mr. Douglass then moved "that the Conference go into a committee of the whole." This motion was withdrawn, and the vote on Mr. Snethen's amendment was taken, and it was lost by 39 to 43.

Conference then adjourned, and in the afternoon of the same day the vote on the original motion was taken and lost by 45 to 42. A change of two votes, therefore, would have carried the measure, notwithstanding the determined and powerful opposition of the episcopacy. Mr. Snethen says:

> A majority was supposed to be in favor of the measure, and it was so modified as to leave the power to nominate in the hands of the bishops,† but as it was known that one of the bishops would not serve if the change were made it was lost by a small majority.‡

The debate in the General Conference of 1812 on the presiding elder question was very earnest, and no doubt very able.

* Gen. Conf. Journal, pp. 83, 84. † *Wesleyan Repository*, vol. ii, p. 133.

‡ The Journal of the General Conference of 1812 shows, as we have seen, that this proposed modification was voted down.

It was characterized by plainness of speech. The disputants said what they meant in intelligible English. Mr. Snethen says:

> Some arguments that I heard used at the General Conference held in New York, 1812, occur to my mind. On the question relative to appointing presiding elders, one pleaded they are the bishop's legs and arms; another, they are the bishop's eyes; another, they are the bishop's ears; another, they are his wings; another wants the motion laid aside till he can consult the bishop's notes. These were all presiding elders.*

Snethen himself used vigorous language in the discussion, "boldly declaring that his very soul hated the present plan of creating presiding elders." †

The witty and eloquent Jesse Lee bore a conspicuous part in the debate. Bishop Asbury showed his disapprobation of the proposed measure by sitting in Conference with his back turned to the speakers who advocated the change. One of the disputants had characterized some of Lee's remarks as being such as a man of common sense would not use. When subsequently Lee referred to this censure he said: "I am, Mr. President, compelled to believe the brother thinks me a man of *uncommon* sense." Turning half round in his chair, Bishop Asbury replied, "Yes, yes, Brother Lee, you are a man of uncommon sense." Very quickly and pleasantly Lee answered: "Then, sir, I beg that uncommon attention be paid to what I am about to say."‡ Mr. Lee's witty retort was not effectual, however, in changing the Bishop's physical attitude toward the General Conference, as he continued to sit with his face to the wall. This was Asbury's last General Conference. After the debate closed he wrote:

> After a serious struggle of two days in General Conference to change the mode of appointing presiding elders, it remains as it was. Means had been used to keep back every presiding elder who was known to be favorable to appointments by the bishops; and long and earnest speeches have been made to influence the minds of the members. Lee, Shinn, and Snethen were of a side, and these are great men.§

Though again defeated, the advocates of an elective presiding eldership did not abandon their cause. The controversy was resumed in the General Conference of 1816, which was held

* *Wesleyan Repository*, vol. ii, p. 451. † Autobiography of Rev. J. Travis, p. 78.
‡ Leroy M. Lee's Life of Jesse Lee, p. 476. § Asbury's Journal, vol. iii, p. 336.

soon after Asbury's great soul had ascended to the peaceful fellowship of the Church triumphant. On the 7th of May, Samuel Merwin moved the following amendment to the section of the Discipline relating to presiding elders:

1st Question: How shall the presiding elders be chosen and appointed? Answer: At an early period at each Annual Conference the bishop shall nominate a person for each district that is to be supplied, and the Conference shall without debate proceed in the choice, the person nominated being absent; and if the person nominated be not chosen according to nomination, the bishop shall nominate two others, one of whom it shall be the duty of the Conference to choose.

2d Question: By whom shall the preachers be appointed to their stations? Answer: By the bishop, with the advice and counsel of the presiding elders.

On the 12th of May, Merwin's motion was called up and made the order of the day, and the Conference resolved itself into a committee of the whole for the consideration of the question. Nathan Bangs offered an amendment, which was admitted by the original mover, by which the answer to the first question was made to read:

The bishop at an early period of the Annual Conference shall nominate an elder for each district, and the Conference shall without debate either confirm or reject such nomination. If the person or persons so nominated be not elected by Conference, the bishop shall nominate two others, for each of the vacant districts, one of whom shall be chosen. And the presiding elder so elected and appointed shall remain in office four years, unless dismissed by the mutual consent of the bishop and Conference, or elected to some other office by the General Conference. But no presiding elder shall be removed from office during the term of four years without his consent, unless the reasons for such removal be stated to him in presence of the Conference, which shall decide, without debate, on his case.*

A final vote in the General Conference on the report of the committee of the whole was reached on the 13th of May. The vote on the first part of the motion was 38 to 63, although in the committee of the whole the vote stood 42 to 60. The contest was renewed at the General Conference of 1820; but a review of the extraordinary proceedings of that body must be deferred to another time.

* General Conference Journal, vol. i, pp. 135–140.

Art. IV.—THE ISLE OF MAN.

In the middle of the Irish Sea, and within sight of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, rises *Ellan Vannin Veg Veen*, the "dear little Isle of Man." Nine established lines of steamers connect it with the sister countries. From Douglas to Liverpool is a distance of 75 miles; to Barrow or Fleetwood, 40; Whitehaven, 37; Glasgow, 140; Silloth, 66; Dublin, 94; Greenore, 50, and Belfast, 80 miles. Of superficial area it embraces 130,000 statute acres. The Calf of Man, containing 800 acres, 54° 15′ N. lat. and 4° 30′ W. long., lies southwest of the island. From N. E. by N. to S. W. by S., or from the Point of Ayre to the Sound of the Calf, the island is 33¼ miles long. Its widest part is from Banks's Howe to Ballanayre, a distance of 12½ miles. The coast line is frequently indented by bays, and presents a singularly bold, abrupt, and dangerous front. Several points rise precipitously from the sea to a commanding altitude. Bradda Head is 390; Maughold Head, 373; Banks's Howe, 394, and Spanish Head, 350 feet above the water-level. Away from the shore, among other eminences of less or greater height, Cronk-na-Irey-Lhaa, "the hill of the rising day," attains an elevation of 1,445 feet; Bein-y-Phot, of 1,772; North Barrule of 1,842, and Snaefell of 2,024 feet. From the summit of the latter the eye ranges over portions of all the circumjacent realms.

In geologic structure the Isle of Man is typical of the Cambrian and carboniferous periods. Underlying the stratified rocks, and breaking through them in veins and mountain masses, are the igneous rocks. Exceedingly hard syenite, softer granite, porphyritic greenstone, and imperfect basalt are of frequent occurrence. Near the great granitic outbursts are situated the mines of lead and other metals. Resting on the primary rocks is an immense deposit of slaty strata from 20,000 to 25,000 feet thick. Beyond a few unnamed fucoids, and the supposed traces of some great Cambrian crustaceans, it contains no fossil remains. In some sections it assumes the texture of a fine-grained slate, with the cleavage so well developed that it answers all roofing purposes about as well as the best products of Welsh quarries. Next follows a deposit

of dark red conglomerate on the southern, of soft red sandstone on the north-western, and of Peel sandstone on the western portion of the island. Each has its own characteristic fossils, particularly *Orthis Sharpei* in the southern and *Favosites polymorpha* in the western. Subsequent upheaval raised the carboniferous limestones, with their remains of gigantic reeds and huge tree-ferns, into the sunlight. Vast numbers of fossil species, suited to warm, shallow waters, are found in the later limestones of Poolvash Bay. At intervals throughout these lengthy periods of deposition, repeated volcanic eruptions occurred. The latest mixed its streams of molten lava with fragments of limestone, and thus formed the trap breccia which is one of the most interesting of the insular rocks. The strata intermediate between the carboniferous period and the deposits of the drift are wanting. Of ossiferous caves there are none. Complete specimens of the bones of the great elk, *Cervus megaceros*, have been discovered. Fascinating to scientists as the physical history of the island is, the fact that less than 100,000 acres of its surface are arable is of more immediate practical value.

The scenery is exquisitely beautiful. The rounded hills nestle among admirably cultivated farms, and raise lordly heads crowned with golden furze and fragrant pink heather to the embrace of overhanging clouds. The climate is remarkably salubrious. The mean annual temperature is higher than that of any other section on the same parallel of latitude. Situated on the culminating point of the isothermal curve of 49.84 degrees, it has a mean winter temperature of 42 degrees Fahr. Consumptives find great relief in the singularly elastic and bracing atmosphere of its mountain ranges. Less than twenty degrees of temperature cover the difference between the hottest and coldest months. Neither Montpelier nor Madeira nor Milan is more healthy. The arboreal flora differ but slightly from those of the other British Isles, but shrubs and flowers which cannot survive the winter there flourish here in rich profusion. Whole hedges of large-sized fuchsias charm the visitor by their superb perfection. Hydrangeas, laurels, and laurestinas luxuriate in every garden. Arbutus and myrtle attain the dignity of trees. Forms of New Zealand vegetation take kindly to the soil, and verbenas spring up without culture in the open air.

Tailless cats and tailless chickens, and a small hardy breed of sheep, whose flesh is of exquisite flavor, are species of the fauna peculiar to this locality.

Part of the population, drawn hither in pursuit of health, is only transient. That which is permanent numbered 25,760 males and 27,798 females at the last census in 1881, and was less by 484 persons than the number returned in 1871. The number of inhabited houses had risen within that decade from 9,413 to 9,425, of uninhabited houses from 856 to 1,018, and of houses in process of erection from 60 to 112. The increase of population in sixty years was 13,477, or 33.6 per cent., and of houses 2,798. There were reported 304 persons over 80 years of age, and one had passed the limit of 105. 16,853 males and 17,149 females were unmarried. 7,875 men and 8,086 women were married. 1,032 males and 2,563 females were widowed. The discrepancies between these numbers of unmarried, married, and widowed find explanation in the fact that during the month of March, 1881, 161 fishing boats, with 1,256 men, started from the port of Peel, and 104 boats, with 766 men, from Rushen and other ports for the mackerel fishery at Kinsale in Ireland. Not less than 2,293 men were occupied in maritime affairs. From 1871 to 1880, including both years, 15,205 births and 11,372 deaths were registered. This excess of 3,833 births over deaths evidences a fecundity that in brief time would cause the population to pass beyond the local means of subsistence. Every small country is a demonstration of the Malthusian theory, except as it is affected by the introduction of manufactures and foreign trade.

The population is moderately of European character as differentiated from a purely aborginal stock. 45,453 in 1881 were natives of the island, 5,197 of England, 183 of Wales, 802 of Scotland, and 1,532 of Ireland. More than a dozen different countries, including the United States of America, were also represented.

The basis of this composite nationality is undoubtedly Celtic. A Belgic tribe called the *Menapii* caused great trouble for Cæsar. Part of the same tribe settled at Waterford in Ireland, and may have bestowed a name similar to their own upon Man. Pliny terms it *Monabia;* Orosius and Bede, *Menavid;* Gildas, *Manau* and *Eubonia;* Cæsar and Tacitus, *Mona.* But

a local antiquary is of opinion that this latter denomination was shared in common with the Isle of Anglesey, as a *Sedes Druidarum*, or abode of the holy wise men; "and that it has the same connection with the Sanskrit root *mán*, in reference to religious knowledge, as our word *monk*. So also *Moonshee* and the names of eminent lawgivers, as *Manu*, son of Brahma, *Menu*, *Minos*, and *Menes*." Its name may, however, have been derived from its position as the center of the British Isles. Man is styled *Vannin* or *Mannin*, the Middle Island, by the native Manx; Ireland, *N'erin*, or Western Island; England, *Sausin*, or Southern Island; Wales, *Bretin*, or British Island; and Scotland, *Alpin*, or Mountainous Island. On an ancient cross in the wall of Kirk Michael churchyard, the name of the island is spelled in Runic characters as *Maun*. These variant orthographies are all explicable by the political vicissitudes of the inhabitants. Man it is now, and Man it is likely to be.

The native language is unquestionably a dialect of the Celtic, and is said to be easily understood by those who speak the Erse, Gaelic, Cymric, and Breton varieties of the same tongue. It is rapidly dying out as the vernacular, but does not deserve the epithet of "gibberish," by which some of the native Manx stigmatize it. The venerable and Rev. William Drury, Rector of Kirk Braddan, still preaches in it every Sunday afternoon, and the Rev. Henry Cubbon, a Wesleyan Methodist lay evangelist of the island, also holds forth the word of life with thrilling eloquence in the speech of his ancestors. Thanks to the exertions of "The Manx Society for the Publication of National Documents," the literature of the country has been saved from destruction. During the episcopacy of Bishops Wilson and Hildesley the Prayer Book and the Bible were translated into the Manx language, but in very few if any of the parish churches is the service conducted in Manx. The author of "The Bible in Spain" states, that "the Manx possess a literature peculiarly their own, entirely in manuscript. This literature consists of ballads on sacred subjects which are called *carvals*, a corruption of the English word *carols*. These *carvals* are preserved in uncouth-looking, smoke-stained volumes, in low farm-houses and cottages situated in mountains, gills, and glens. They constitute the genuine literature of *Ellan Vannin*. There are, in addition, a few scattered poems

in Manx, which have appeared at various times in print; amongst them a grand historic ballad of the beginning of the sixth century, a ballad detailing the tragic death of Illiam Dhone, another of Molly Charane, a fourth called *Kirree fo Sniaghty.*"

In Manx, as in all the Celtic dialects, all the substantives are masculine or feminine. Articles and adjectives have a plural as well as a singular form. The adjective follows and the article precedes the substantive, as in *dooiney moar*, man big; *deiney mooarey*, men big; *y dooiney*, the man; *ny deiney*, the men.

Correct pronunciation of Manx is among the hidden mysteries, incapable of explanation to any ear not accustomed to it on the spot. The peculiarities of native patronymics arrest the curiosity of strangers. Corjeag and Kerruish are uncommon, but Quark, Quilleash, Quayle, Quaggan, and Qualtrough, Mylchraine, Mylchreest, and Myloidget are surely as indigenous as the tailless cats and chickens. Christian is a surname more frequent than that of the omnipresent Smith. To discriminate between the different Christians the neighbors fall back on the customs of their Norse ancestry. Molly Jack Nicholas is Mary, the daughter of John, son of Nicholas; Huan-a-Twoaie is John from the North. Dan beg Dan moar Dan Bill Illiam Ballacorey has a name long enough to provoke homicidal tendencies in those obliged to use it. It is Manx, but it is not tolerable.

The Manx language may be as ancient as the semi-mythical personage who, as tradition affirms, gave part of his name to this insular dominion. He was known as Mannanan-beg-Mac-y-Leir. The early Irish legends state that he was the father of Fin Mac Coul, their national hero. A Manx ballad of the sixteenth century describes him as a Paynim and necromancer. As a landlord he would have exactly suited the modern Hibernian tenant, for all the yearly rent he required of each landholder was a bundle of coarse meadow grass. The smallness of the tribute and the accompanying freedom from labor and anxiety were regretfully remembered by the people long after their conversion to Christianity. This conversion was effected by Saint Patrick; whose mother, Concha, gave name to one of the island parishes, and who did more for the

Manx than he did for the Irish, because he not only banished all snakes and venomous reptiles from the island, but expelled all the mendicants, magicians, and invisible devils.

The political annals of the Isle of Man are full of fruitful suggestions. The aboriginal Celts left some pathetic mementos in the shape of cairns, cromlechs, kist-vaens, round towers, and Druidic circles, but not many authentic records of history. From the sixth to the tenth century the country was governed by the princes of North Wales. In A. D. 517 it was wrested from the Scots by Maelgwyn. His successors continued to rule until 913, when Anarawd ap Roderic, last of the Welsh line of Manx sovereigns, died. England, Ireland and the Western Isles were then beginning to suffer severely from the piratical incursions of the Norse vikings. Not only did they subvert the Anglo-Saxon throne in South Britain, but they also established one kingdom in Ireland and another that embraced the Hebrides and the Isle of Man. The last was founded by Norwegians. Man was seized by Orry, who led "a fleet of strong ships worthy of being under the command of such a powerful king." He consolidated his power as king of Man and the Isles, and introduced into the former the legislative institution termed the House of Keys, which has continued to the present day. Originally its title was *Taxiaxi*, that is, pledges or hostages. He divided the island into six districts or counties, called *sheadings*, and caused the laws to be committed to writing. Guthred, his successor, commenced the erection of Castle Rushen, in which he is buried. A long era of monotonous violence and barbarity ensued after his death. The stone crosses covered with Runic inscriptions and found in churchyards belong to the Norse era. They tell little more than the one at Kirk Braddan, which states that "Thorlaf Neaki erected this cross to the memory of Fjiak, his son, brother's son to Jabr." Hacon, king of Man, was one of the eight vassal sovereigns who rowed the barge steered by their suzerain, Edgar, king of the Anglo-Saxons, on the Dee at Chester to the abbey of St. John the Baptist. He is also said to have been admiral of the great naval armament of 3,000 vessels maintained by King Edgar for the protection of his dominions against the northern invaders. The last prince of Orry's line ceased to reign in 1066. Godred Crovan, son of

Harold the Black, of Iceland, then conquered the island realm. Himself a fugitive from the fatal field of Stamford Bridge in England, he avenged his own defeat by the English Harold on the brave but numerically weak Manxmen. After plundering and devastating the entire island, the majority of his soldiers returned to Norway. Godred remained and parceled out the southern part of his new possessions among those who still adhered to his banner, and the northern portion among the surviving rightful owners, on the explicit understanding "that none of them or their heirs should ever presume to claim any part of it by way of inheritance." Centuries later this arbitrary action brought deep distress upon their descendants. Afterward, in what seems to have been a civil war between the Celtic and Norwegian divisions, the former gained the advantage at the battle of Santwart. The impulsive gallantry natural to Celtic females prompted them to rush to the aid of their male compatriots. In memory of this timely re-enforcement the Manx legislature enacted that "of all goods immoveable, not having any life, the wives shall have the halfe on the north side, whereas those on the south side shall receive only one thirde."

Olave Kleining, son of Godred Crovan, did homage for his kingdom as a fief of Norway by paying a tribute of "ten marks of gold," and was crowned at Drontheim. Amiable, able, and wise, he assigned one third of the tithes to the Bishop for his maintenance, one third to the Abbey of Rushen for the education of youth and relief of the poor, and one third to the parochial clergy for their subsistence. Under Godred II. the Hebrides were severed from Man and became an independent principality. His illegitimate son Reginald, who boasted that for three continuous years he had never inhabited a house, but had always been on board his ship, next wielded the scepter with rude and savage vigor, and in 1211 acknowledged himself to be the vassal of John, king of England. Eight years later he accepted the position of a feudal dependent on the pope of Rome, and consented to pay a tribute of twelve marks sterling every year to the abbey of Furness. This, however, did not save him from death in civil war. Magnus, the ninth monarch of his dynasty, was also the last. In 1266 the Norwegian king ceded Man and the islands to the Scottish crown, "with all

right to the episcopacy of Man, and the laws, jurisdiction, and liberties of the church of Nidrosien, which the king of Norway possessed."

With this summary disposition of their lives and fortunes the Manx were dissatisfied, and at their request Edward I. of England took them under his protection in 1200. Sir Simon de Montacute next acquired the lordship of Man by deed of gift from his wife Alfrica, sister of Magnus, the last king, and transmitted it to his son and grandson, the Earls of Salisbury. The third Montacute, crowned king of Man in 1344, sold his diadem to Sir William Scrope. From his head it passed to that of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland; and next to that of Sir John Stanley, who, in 1406, received from Henry IV. a grant of the kingdom, "with all the regalities, franchises, and rights belonging thereto, with the patronage of the bishopric, under the title of the king of Man," upon the feudal service of presenting a cast of falcons to the kings of England on the day of their coronation. This donation was not a specially lucrative one. Camden, in the sixteenth century, tells us that there were not six houses in the island that had two stories. Affairs were administered chiefly by lieutenants. The Stanleys, however, did place the tenure of land upon terms more favorable to the holders, and, in 1636, Lord Strange, acting for his father, the sixth earl of Derby, ordained that the *breast laws*, or rules and customs of which the deemsters or judges were supposed to be the depositaries, and by which they decided all matters in dispute, should be committed to writing. The second earl of Derby relinquished the title of king of Man on the ground that he preferred "to be a great lord rather than a petty king." James, the seventh earl of Derby, resided in his dominion in 1643, and governed with consummate skill. He convoked a public meeting at the Tynwald Hill, encouraged every man to state his own grievances, and promised the best remedy he could supply. They accepted the invitation, and freely vented their indignation both in Manx and English. Machiavellian as he was, the lord of Man was a judicious statesman, and projected numerous improvements in the shape of manufactures and education. Under his *regime* the obsolete arrangement of Godred Crovan bore fruit of misery and want. With that as a precedent, the earl's officers cajoled the people into a com-

promise "by which they resigned their landed property into the hands of the lord, and received it back on a lease of three lives, thus rendering their descendants, after no great number of years, mere tenants at will, without the slightest interest in the property or motive to improvement." Agriculture was neglected, scarcity frequent, famine occasional. Smuggling absorbed the energies of the people, degraded their morals, and impaired the resources of the empire. James, tenth earl of Derby and last lord of Man of the house of Stanley, persuaded by Bishop Wilson, eventually annulled this iniquitous swindle by what the Manx call the *Act of Settlement.* This is their Magna Charta. By it the landholders were confirmed in possession, and descent in perpetuity provided for on payment of certain fixed fines and rents to the lord.

In 1651 the island was surrendered to the Parliamentarians by Receiver-General William Christian, the Illiam Dhone, or "Fair-haired William," of Manx story. For this he was illegally and revengefully shot in 1662. His judicial murder furnished Sir Walter Scott with a turning-point in his romance of *Peveril of the Peak.* The earl of Derby, who had instigated the crime, escaped punishment, but the two deemsters were ordered to be committed to the King's Bench Prison and to pay all expenses incurred. Restitution of his estates was also made to the heirs of Christian.

In 1736 the lordship of Man passed, through failure of male heirs, from the Stanleys to the dukes of Athol. At this epoch the British government had long been discontented with the land tenure, the scale of import duties fixed by the Manx legislature, and the flagrant smuggling trade carried on by capitalists and sea-faring men. Added to these causes of dissatisfaction was an enactment by which residents prosecuted for foreign debts could only be held to bail for personal appearance in court, and for the production of what property they might have on the island. This injudicious measure converted the country into an Alsatia, "the sanctuary of the unfortunate and profligate of the surrounding nations, who flocked thither in such numbers as to make it a common receptacle for the basest of their kind." After tedious negotiations, John, third duke of Athol, consented to surrender, with certain reservations, his rights to the crown by an act called

the *Act of Revestment*, and received in compensation the sum of £70,000, together with an annuity of £2,000 to be paid out of the Irish revenue of the duke and duchess of Athol. For more than half a century the duke of Athol, son of the last lord of Man, held the dignity of governor-in-chief. His nephew was bishop of Sodor and Man. Both were grasping, tyrannical, and unpopular. The former asserted his ancient manorial rights, and the latter his claim to tithes on all green crops. Dangerous popular tumults ensued. In 1829 all the manorial and other privileges of the Athol family were purchased by the crown, or, in other words, by the British nation, for the sum of £416,000. Since then the civil government has been administered by a lieutenant-governor. The ancient institutions, however, are preserved intact.

The lieutenant-governor, being required to preside in the insular court of chancery, ought to be familiar with legal principles and practices. Colonel Smelt (1805–1832) and Major-General Ready, who followed him, were not thoroughly qualified for this duty. Charles Hope, a member of the English and Scotch bars, was excellently fitted for it, and proved to be an energetic and wise governor. Reform of the House of Keys, which was then a close corporation, began to be a popular desideratum. The principle of popular instead of self election to that body was stoutly advocated, but made little headway against intrenched conservatism. Francis Pigott next filled the chair vacated by resignation of Governor Hope in 1860. Dying in 1863, he was succeeded by the able, versatile, and accomplished Sir Henry Brougham Loch, now governor of Victoria. The second year (1864) of his official term was signalized by the complete triumph of popular freedom. What led up to it was, in the first place, the application of the Douglas commissioners to the House of Keys for enlarged municipal powers. John A. Brown, editor and proprietor of *The Isle of Man Times*, the leading journal of the commonwealth, to whom we are greatly indebted for material entering into the composition of this article, states that "at that time the House of Keys was a self-elected body, and when a vacancy occurred in their number they nominated two persons to the governor, who was bound to appoint one of them to the vacancy." Between the self-elected Keys and the popularly chosen commissioners

considerable antipathy existed. The application of the latter was derisively rejected. This insult was warmly resented by *Mona's Herald*, and by *The Isle of Man Times*. Their criticisms incurred the displeasure of the high and mighty Keys, who summoned the critics to answer for their conduct. J. C. Fargher, editor of *Mona's Herald*, promised to apologize, but James Brown, editor and proprietor of *The Isle of Man Times*, was of sterner stuff, and insisted that the comments of his newspaper were justifiable. The Keys thought otherwise. Having power they used it, and doomed the gallant journalist to six months' imprisonment in the grim old fortress of Castle Rushen. His son, John A. Brown, seconded by an indignant majority of the insular community, rushed to the rescue. The son's eloquent letters, published in the London journals, enlisted the hearty co-operation of the British press. The government interfered. The Court of Queen's Bench released the prisoner, and crowds of enthusiastic friends escorted him back to Douglas. Heavy damages were awarded to him for illegal imprisonment, and the crestfallen potentates of the House of Keys were mulcted to the extent of about one thousand pounds.

Governor Loch in 1865 acquired consent of the imperial treasury to the readjustment of fiscal duties upon imports, in order to the accumulation of a surplus revenue for the construction of public harbor-works. It was decided that after deducting the cost of the civil government, together with a sum of £10,000 to be paid annually into the exchequer as interest on the purchase money awarded to the duke of Athol, the surplus revenue should be at the disposal of the Tynwald court for expenditure upon public works; such expenditure, nevertheless, to be subject to the sanction of the treasury. Governor Loch insisted that augmented taxation for the contemplated improvements should be conditioned upon change in the mode of election to the House of Keys. He rightly held it to be unconstitutional that a self-elected body should levy extra taxes upon a population that did not elect the persons who taxed them. This imperatively needed reform was wrought out in 1866, and in 1867 the first popular election was held. Governor Loch resigned his office on the 14th of March, 1882, and was succeeded by Spencer Walpole, the present incumbent, on the fifth of May in the same year.

As now constituted the Isle of Man is a dependency upon the crown of Great Britain and Ireland, to which a writ of *habeas corpus* may run. It has no representative in the House of Commons, neither is it, in general, affected by acts of the imperial Parliament unless expressly named in them. All customs duties leviable therein are regulated by the assembly at Westminster. Its constitutional system, brought thither by the Scandinavian vikings, has been preserved with slight change. The miniature republics of San Marino in Italy, and Andorre in the mountain fastnesses of the Pyrenees, present no features of more curious interest. Long before England beheld the growth of her House of Commons the Manx House of Keys exercised functions in the state similar to those of the Anglo-Saxon Witenagemote, on the model of which some suppose it to have been founded. The title of Keys was probably derived from their being so frequently called upon to unlock or explain to the regnant sovereign or his deputy the mysteries of their ancient laws and customs. The number of Keys is twenty-four. These are elected under the provisions of the act of Tynwald known as the "House of Keys Election Act." By this statute the island is divided into ten electoral districts, corresponding to the six sheadings of Glanfaba, Middle, Rushen, Ayre, Garff, and Michael, and the four towns of Douglas, Ramsey, Castletown, and Peel. Each sheading or county constituency returns three representatives, the town of Douglas three, and each of the other towns one. A property qualification is demanded of each representative. He must either be possessed of insular real estate having a yearly value of £100, or of real estate worth £50 annually, together with an income of £100 per annum from personal estate. The elective franchise is based on the ownership or occupancy of a house of £4 net annual value in towns, and on a £10 occupation or £8 proprietorship in the sheadings. Besides these there is a lodger franchise which is but seldom utilized. Women having similar qualifications, and not represented by husbands, are also entitled to vote, but do not avail themselves of the privilege to any great extent. The mode of voting is by ballot, and all voters are carefully registered. The term of legislative service is seven years, but the governor may dissolve the House before the expiration of that period. Appeal

to the country may be taken as in other countries constructed on a larger scale. Parliamentary government, as it exists in the island of Great Britain and most of the colonies, Man has not. Nor are the rules governing the procedure of the House of Keys altogether unsusceptible of beneficent amendment. Every bill must receive thirteen votes—a majority of the House of Keys—in order to its passage. If only fourteen members are present when final action is taken, two dissentients are more powerful to reject than twelve consentients to enact.

The upper House or council, which loosely corresponds to the imperial House of Lords, is composed of the lord bishop of the diocese (who has a seat but not a vote in the British House of Peers), the attorney general, the two deemsters, the clerk of the rolls, the water bailiff, the archdeacon, and the vicar-general. These constitute the cabinet or privy council, and are advisers of the governor in state affairs. As legislators they either initiate legislative business, or alter, amend, or reject any bill sent to them from the lower House. Neither the public nor the press is admitted to the secret consultations of the council. Their reasons for rejecting or amending any particular bill are made known to the Keys through a conference with a deputation from that body. When sitting together in Tynwald, the two legislative bodies vote separately, and there must be a clear majority of each to carry a motion. The decisions of the Tynwald court with respect to money appropriations out of the insular revenue the governor has the power to veto. To become law a bill must pass both houses of the Manx legislature, sitting in their respective chamber, and must be signed in Tynwald by at least thirteen of the Keys, a majority of the council, and the governor. It is then forwarded for the royal assent, and if the law officers of the crown detect nothing therein that is inconsistent with constitutional provisions it receives that sanction.

Until recent times a measure did not take instant legal effect until it had been promulgated from the ancient and celebrated Tynwald Mount at St. John's. This is near Ballacraine, on the high road between Douglas and Peel, and almost in the centre of the island. The Tynwald Hill is 200 yards from the Church of St. John; is called in Manx *Cronk-y-Keillown*, that

is, "St. John's Church Hill," and is most interesting from the fact that for hundreds of years the Manx people have annually gathered round it by thousands to hear the laws read, first in English and then in the vernacular, that have been enacted during the previous year by the legislature. Tynwald, or Tingualla, as it is written in the *Chronicon Mannia*, is identical with the Thingwall of Iceland and the Thingvöllr of Denmark. It is derived from the Scandinavian *thing*, a court of justice or popular assembly; and the Icelandic *völlr*, a field, or Danish *vold*, a bank or rampart.

The Tynwald Mount is a singular artificial construction, built of earth brought together from the seventeen parishes of the island. Two hundred and fifty-six feet in circumference at the base, it rises to the height of about twelve feet by four concentric circular platforms, on the uppermost of which the governor and other dignitaries stand while a syllabus of the new statutes is read by the deemster of the northern division. The canopy which shelters them from rain and sun is held in place by seventeen ropes attached to rings in as many stones at the bottom of the hill. Tynwald day is the fifth of July, unless that happen to fall on Sunday, in which case the ceremonies are postponed till Monday. Special days may be appointed when it is not desirable to wait for the regular one. Proceedings begin with divine worship in St. John's Church at 11 A. M. This concluded, a stately official procession is formed, and marches between files of soldiers with presented arms to the Tynwald Mount. Thence all persons are warned by the coroner of Glanfaba against disturbing the court. The coroners or sheriffs—one for each sheading—are appointed annually, and are sworn into office on Tynwald day by the chief deemster or judge. Each in his own district is the *toshiagh jioarey*, that is, "the chief man of the law."

Titles and side-notes of the various measures having been read aloud, the procession returns to the church, where the promulgation of the laws is attested by attaching the signatures of the present members of the court. Business accounts of King William's College at Castletown, of the lunatic asylum, and of the high-road fund are then received, elections of members of public committees effected, the rate for the maintenance of the asylum fixed, and other public affairs transacted. In all his

official functions the governor is, of course, the lieutenant of her Imperial Majesty Queen Victoria, who by customary fiction is held to have appointed him to this service.

The judicial system of the Isle of Man is characterized by as many peculiarities as its political constitution. Up to 1867 the House of Keys exercised judicial as well as representative powers. Appeals from the verdict of juries were made thereto; but when it became a popularly elected body its appellate jurisdiction was abolished and a new appellate court created. On the first of January, 1884, under the terms of the Isle of Man Judicature Act (1883), the chancery, exchequer, staff of government, common law, and deemsters' courts were merged into the high court of justice. The admiralty or water bailiff's court is also merged therein. Manx legislative titles are as sonorous and legislative acts as plentiful as those of a modern metropolitan trades-union. Under the Ecclesiastical Civil Judicature Transfer Act (1884), the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts in respect of testamentary, administrative, and matrimonial matters was transferred to the high court. This court consists of three divisions, called respectively the chancery, common law, and staff of government division.

The history of the Manx Church, beginning with the doughty exploits of the Irish saint, is full of interest and instruction. St. German, his episcopal successor, erected churches throughout the country, including the cathedral in Peel Castle. Maughold, who next held the crosier, divided the land into parishes. He was followed by Lonnan, Connaghan, and Marown consecutively. Each seems to have ruled under an unwritten theocratic constitution. Nothing recorded of them is wholly certain. Dr. Tanner in his *Notitia Monastici*, says: "The Scotch writers contend that the Isle of Man was converted to Christianity by the care of Crathlent, King of Scotland, and that he made Amphibolus bishop there about A. D. 360." But the more generally received opinion is that St. Patrick was the successful missionary, and that he erected an episcopal see in Man about A. D. 447. St. Maughold is charged with having been the leader of Irish banditti prior to his regeneration, and is also credited with giving the veil to St. Bridget, who founded the nunnery in the lovely valley of the Dhoo Glas, not

far from the modern capital. Much of the early history of Christianity in the west is irrecoverably lost. No one positively knows how the diocese of Sodor and Man came to be so denominated. Professor Munch, editor of the ancient *Chronicle of the Kings of Man and the Islands*, derives Sodor from the Norwegian *Sudreyjar*, which means Southern Islands; others derive it from the islet once styled Holme Sodor, on which Peel Castle and St. German's Cathedral stand; and still others from Soder, a modification of the Greek *Soter*, signifying St. Saviour's, which was the title of the cathedral church of Iona.

The Isle of Man with the Western Isles was a diocese suffragan to the archbishop of Drontheim in Norway, from the twelfth century onward. This constitution was confirmed by Pope Anastasius IV. in 1154. Proximity, however, brought the Manx Church into much closer relations with the Cistercian abbey at Furness, in England, than with the Norse archiepiscopate. In 1244 Pope Innocent IV. sanctioned the election of the Manx bishops by the Furnessian community. Five Scotch prelates in succession wore the Manx miter, while their see was a feudal dependency of the Scottish crown. Mark, the first and perhaps the best, was driven out by the Manxmen, and when recalled imposed the payment of a penny for every house. This was called the "smoke penny." Curiously enough, after the lapse of several centuries, it is still collected as a perquisite by the parish clerks.

Popes and princes have always appointed the bishops of Man to their see. None have been placed there by the free election of the Church. Bishop Thomas Stanley, in 1556, was commissioned as governor of the island, and gained notoriety as a "sword-bishop"—a military commander of the priestly order. Dr. Isaac Barrow was also appointed governor-bishop in 1663, and endeared himself to the people by his liberal zeal in behalf of both clergy and laity. Bishop Wilson, enthroned in 1698, was at once an evangelist, translator, reformer, educator, statesman, and "father in Israel" to his people. Bishop Hildesley took up his unfinished work in 1755, and completed the translation of the Scriptures into the Manx language. He was often heard to say that "he only wished to live to see it finished, and then he would be happy." Several Sunday-schools were established during his episcopate, and had been successfully

conducted for years before Robert Raikes initiated the movement which clothes his memory with such radiant honor. Under the excellent Bishop Ward (1827–1838), about £13,000 was expended in the restoration of old churches and the erection of new ones. The appointment of his successor, Bishop Bowstead, was purposely postponed until after the insular legislature had provided for the commutation of tithes for the sum of £5,050, which is now apportioned between the bishop, clergy, and trustees for the benefit of clergymen's widows. Dr. Powys, appointed in 1854, was chiefly remarkable for his rooted dislike of dissenters, and for unpleasant differences with his clergy. In 1874 it was proposed to unite this bishopric with the projected one of Liverpool; but the Manx were generally opposed to it, even when the further proposition was made to increase the annual stipend of each incumbent to £300, and to provide for the payment of curates in poor districts. On the 24th of August, 1877, the Rev. Rowley Hill, D.D., was consecrated in York Minster as Bishop of Sodor and Man. He is a singularly laborious, earnest, and godly prelate, and finds favor in the eyes of all religious denominations. Deeply spiritual, keenly alive to the value of faithful pastoral work and of Sunday-school teaching, and solicitous for the prosperity of the Church, he establishes his claim to the apostolical succession by open-air preaching to large crowds when his diminutive diocese is full of summer visitors.

Unlike the Church of England, "the Manx Church possesses and exercises the privilege of meeting in convocation without license, let, or hinderance, and therein discussing freely her wants and grievances without fear of the penalty of *Præmunire*." This privilege has never been in abeyance. It has been judiciously used, and with excellent results.

The staff of Episcopal clergy in the Isle of Man consists of the bishop, archdeacon, 4 deans, 31 vicars and rectors (including the deans), and 14 curates. The number of church sittings it provides is 17,210. New parochial districts are formed, as need requires, by the seven Church commissioners appointed under the "Church Act of 1880." The literary and theological training of candidates for ordination, whether graduates of the Sodor and Man Theological School or not, is of inferior standard to that in use among the Wes-

leyan Methodists. A Manx Church fund for improving the material condition of the Establishment; an impropriate fund yielding about £700 yearly to churches, schools, and buildings; the royal bounty of £100 per annum granted by Charles II.; the episcopal and clerical endowment fund, and the tithe rent charge of about £4,860 yearly, constitute—together with sundry trusts and glebes—the means of maintenance to the clergy. In benevolent, missionary, and Sunday-school societies, the Manx Church exhibits commendable and decided interest. The relation between Church and State is not sufficiently close to be of service to either. Were they wholly separated, it would doubtless be to the advantage of both. The insular statutes relating to the Church and clergy are similar to those of all lands in which the Church is subordinated to the State and exchanges spiritual and disciplinary independence for the emoluments and distinctions of the highest department of the civil service.

Methodism was introduced into the Isle of Man in 1758, by Mr. John Murlin, who was followed by Mr. John Crook, subsequently known as the "Apostle of the Isle of Man." John Wesley regarded the country as the garden of evangelical Christianity. Many of the primitive chapels were very unpretentious buildings. Most of them have been superseded by larger and more commodious structures, that will bear comparison with those of any other land. The new Rosemount Wesleyan Chapel in Douglas is ideally adapted to the wants of a cultured, godly, and prosperous community. Upward of seventy-five sanctuaries furnish accommodations for worship to about 3,200 members of the Church and more than 5,000 Sunday-school pupils. The number of sittings provided is over 14,000.

The Primitive Methodists entered the island in 1822, when Mr. John Butcher was employed to evangelize it. Since then their numbers have exceedingly increased. Over forty places of worship, including the beautiful church on the Loch Promenade at Douglas, provide accommodation for over 9,000 worshipers, among whom are about 1,500 members and over 3,000 Sunday scholars.

The adherents of Methodism are vastly more numerous than those of the Church by law established, and could easily alter

the political complexion of the sturdy little commonwealth were they disposed to wield the power already in their hands. Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Roman Catholics have each a numerically small following among the people, but are doing what they may in furtherance of their own ecclesiastical interests.

Superstition dies hard among the Manx. "They are believers in charms," remarked a curate familiar with the legends and beliefs of the country folk. The fact is, that the language of every nation is a mottled monumental record of its former faith in supernatural beings, magic, and demonology. The Druidical circles scattered over the island indicate the distant source of many mythical beliefs. Satyrs, fauns, wood-nymphs, naiads, are unknown to Manx folk-lore. Not so with mermen and mermaids. A very beautiful specimen of the latter—half woman half fish—is said by the historian Waldron to have been captured, and to have pined in captivity. When released, she swiftly plunged into the sea, and there replied to relatives who inquired what she had observed among the people of the earth: "Nothing very wonderful; but they are so ignorant as to throw away the water in which they have boiled their eggs." Who brought back this report it has not occurred to the credulous to inquire. The roofless condition of St. Trinian's Church is said by Manx legend to be due to a malicious *buggane*, or evil spirit, who fiendishly laughed when he threw down the roof as often as it neared completion. The *Moddy Dhoo*, or "specter-hound," that used to haunt Peel Castle, and that froze the blood of William of Deloraine; the fairies of Ballaconney Bridge; and the *Phynnoderee*, or hairy satyr, who is "spiteful terrible" if not permitted to have his own way in his lonely wanderings, were shuddering realities to the homely folk, whose descendants have not entirely discarded all faith in their existence.

The morals of the Manx are as good as, and, indeed, much better than might have been anticipated in view of the violent blending of populations by wars and conquests, the dislocation of moral ideas incident to iniquitous acts of proprietary governors, the former smuggling avocations of the adventurous, the lengthened sojourn of fugitives from justice, and the influx of one hundred and twenty thousand visitors every summer. The

religious and ethical teaching of the clergy, and more particularly of the Methodists, has been and is illustrated by the pure and beneficent morality of their lives. The slums of Douglas are not enticing to pedestrians; but they are not the hiding-places of depravity and crime, nor sinks of infamy and debauchery. John A. Brown is sustained by many witnesses in the statement "that people more strictly honest, more upright in conversation and character, and further removed from vice and iniquity than the poorer classes of Manxmen it would be impossible to find in these dominions." The dwellers on the hills and in the vales, outside the towns, are physically a fine, sturdy race, of medium height, and strongly built. The faces of the men, bronzed by exposure to sea and weather, are evidences of robust health. Nor does the nut-brown hue of the rural women betoken more need of medicinal aid. In certain districts all the men are fishermen or sailors. As a rule each man inherits or rents a small section of land, which he cultivates in the intervals of fishing. "As a race, they are quiet, sober, law-loving, law-abiding men, strongly influenced by deep religious feeling. Intemperance is rare, and crimes of violence are altogether unknown among them." The reality of their religious profession is demonstrated by the fact that during the fishing season "no boat ever puts out to sea either on Saturday or Sunday; the Sabbath is kept among this primitive people entirely free from all worldly pursuits." Strongly conservative, loving the ways of their forefathers, and disliking innovations of every kind, each is prompt to say, "What did for my father, will do for me." Indefatigable toilers upon the land, and tireless mariners when at sea, they are nevertheless destitute of the enterprise which the competitive life of urban communities so surely fosters.

Education in the Isle of Man owes its most forcible impulse to the "Great Earl" of Derby, who was executed at Bolton-le-Moors in 1651. He planned a university for the Manx and surrounding nations. Bishop Barrow and subsequent benefactors entered into his designs, and strove to embody them. On August 1, 1833, the stately King William's College at Castletown first opened its door for the reception of students. It has a good theological, classical, and general library, and a large collection of Manx fossils. Scholarships of the institu-

tion, and four "exhibitions" or appropriations to students at Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin Universities, are annually given to deserving youths. Over 230 boys in attendance are prepared for the universities, public examinations for admission to the army, navy, and civil service, for professional studies, and for mercantile and other pursuits. The Holy Bible and the Christian religion hold reverenced place in the college, while physical culture receives due scientific study. Endowed grammar schools at Castletown, Douglas, Peel, and Ramsey do much to fit their students for service to the country in Church and State. A school committee in every town and parish acts in unison with the board of education for the Isle of Man. £6,045 17*s* were expended for popular educational purposes in the year ending March 31, 1886. The several religious denominations also maintain schools where practicable, and receive state aid. Some schools are organized on the board, others on the national, and others on the sectarian plan. All are subject to examination by her majesty's inspectors, and are partly dependent upon their report for the pecuniary pabulum necessary to sturdy growth. The entire school system, so far as it is maintained by the public, ought to be simplified. Doubtless it is a vast improvement on the no-system of past centuries, but still it is susceptible of greater efficiency. Attendance at school is compulsory. The demand for it is a prophecy of better things in the years to come.

The military establishment is commensurate with the need for it. A small detachment of regular troops is stationed at Castle Rushen. The captains of militia in the seventeen parishes are abundantly competent to meet the demands of a service whose severest duty is that of gracing the formalities of Tynwald day.

How to reconcile local with national interests and feelings is one of the problems of state-craft. Since the awakening of local public spirit, the Manx have been thoroughly loyal to the "dear little isle." Nor have they been less loyal to the British empire. Breathing the air of unfettered freedom, shielded from danger by the might of the suzerain, and largely planning their own future, they have prospered exceedingly in every respect.

The highways of a nation, if constructed by it, correspond to its strength and vitality. Those of the Manx are scarcely capa-

ble of improvement, and reflect great credit upon the highway board and its surveyors. The railroads are of the narrow (three feet) gauge, admirably built, and extend from Douglas via Castletown to Port Erin, near the southern extremity of the island; from Douglas to Peel on the western coast; and from St. John's on the latter line to Ramsey. A short branch from St. John's conducts to the heart of the Foxdale mining region. Other lines are projected.

Agriculture is up to the average English standard in respect of scientific skill and thoroughness. The augmenting influx of summer visitors, by raising the price of cereal, pastoral, and agricultural products, has greatly enhanced the value of land. Much of the 130,000 acres embraced in the island is not cultivable. Until recently the mountains, which for the most part constitute the common lands, were almost inaccessible and totally uncultivated. Small farmers, occupying adjacent homesteads, used them principally for sheep-grazing. Seven years ago, her majesty's Commissioners of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues claimed them. The Commoners stoutly disputed the claim. Ultimately the controversy was settled by legislative enactment. Land to the extent of 8,573 acres was sold, and a sum of more than £25,000 thus raised to build excellent roads through wild tracts of picturesque scenery. The remainder of the common lands, in all about 17,000 acres, was divided between the Commoners and the crown. The allotment of the former is vested in a popularly elected body of six men, known as the Commons' trustees. Nearly thirty miles of splendid new roads now facilitate business and pleasure, and enable the vision to take in rare vistas of exquisite beauty and grandeur.

The net annual value of the island, as assessed some years ago, was £215,585. Since then it has grown rapidly, but even now is far from being so large as the income of an American railroad hundred-millionaire. The ordinary governmental revenue for the year ending March, 31, 1886, was £55,552.

In minerals the Isle of Man is not particularly rich. Available coal is absent. The great Laxey lead mines have been worked for centuries and yield as valuably as ever. The "Lady Isabella" overshot water-wheel has a diameter of seventy-two feet six inches, breadth of six feet, and pumping power of 250 gallons per minute, from a depth of more than 200 fathoms.

It is the mechanical pride of the natives, and is claimed to be the largest in the world. Mines are rented from the queen, as lady of the manor. During 1881 those in six different places yielded 5,675 tons of lead ore, including 84,865 ounces of silver, and valued at £76,513. Copper and zinc deposits are profitably worked, and in 1881 gave employment to 1,258 miners.

The island ought to be a paradise for the disciples of Izaak Walton. Trout are abundant in the translucent purling streams of the interior. Some of the fish, native to the Manx coast, and bearing the names of *callig* and *blocken*, or *bloggan*, are strange to the curious visitor. *Scadden*, or herrings, are among the chief food-blessings, and are caught, kippered, consumed, and exported in immense quantities. Peel, alone, has a capital of £100,000 invested in about 200 fishing vessels, manned by nearly 2,000 men and boys.

In the warm summer months the island is a colony of hotels and boarding-houses, in which the sturdy Britisher luxuriates in unheard-of costumes, and with an *abandon* in startling contrast to his usual staid and methodical habits. It would hardly be correct to repeat as a truth what is sometimes heard on the spot, that the people live on visitors in the summer, and on each other in the remaining three fourths of the year. But it is wholly correct to state that the visitors are a source of large wealth to the visited. It is with a view to the comfort and pleasure of the former, and through them of the latter, that the enormous harbor improvements accomplished within the past decade have been effected. Imperial and insular legislation combined to clothe the commissioners of the harbor board and officers with extensive powers, and to substitute the magnificent piers and superb sea-walls of Douglas and other towns for the miserable mud-banks and aching backs of boatmen which confronted the visitors less than a quarter of a century ago. The Queen Victoria Landing Pier, and the Battery Pier Breakwater at Douglas, are models of massive and scientific construction. The semicircular Loch Promenade of Douglas, with its back-ground of tasteful houses and public buildings, and with the heather and gorse-tufted hills in the distance, is brightly suggestive of the ampler space, sunnier skies, and loftier eminences that encircle the celebrated Bay of Naples.

Art. V.—GOD IN HUMAN CONSCIOUSNESS.

Writers on theology and natural religion, in presenting the proofs of the existence of God, have usually commenced with an argument founded on the general consent of mankind. So universal is the belief in a divinity that the most which skeptical science can venture is to raise the question whether somewhere on the wide earth a tribe has not been found without a sense of religious obligation; and it is not made certain that even one such tribe has been discovered in all the history of our race.

While this argument has been employed, it has not been specially emphasized, and the *consensus gentium* has not been carefully traced to its source. This universal belief of mankind cannot be regarded as a result of the other lines of evidence, for in that case it would not be a separate argument, but a conclusion reached by a chain of reasoning. On the contrary, this universal idea of God dates back to primitive times, before men began to reason on the subject, and is found to be entertained with equal persistence by the most degraded tribes, which have hardly reached the level of the reasoning process. The ethnic religions have never concerned themselves with proofs of the existence of God, but have calmly rested on the assumption of his universal presence.

At the present time an effort is in progress to bring to view the philosophical grounds and characteristics of this universal belief. The trend of thought is toward a recognition of the sense of God in human consciousness as the basis of the general consent of mankind—a line of thought that has not been properly emphasized. Professor Samuel Harris, of Yale College, has published an elaborate work on *The Self-Revelation of God*, in which the evidences of theism are re-stated, the first part of the volume being devoted to an exposition of the religious consciousness. Professor Frank, of the University of Erlangen, in a work on *Christian Certainty*, discusses the same theory, but approaches the subject from the side of the individual religious experience. Dr. Charles Hodge, of Princeton, in his *Systematic Theology*, gives larger space to this theory than is usual in theological discussions. Dr. Cocker,

also, in his treatise on *Christianity and Greek Philosophy*, traced religion back to primitive ideas; and recent works on theism give special emphasis to this line of thought.

Different terms are employed, by various writers, in the exposition of the theory, such as "Christian consciousness," "God-consciousness," "religious intuition," "primitive belief in the existence of God;" but they are all intended to present substantially the one thought that God has somehow made an unmistakable impression of his existence and presence in human consciousness. The thought is not that of Schleiermacher, so eloquently presented to American readers by Dr. Newman Smyth, that religion has its origin in feeling—a view which seems to overlook the fact that nothing can appear in the sensibility that is not in the intellect—but rather that God has lodged in the human mind an idea of his existence, which is necessarily grasped by the cognitive faculties.

Proof of the existence of God pre-supposes an idea of God already in the mind; and the question has been soberly raised, Is a revelation of God to man possible? We may well doubt whether man can find God; but it seems childish to ask whether God can unmistakably reveal himself to man. The idea of God must proceed from God; man could not originate it any more than he could originate the idea of a river or a mountain. God must take the initiative in human cognition of Deity. Dr. Tayler Lewis has pointedly said:

> The infinite can have its finite aspect. The infinite may enter into and act in the finite; may assume the finite. The denial of this is, in fact, the denial of the infinite. It is virtually saying that God cannot do all things; that because we cannot ascend to him, therefore he cannot come down to us.*

It would be strange indeed if such a God as we believe in were unable to speak to his creatures, and so speak that they could know his voice, and readily distinguish it from all other voices. On the contrary, it is not supposable that such a Being could exist and men not be aware of the fact. Such a God must fill the universe so full as to touch all things, and press against all things, and leave intelligent beings no option but to know his existence. Without any danger of pantheism, may it not well be that Deity is so closely allied to us, so

* *Science and the Scriptures*, p. 239.

broods over us and dwells in us, that, while consciousness is teaching us the fact of our own existence, it cannot do less than teach us the divine existence at the same time? "Without the God-consciousness, self-consciousness can never be fully realized." * "The development of man's consciousness of himself in his relation to the world is the development of his consciousness of God." †

It is sometimes asserted that an original belief in God is the characteristic of ignorant and primitive peoples; but the fact is, that such belief is the common heritage of mankind, and only those escape it who bewilder themselves by a species of metaphysical jugglery. Men have pursued philosophical speculations until they were so befogged as to deny the reality of the material universe and the reality of their own existence, and it is no wonder that they have likewise denied the existence of God. The belief in God is spontaneous, whereas atheism has to be cultivated by a process of metaphysical discipline. Theism is universal and persistent, atheism exists only in sporadic cases among those who have bewildered themselves by speculation. The former is a hardy plant, and finds the human mind a rich soil; while the latter is a plant of sickly growth which does not find in human nature the elements necessary to a vigorous existence.

If the God of the Bible has an existence, how would he reveal himself to rational beings? If men were asked to outline a system of evidence that would be conclusive and satisfactory, what would it be? It is doubtful whether the most querulous could suggest an argument to prove the existence of God which is not already included in Christian theism. It is significant that those philosophers who have denied the existence of God have contented themselves with asserting that if such a Being exists he is necessarily unknowable. They offer no amendments to the chain of Christian evidences. Theism is the best answer humanity has been able to give to this question; and an original impression in consciousness is the germ from which the system has grown.

It is, perhaps, unfortunate that the precise meaning of one of the most important words used in the exposition of this line of

* Newman Smyth, *Religious Feeling*, p. 108.

† Professor Harris, *Philosophical Basis of Theism*, p. 14.

theistic evidence has not been accurately defined. All metaphysical writers feel impressed to attempt a definition of consciousness, but they contradict each other with great cordiality and thoroughness, while some are frank enough to confess that they cannot furnish the exact signification of the term. Indeed, Hamilton declares that a definition of consciousness is impossible, but speaks of it as the "recognition by the mind of its acts and affections," * yet not different from those acts and affections. Elsewhere he calls it "the mind's cognizance of its own operations." He seems to view it as a kind of wholesale phrase covering the totality of the mind's acts and states. It is commonly regarded as a depository of spontaneous ideas—a treasury where the eternal verities are stored. Philosophers are wont to say, in verification of some statement, Let us enter our own consciousness and see whether we find this idea there. †

To say that we find certain ideas in consciousness can mean no more than that we find them in the human mind, or that the mind has the power directly to recognize and embrace those ideas; or, more precisely, that the mind is so constituted as to necessarily receive and hold those ideas. In the use of the word consciousness we mistake a logical term for a reality, just as is the case when we speak of the faculties of the mind. The modicum of truth in all these pretentious metaphysical terms is, that the human mind has certain capabilities, and among them that of grasping various great ideas without a process of reasoning. These primitive ideas are called the furniture of consciousness. In the progress of metaphysical investigation the term consciousness may fall into disuse, but the fact will remain that the human mind has the power to grasp these original ideas.

The common mind is, perhaps, as competent as the philosophical to reach the meaning of the word. We constantly affirm ourselves conscious of such things, or we say that certain facts are furnished in our consciousness, but we will find it very difficult to attach a definite meaning to these terms. At the same time there is a general interpretation of the words *conscious* and *consciousness* as designating a particular mental state or operation, and men, after some fashion, understand each other when these terms are employed.

* *Metaphysics*, p. 126. † Cocker, *Theistic Conception of the World*, p. 35.

While this vagueness of meaning exists, the term consciousness has, nevertheless, been employed in two senses which are quite distinct. Professor Harris very clearly states the distinction:

> Consciousness as used in the earlier Scotch philosophy, and commonly in Great Britain and America, means the mind's immediate knowledge of its own mental states and acts, or, at most, the mind's knowledge of itself in those states and acts. In this narrower meaning of the word, it is not correct to say that we are conscious of God, or that he is present in our consciousness. In German philosophy consciousness is used in a broader sense to denote the intuitive, undiscriminated knowledge of both object and subject, the immediate knowledge in one and the same act of the object known and the subject knowing. Hamilton introduced this usage into Great Britain, maintaining, to use his own example, that a man may be conscious of his ink-stand. In popular language, consciousness is used with this broader meaning.*

It is in this latter and wider sense that the term consciousness is employed for the purposes of this discussion. The use of the word as covering the ground of the cognition of other beings and of natural objects is coming to be more and more recognized.

To say that God is known in human consciousness, in the restricted meaning of the term, would threaten the distinction between God and man; while in the wider sense the reality of both object and subject is fully recognized. It is not meant that the reason, by immediate vision, perceives God in all the completeness of his character, but that an impression of a divine existence, an idea of some superhuman power, is present in the mind. This primitive idea is vague and ill-defined, but furnishes the intellect a starting point and a stimulus in the development of a system of theism.

This "God-consciousness" is not a separate faculty of the mind—a "faith-faculty," as it is sometimes called. Much of our religio-philosophizing makes man a mental monstrosity —conscience and a "religious faculty" clinging to the mind as excrescences. Man knows God as he knows other things—through the operation of his mental powers.

> If any one is certain, from the operations of his own mind, or in any other way, that there is such a thing as what we may please to call the Infinite, then he knows it as he knows other

* *Self-Revelation of God*, p. 30.

things. And if so let him say so, and not run the whole subject into mysticism by attributing it to a mysterious principle called faith, and then opposing faith to knowledge.*

If an intuition of God exists in the human mind it is present just as an intuition of space or cause is present, and is recognized in precisely the same way.

All that is meant is that the mind is so constituted that it perceives certain things to be true without proof, and without instruction. †

And the existence of some kind of Deity is one of these primitive truths. Dr. Cocker expresses the thought in a single sentence:

Inasmuch as man is a religious being, the instincts and emotions of his nature constraining him to worship, there must also be implanted in his rational nature some original *a priori* ideas or laws of thought which furnish the necessary cognition of the object of worship; that is, some native spontaneous cognition of God. ‡

The substance of the thought is, that among the primitive furnishings of human consciousness is an idea of some supreme being, vague and imperfect it may be, but a vital germ from which a satisfactory knowledge of God may be developed. Man, in the legitimate use of his intellectual powers, starts with this original idea, and never halts until, aided by other forms of revelation, he reaches a complete theism. Lotze well expresses the necessity of both reason and revelation in order to attain a complete conception of Deity:

If reason is not of itself capable of finding the highest truth, but, on the contrary, stands in need of a revelation which is either contained in some divine act of historic occurrence or is continually repeated in men's hearts, still reason must be able to understand the revealed truth at least so far as to recognize in it the satisfying and convincing conclusion of those upward-soaring trains of thought which reason itself began, led by its own needs, but was not able to bring to an end. §

But the revelation of God in human consciousness does not cease with a presentation of the primitive idea of his existence.

* Dr. Mark Hopkins's *Outline Study of Man*, p. 78.
† Dr. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, vol. i, p. 192.
‡ *Christianity and Greek Philosophy*, p. 165.
§ *Microcosmus*, vol. ii, p. 660.

We should anticipate more or less of communion between the Supreme Spirit and subordinate spirits during the entire history of their relations. If God is the infinite Being we take him to be, his very presence in the universe must put a continual pressure on his creatures. In all stages of the process by which man reaches a clear conception of the God of the Bible, and a personal sense of his favor, the religious consciousness is a potential factor. The revelation of God to man is necessarily progressive and limited, because God is infinite and man finite, and at every step the divine presence is manifest to close all gaps in the evidence, and insure certainty.

In addition to the spontaneous idea in consciousness, God ceaselessly maintains communication with man through those laws of the mind by which the processes of thought and feeling are carried forward. Man's mental operations are not independent of God. The God-ward side of metaphysics is not commonly recognized, or even understood. We speak of the laws of thought and feeling which regulate all our mental processes, and are apt to halt at the laws, forgetting that when we touch law we touch God, or rather that God touches us through law. The operations of the human intellect and sensibility are so superintended by Deity that the proper conditions are furnished for the wise exercise of free choice. And while God influences man normally through the laws of the intellect and sensibility, right thoughts and feelings are insured, and the exercise of free-will made possible. Men touch God by these two faculties, the intellect and sensibility, and through them he is ceaselessly conveying a knowledge of himself and his will.

There is evidence of the presence of God in all the processes of thought and feeling—evidence that he puts his approval on correct thought and feeling, and stamps the opposite with disapproval. We find something very like conscience in all the operations of the mind. If a chain of argument is complete, though it may have no relation to morals or religion, the mind finds a satisfaction in it which is akin to the approval of conscience. If, however, a link in the chain be missing the intellect experiences a sense of unrest and dissatisfaction analogous to the disapproval of conscience. The intellect is offended when the eternal principles of truth are violated.

God speaks to the intellect, and there is mental disquiet when his voice is not heeded. A similar disturbance may be traced in the sensibility when the proper emotions of the mind are outraged. God presses upon men the necessity of correct thought and right feeling, and furnishes a back-ground for all their mental operations.

The revelation of God in the human mind is intensified at certain points, and there we can study it to best advantage. In the consideration of questions relating to morals and religion the mind seems to be especially conscious of contact with the divine. Through the conscience God speaks to men in the interests of good morals. Conscience cannot be regarded as a separate faculty of the mind, but rather a name for one of the mind's operations. Dr. Cocker says:

> Conscience and consciousness may be regarded as in some respects identical. . . . Consciousness expresses self-knowledge in general. Conscience expresses self-knowledge in relation to responsibility. Consciousness is the recognition by the thinking subject of its own states and affections. Conscience is the knowledge of an act or an affection as having some moral quality—as being right or wrong.*

Dr. McCosh calls the decisions of conscience "moral cognitions," † which is a very happy phrase.

All the affirmations respecting conscience, reduced to their lowest terms, simply indicate that the mind of man is so constituted as to perceive moral distinctions—the difference between right and wrong—just as it is so constituted as to perceive mathematical distinctions—the difference, for instance, between a circle and a square. There is no objection to saying that man has a moral nature, nor is there any objection to saying that he has a mathematical nature.

> The sense of obligation in itself is, like the sense of logical sequence, elementary, and, like it, is part and parcel of our mental constitution. ‡

To say that man has a conscience is merely to say that the human mind is so constructed as to discern the difference between right and wrong, and feel a pleasure in doing the right, but a pain in doing the wrong. And, furthermore, it is so consti-

* *Theistic Conception of the World*, p. 373. † *Intuitions of the Mind*, p. 251.
‡ Duke of Argyle, *Unity of Nature*, p. 315.

tuted that it refers right and wrong to the authority of a higher Being, and interprets the pleasure or pain as, in substance, the favor or disfavor of this higher Being. So that man clearly touches God in the conscience, and adds to the fact of his existence the important discovery that he is a Being who loves the right and hates the wrong, and holds men to the same attitude toward them. It must suffice here to say, without argument, that the principles of right are not found in the nature of things, nor in the arbitrary will of God, but inhere in the character of the Divine Being. Lotze well says, "that eternal truths are neither antecedent norms nor subsequent products of the divine activity; but are nothing else than the actual form of this very energizing."* And Dr. Frank says, in substance, that if morality is not traced back to a person it vanishes.†

The operations of the human mind take place along the lines indicated by the intellect, sensibility, and will, and what is termed conscience must find its place within the bounds of these categories. Conscience involves the activity of both the intellect and the sensibility. There is the intellectual ability to distinguish right from wrong, and a powerful emotion, pleasant or unpleasant, in the practice of right or wrong. The prevalent custom in metaphysical discussions of separating the mind into faculties has often resulted in confusion. These "faculties" simply stand for powers of the mind, and a plain statement, in common language, is, that the human mind is capable of distinguishing right from wrong, and of feeling pleasure or pain when it does right or wrong.

This capability is the preparation in man for a revelation of God as the great Lawgiver. Here is one of the sensitive points in man's nature, where the pressure of Deity is most readily felt. The impress of a righteous God can be read in the constitution of man's mind. Along the channel of the intellect, when all the conditions of thought are fulfilled, comes the clear cognition of right and wrong, while the sensibility stirs with a profound emotion friendly to the right and hostile to the wrong. Divine fingers ceaselessly sweep these two strings of the complex harp of the human mind, awakening a blissful melody of right thought and right feeling, that man

* *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 92. † *Christian Certainty*, p. 317.

may never unknowingly or pleasurably do wrong. Conscience is the voice of God, then, in the sense that the laws of its operation are really the pressure of Deity on the human mind in the interests of righteousness.

God is also especially revealed to men in religious experience, which has its roots in consciousness. "Experience is the outgrowth of consciousness, as consciousness is the ground of experience."* Religion is founded on the idea of communion between man and God, the worshiper and the Being worshiped. Religion is the establishment and maintenance of proper relations between God and his intelligent creatures, and these relations imply knowledge and communion. Doubtless God touches man most intimately and tenderly in his religious life; and the reality of his religious experience he will not suffer to be challenged.

While the religious experience peculiar to Christianity is the highest and noblest to which man has attained, it is nevertheless true that the same sense of communion with Deity, less rich and not clearly defined, is discernible among the pagan religions. Undoubtedly the grandest illustration of this, as well as the richest fruit of heathenism, is to be found in the life of Socrates, who opened many of his most profound philosophical discussions with prayer for divine guidance. "Many professed Christian writers, both metaphysicians and theologians, might here take a lesson from the heathen philosopher."† Socrates likewise claimed the inspiration of a special divinity in the choice and prosecution of his vocation, and what Christian will venture to declare that he was deluded? Many other noted men among the heathen have traced greatness and goodness in man to a celestial source. Cicero's famous saying, "No man was ever great without some divine afflatus," may stand by the side of Seneca's, "No one is a good man without God."

The personal religious experience commences with a conviction of sin, and this is nothing less than the voice of God sounding ominously in the human soul. The sense of sin is universal. It may be so rudimentary as to escape accurate definition among those farthest removed from the light of Christianity, but a consciousness of unworthiness is upon mankind,

* Dr. Mendenhall, *Plato and Paul*, p. 678.

† Dr. Tayler Lewis, *Plato against the Atheists*, p. 148.

and it is received as a divine condemnation. And this recognition of sin takes more definite shape and assumes greater power as men emerge from ignorance and barbarism, until, under the Christian system, it is accepted as unquestionably the voice of God calling on men to forsake the ways of sin and walk in the paths of righteousness. Unconverted men confess that the Spirit of God moves with mighty power upon their souls. Men who still resist God, and refuse to obey him, make no secret of the fact that a divine influence presses upon them with persistence and authority. Their intellects are cleared; the breast-work of doubts and cavils behind which they were hiding is swept away; they see the truth; they are conscious that God reasons with them, overmatching them in the argument, and leaving them no alternative but to know their duty. And the sensibility is stirred to its profoundest depths. Emotions of hope, fear, longing, apprehension, seethe and rage within them like an angry flame. They are conscious that God is the source of this commotion. Though resisting the pressure, and under every motive to construe it away, they do not doubt that God convicts them of sin, and urges them to a life of holiness. Such experiences have been common to Christendom for eighteen hundred years. And these are not the testimonies of Christians only, who might be interested to bolster the validity of religious experience, but also of men who refuse to be experimental Christians—who fight and resist these impressions until they are withdrawn. Yet they express no doubt that God spoke to them in the clear sense of duty, the awful burden of responsibility, and the fierce emotions that accompanied conviction of sin. These men would be glad to believe themselves mistaken, but the testimony of consciousness leaves them no choice. The entire history of what is termed "conviction" is a compact argument, attested by saint and sinner, for the validity of a revelation of God in human consciousness.

From conviction God urges men on to regeneration, and every-where declares himself against sin, and on the side of holiness. An intelligent man, accustomed to interpret his mental states, will one hour declare that the displeasure of God rests upon him on account of his sin, and the next hour he will assert, with equal assurance, that his sins are forgiven, and

he is restored to the favor of his Maker. The same voice which uttered words of condemnation and filled the mind with gloom and sorrow now speaks in approval, and divine peace rests on the soul. And, accompanying this change of feeling, is a radical change of thought and purpose respecting religious questions, showing that the operations of the mind have been readjusted by some higher power in the interests of righteousness. And this change results not in a transient mood, but a permanent state of holiness; the life is sanctified by it and the character beautified. The man is certain that he himself did not accomplish this transformation. He is equally assured that it did not proceed from any human source. He ascribes it to a divine power; and while he willingly holds himself under this power the change abides; but if, in the exercise of his freedom, he withdraws from under this higher influence, the change lapses, and he returns to his original state of sin and condemnation. Millions of conversions, in the history of Christianity, attest the whole or a part of this religious experience. Dr. Frank uses an admirable illustration:

> If the spectral analysis has succeeded, by dint of observing the broken light in the spectrum, in pointing out to a certain extent the chemical constituents of the solar body, inasmuch as the sunlight shining around us, and enabling us to see, is no other than that which has beamed forth from the sun, why should it be contradictory and unfeasible to read in the spectrum of the regenerate human personality, and to recognize what that sun is whence the rays proceed which enter there?*

Accompanying this extensive change from conviction of sin to entire sanctification, and certifying its every phase, is the witness of the Spirit, which is nothing less than the voice of God assuring us of our religious condition and relations. Christians in all ages have agreed that God does testify in the human soul respecting sin, its dangers and woes, and respecting holiness and the hopes and joys resulting therefrom. These are experiences that transpire in human consciousness, and Christians of all ages and races, the learned and unlearned, the thoughtful and thoughtless, have an unshaken confidence in them, and smile at those who raise the cry of delusion.

Is the religious experience of the past eighteen hundred years, in connection with the spread of Christianity, a reality,

* *Christian Certainty*, p. 298.

or is it a baseless chimera? This experience claims to be a continuous and wide-spread revelation of God in human consciousness—his power to convict of sin, deliver from sin, and give assurance of salvation. To deny that God speaks in human consciousness is to discredit religious experience, and convict all Christians of fanaticism. If Christian experience be a delusion, then we can be sure of nothing that takes place in the human mind. The entire contents of consciousness must share the fate of religious experience. The intellect pursues a train of reasoning, and experiences a supreme satisfaction in reaching a logical conclusion; a mother looks on her new-born babe with an intense yearning of affection; as the eye surveys a beautiful landscape, a delightful emotion is awakened in the mind; a man contemplates the character of God, and his soul is filled with awe, reverence, and love. If one of these mental states can be singled out as unreliable, the others are left without foundation; all our subjective experiences are untrustworthy, and human life itself is a delusion. And with the subjective experience vanishes the objective reality. If we cannot know the experiences of consciousness as real we cannot know the mind itself as real. God, self, the universe, are abandoned, and we launch into a dreary agnosticism.

Thus far a bare statement has been given of the theory of the "religious consciousness." Two questions will at once arise for consideration:

First, has it validity? The answer to this question must be, that the theory can be valid merely for those who accept it. If any man looks into his consciousness and can find there no spontaneous idea of God, and no evidence that divine influences have been exerted upon him, it will matter not though a million other men aver the opposite, the theory has no validity for him. He may receive the testimony of others, but at best it is a mere matter of hearsay. Subjective experiences have little meaning outside of the mind where they originate. If, however, on comparison, many men find themselves possessed of a like experience, its trustworthiness is greatly confirmed thereby, and the man who has it not is left in an exceptional position. He may nevertheless be interested in the historical fact that men have almost universally found a spontaneous idea of God in consciousness, together with a conscience and a

sense of unworthiness; and those accepting Christianity in all its fullness have heard the voice of God in conviction, regeneration, and the witness of the Spirit.

The second question is, granting the validity of the theory, what is its value? The objection will be promptly made that it is inadequate to the demands of theism. The answer is, that it is not intended to supersede the other evidences, but to supplement and enrich them. It will require all the arguments to identify the God furnished in consciousness with the Absolute of philosophy, the God of nature, and the God of the Bible; and even then, to some minds, the chain of evidence will not be complete. The impression in consciousness furnishes to theism a philosophical starting-point, and, in the use of his powers of reason, man must proceed from this beginning to a fully developed system. He must inquire whether God has made other revelations to verify and interpret this spontaneous belief. The God presented in consciousness is by no means the perfect and glorious Being revealed in Scripture, and a long chain of evidence is necessary to connect the two, and show that they are not inconsistent with each other.

> Just as sensation needs reason to interpret and arrange it, and without reason remains chaotic, so the feeling of the divine needs reason to interpret it; and without reason and conscience it remains a confused suspicion of an object which can be neither escaped nor understood. But just as sensation is an absolute condition of perception, so this feeling of God is the absolute condition of theistic belief. The reflective reason does not originate it, but justifies and rectifies it. The arguments for theism have never originated the belief, but have only aimed to give reasons for the belief already there.*

The uncertainty in the line of evidence for the existence of God appears most positively as we advance from the primitive idea, which is marked not only by universality but by some degree of uniformity. When men, in the exercise of their reasoning faculties, and in the use of the materials furnished in philosophy, nature, and human history, attempt to develop the germ furnished in consciousness into a complete theology, very great diversity at once appears. The imagination plays a conspicuous part, and bedecks the solid certainties of consciousness with fantastic ornaments. That the content of consciousness

* Bowne, *Studies in Theism*, p. 81.

may be erroneously interpreted and developed, the ethnic religions afford ample proof. The Greek, starting with the original idea, developed Olympian Zeus, with his anger, lust, and power. The Hindus, from the same beginning, found their way to cruel, bloodthirsty Kali. The same germ in the Scandinavian mind grew into the warrior god Odin. And, not content with a single divinity, each system developed its peculiar pantheon. The Christian, from the spontaneous impression in consciousness, feels his way, by various arguments, to the Infinite, the God of nature, and the God of the Bible, and seeks to identify them. In the use of his reasoning faculties he connects, as best he is able, the revelation presented as a primitive idea in consciousness, with all other revelations, and reaches the sublime conclusion that there is only one God who fills the universe so full that men cannot escape a consciousness of his presence, who further reveals himself as the Architect of nature, and who completes his revelation by sending his Son to accomplish human salvation.

There are perilous points in the chain of Christian evidences, and it avails nothing to disguise or ignore difficulties. After all has been done that is possible, there is room for many philosophical cavils, and each mind will be required to judge for itself whether any links in the chain are missing. At the very outset a question will be raised respecting the exact measurement of the idea furnished in consciousness. It is no easy task to determine precisely how much is given. Professor Flint says:

> Religion is man's communion with what he believes to be a god, or gods; his sense of relationship to, and dependence on, a higher and mysterious agency, with all the thoughts, emotions, and actions which proceed therefrom. The communion may be dark and gross, and find expression in impure rites, or, it may be, in spirit and truth, and expressed in ways which educate and elevate both mind and heart.*

"It is in the general sense of a Being on whom we are dependent, and to whom we are responsible, that the idea is asserted to exist universally and of necessity in every human mind." † "It is no argument against our view that the perception of God is vague, and in itself almost formless." ‡

* *Theism*, p. 32. † Dr. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, p. 195.
‡ Bowne's *Theism*, p. 80.

It is not claimed that the spontaneous idea of God in consciousness is other than rudimentary and ill-defined. The element of infinity, which is essential to a correct conception of Deity, enters but imperfectly into it, and in many cases is doubtless overlooked. The element of personality, however, for the most part appears, in an obscured condition, in all ethnic religions. The object of worship is first conceived as a great vague being, above man and above nature, and his attributes are afterward adjusted very much in harmony with the leading characteristics of the various nations. In fact, it is difficult to determine just how much is included in the original idea, or the exact measure of its intensity. Races have not attempted any definition of their conceptions of Deity until more or less complete theologies have grown up, and no attempt has been made to analyze these conceptions and trace them to their sources. Only recently have men inquired how much is given in the original idea, and how much has been added by subsequent reasoning. If it were possible to strip a man of all the conceptions of Deity derived from the vision of nature, from the history of man, and from the Bible, it might be not difficult to determine how much is left. Whether it will be possible to so accurately analyze the full-grown blossom of theism as to define the limits of the original germ is a problem for metaphysicians to deal with, and it is not clear that the solution will be readily reached.

All that can be considered as established is, that an idea of God finds a lodgment in human consciousness—a vague impression of some superhuman being too great to be wholly unknown. The history of the race may furnish varying answers respecting the exact content of the idea in consciousness, and there may be room for questions and objections—but all answers will agree in certain essential particulars. An idea of God is furnished to mankind; vague and ill-defined it may be, but an impression of the presence of a Deity is undoubtedly common to the race. And the God revealed is a person, a being in some respects like ourselves. The idea of bodily form may, or may not, be present. More commonly there is a conception of an unseen spirit represented by a visible image. And this being, this spirit, is above man—is vast, powerful, resistless, supersensuous, an object of dread, claiming reverence

and obedience. Evaporate the idea to the last degree, and there is yet left a residuum which has been substantially the same for all races and all times, and which affords an ample germ for some system of theism. Enough is given to furnish a starting-point for a full assurance of the existence of God, and of man's responsibility to him.

Another purely metaphysical cavil, and yet one of great importance, since it involves the validity of all knowledge, has respect to the reality of the object foreshadowed by the idea. Has the subjective idea an objective reality? How do we know that there is any thing more than the impression in consciousness? Is there any God corresponding to the idea? The answer to this objection, while it may not prove with mathematical certainty the reality of a divine existence, will, nevertheless, leave us no alternative but to choose between God and agnosticism. If we deny the existence of God on this ground, we must likewise deny the existence of all things. We know God as fully as we know other beings and objects. As there is an outer world in which the forms and activities of nature impress themselves on the sense-perception and compel assent to their reality and influence, so there is an inner world where unseen things vindicate their reality and power and assert the very highest authority over men. This is an important line of thought, and it may be valuable to take testimony upon it.

Professor Harris says:

> The essential point of difficulty as to the reality of any knowledge is at the transition from the subjective impression to the objective reality. This difficulty, however, is no greater in knowing God than in knowing other beings. . . . The knowledge makes this transition, and remains equally real as knowledge whether the object is a body presented through the sensorium or a human being presented bodily through the senses, and in his spiritual personality through the spiritual susceptibilities and powers, or God revealed through the spiritual and distinctively religious susceptibilities and powers.*

Dr. Mulford remarks:

> There is no demonstration of the being of the physical world. If one denies its being, no proof can meet the denial. It is true that man by the senses—by the physical organs—has a direct

* *Self-Revelation of God*, pp. 75, 77.

perception of the physical world, the eye sees, and it is a waste of thought to carry the subject through metaphysical speculation. But this does not demonstrate the certainty of the physical world to one who denies it. Then it is alone the spirit in man that discerns the things of the spirit. It may be said that one lives and acts on the assumption of the existence of the physical; but in a higher degree is it true that man lives and acts on the assumption of the reality of the spiritual.*

Dr. Pope says:

The constitution of human nature is such that it naturally develops a consciousness of God, when God presents himself, even as it grows up into a consciousness of self and of the outer world.†

Newman Smyth declares:

Our point of departure in the investigation of the religious nature corresponds with the point from which physical science starts upon its voyage of discovery. In exploring either hemisphere of our double nature we must begin with corresponding facts, and proceed by analogous methods; and the experiences gained have similar claims upon rational credence.‡

Professor Winchell observes:

To assert the authority of our belief in the reality either of the external world or of the world within ourselves is, by implication, to announce the authority of that universal faith of humanity which affirms Supreme Divinity.§

And Professor Flint has beautifully said:

Our knowledge of God is obtained as simply and naturally as our knowledge of our fellow-men. It is obtained, in fact, mainly in the same way. . . . The Father in heaven is known just as a father on earth is known. . . . A child is not long in learning to know that a spirit is near it. As soon as it knows itself, it easily detects a spirit like its own, yet other than itself, when the signs of a spirit's activity are presented to it.‖

Holding to a rational realism, these writers, and many more, insist that our knowledge of God is as reliable as our knowledge of man and nature. Dr. Frank also draws out an elaborate parallel between the manifestation of God and the manifestation of material things in the human consciousness,¶ but greatly jeopardizes the argument by admitting a doubt as

* *Republic of God*, p. 96.
† *Compend. of Christian Theology*, vol. i, p. 235.
‡ *Religious Feeling*, p. 17, *sq.*
§ *Science and Religion*, p. 303.
‖ *Theism*, pp. 76, 89.
¶ *Christian Certainty*, pp. 53–132.

to the reality of matter. Professor Bowne,* likewise Professor Drummond,† and others who lean toward idealism, use this argument, but subject it to the same peril. If we know God as we know material things, and matter is non-existent, it is a short path to the conclusion that God is also non-existent. [None of these deny phenomenal objectivity.]

> If I am necessarily ignorant of the existence of the external world, and of the personal *ego*, or real self, I must be equally ignorant of the existence of God. If one is a mere supposition, an illusion, so the other must be.‡

To break down the validity of knowledge at one point is like the letting out of waters. But holding fast the reality of the physical universe, we may argue the reality of the spiritual.

We must admit the validity of all that is revealed in consciousness, or we destroy the value of testimony from that source. The same difficulties arise in grasping the reality of finite beings and material things as we meet in reaching the reality of the Divine Being. Material objects and finite beings impress themselves in perception, but we never actually touch the reality. The interactions of spirit and matter are an unexplained mystery. An absolute gulf stretches between spirit and matter; and as yet no bridge has been found to span it. But for this reason we do not doubt the reality of matter. The gulf is narrow; we can look across it, and hear across it, and study nature with much satisfaction. All the operations of physical science are carried on across this chasm. In spite of this philosophical break in our reasoning, very few have been rash enough to deny the existence of matter. It is ever present with us, it presses against us, it touches our eyes and ears, it enters into our experience, it is revealed in consciousness, and we never think of doubting its reality even though a link be missing in the philosophical chain of evidence that proves its existence.

There is an unbridged gulf between all subjective ideas of the mind and the objective realities represented by them; and if we cannot know across this gulf then all knowledge is impossible. This is the great problem of metaphysics, which may never be solved, and yet the operations of the universe

* *Theism*, p. 79, *seq.* † *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, introd., pp. 11, 25.
‡ Cocker, *Christianity and Greek Philosophy*, p. 197.

proceed as usual. Men persist in believing in the existence of matter, even though they have not yet determined its relations to mind. While a few, standing face to face with these difficulties, have been driven in despair to deny the reality of the external world, the mass of mankind calmly believe in the existence of matter, and are content to leave the philosophical difficulties to the investigations of the future.

In like manner men have received an impression of the existence of a supernatural Being, and have confidently connected this subjective idea with an objective reality, whether or not the metaphysical links were always visible. Human opinion on this question has marched triumphantly onward, hardly perceptibly jostled by all the philosophical cavils that have aimed to make a belief in the existence of God irrational and impossible. It seems the doom of human life thus far to rest on assumptions respecting the reality of self, nature, and God which are not susceptible of philosophical demonstration. But men have shown no inclination to abandon their innate belief in the reality of things at the behests of philosophy.

A final objection, and perhaps the most important of all, for the reason that it is not altogether speculative, relates to the links that bind the several revelations together. Consciousness furnishes an idea of Deity, philosophy finds an Absolute, nature discloses an Architect, the Bible reveals a Sovereign and Father—does the chain of evidence prove them one and the same person? The answer to this question must, of course, be furnished by the usual arguments by which the existence of the Christian's God has been sought to be established. We must recognize the validity of these lines of evidence, or Christian theism breaks down. It is not our purpose here to estimate the value of these arguments. Each thinker must judge of them for himself, and, finding them conclusive, theism for him will rest on a secure basis.

Starting with a vague, primitive conception, the human mind endeavors, in the exercise of its powers, and in the use of the data furnished in consciousness, to determine something respecting this Divinity. The questions will arise: Is there but one, or are there many? Is the Deity limited or unlimited? In the gropings of the human mind after light, many centuries may be employed in answering these questions.

Wrong answers may be given, and it is the work of the broadest intellectual culture to attain the right conclusion. The acute Greeks were content to worship their many gods until Socrates reasoned his way up to the conception of the Absolute, the personal, the one God, and died a martyr to monotheism. The primitive impression in consciousness does not furnish a clear and complete idea of the Absolute; philosophy has developed this idea, and to this extent has rendered a service in unfolding a system of theism. Greek philosophy, by teaching the doctrine of the Absolute, destroyed polytheism, and asserted the existence of an infinite, personal God. Modern philosophy has deteriorated somewhat, in that it raises questions respecting the personality of God, while it yet clings to the idea of the Absolute as a philosophical necessity.

A few philosophers, such as Kant and Hamilton, have denied that the human mind can *know* the existence of the Absolute; but this they regarded as a metaphysical, and not a practical, difficulty—they continued to *believe in* the Absolute. The verdict of philosophy is, that the existence of the Absolute is a necessity of human thought. There can be but one Absolute; and the human mind very readily connects the vague impression in consciousness with the highest conception of philosophy, and accepts their identity. Dr. Noah Porter has well expressed the conclusion that thinkers in general have reached:

> We do not demonstrate that God exists, but that every man must assume that he is. We analyze the several processes of knowledge in their underlying assumptions, and we find that the one assumption which underlies them all is a self-existent intelligence, who not only can be known by man, but who *must* be known by man, in order that man may know any thing else besides.*

Some, however, are not willing to accept this opinion, but find in the Absolute a principle rather than a person, and trace no connection between the deduction of philosophy and any spontaneous idea in consciousness.

Proceeding from the Absolute we stand face to face with man and nature to inquire after their origin. Here the usual cosmological, teleological, and ontological arguments are employed which have made such a powerful impression on the

* *Intellectual Science*, p. 555.

common mind. Though these arguments may not prove the Architect of the universe to be an infinite Being, yet the immensity of his creation and the ideas of time and space which press upon the mind in its contemplation of the universe go far to connect the God of nature with the Absolute of philosophy; and the study of the human mind, with its vast powers and limitations, and its mysterious glimpses through and beyond those limitations, suggests an infinite mind as its Creator. While many philosophers and scientists stumble at this crossing, and find in nature nothing but principle, or law, or force, the common mind easily makes the transition and discovers an infinite personal God—the Architect of the universe, and the Father of human spirits.

The last task of theism is to identify the God of all previous revelations with the God of the Bible. The main reliance for this purpose is the historical proofs of the truthfulness of the Bible, aided by the revelations of God in human consciousness in connection with religious experience. The evidence of God in conviction and regeneration will point back to the original impression in consciousness, and awaken probability that the same Being is the source of all these manifestations. The reenforcement which consciousness brings to the historical evidence, however, can be valid only for Christians, or those who are in full accord with Christian testimony. For those whose standpoint is entirely outside of religious experience the historical evidence must rest solely on its merits.

Some hesitate to accept the historical proofs of the truthfulness of the Bible, but it is matter of surprise that the number is so limited. In any community where these proofs are understood and measured, the almost unanimous verdict is that they connect the God of all previous revelations with the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. And for those who accept it the direct revelation of God in the Bible seems beautifully to supplement and explain all other revelations.

It is difficult to analyze the actual contents of the various arguments for the existence of God, and assign to each its legitimate measure of influence. The original impression is born in the mind, and we are never free from its power; the universe presses upon us for explanation, and points to a personal Creator; our own struggling, longing spirits lead us up

to an Absolute Spirit; conscience proclaims the law of righteousness in our hearts as the dictum of a supreme Lawgiver; tradition to the heathen and the Bible to the Christian speak with the authority of a direct revelation, and from all these sources springs the broad system of theism. We cannot help feeling, however, that the original idea in consciousness is the germ of theism, and that to many individuals, and perhaps to some whole tribes of men, it has been the only tie to bind the creature to the Creator. Some tribes have been so degraded as to be unable to reflect on nature or human life, and yet God has touched them through this spontaneous impression. Many individuals in reflecting on the universe have lost themselves in speculation, and reached, as a conclusion, doubt and error and atheism. Others have marched to the same goal by the path of moral delinquency. But while men have thus, by logical jugglery, or by sin, broken their hold on God, he has not relaxed his grasp on them. In spite of their logic, or their sin, God has spoken in conscience or by his Spirit, and their souls have trembled at his presence.

The value of the argument from consciousness is found in the fact that it furnishes a starting-point for theism, and its golden threads are woven into the entire system. Shining most conspicuously in the original idea of Deity, it nevertheless appears in man's intellectual and moral nature, and in the religious experience of Christendom. Just how much weight mankind would attach to the other arguments for the existence of God, were it not for this original and wide-spread impression, it is impossible to determine, for we are never out from under its influence. Dr. Frank insists that without this evidence in consciousness all other arguments would not suffice to maintain a belief in God.

> With dialectic arguments God is not to be apprehended, notwithstanding this his nearness, and only to the man who has felt his hand in the heart will this hand be manifest in the works of creation.*

This sense of the divine abiding in human consciousness is an evidence for the existence of God which penetrates and re-enforces all other arguments, filling up all chasms in the path of theism, and giving to mankind an assurance that is unshaken

* *Christian Certainty*, p. 324.

by logical cavils. It oversteps the boundaries of all nations and races, survives all political, social, philosophical, and religious revolutions, and is not halted by any obstacles that beset its pathway. The idea of God is peculiarly marked by the "persistence" which is a test of spontaneous knowledge; and the multiplication of philosophical difficulties seems in no way to endanger it in the belief of mankind. Dr. Cocker says:

> The resistless tide of spontaneous and necessary thought has always borne the race onward toward the recognition of a great First Cause; and though philosophy may have erred, again and again, in tracing the logical order of this inevitable thought, and exhibiting the necessary nexus between the premises and conclusion, yet the human mind has never wavered in the confidence which it has reposed in the natural logic of thought, and man has never ceased to believe in a God.*

If we insist that all the metaphysical difficulties must be removed before knowledge is possible, we shall find no God, but rather lose the Bible, the beautiful universe, and ourselves. A more thorough study of the operations of the human mind may remove the logical obstacles that lie in the pathway of knowledge; but, whether this result must be reached or not, men will continue to act on the assumption that they have knowledge of their own existence, the existence of the universe, and the existence of God. Such knowledge is necessary, or human life vanishes. The vindication of the validity of the evidences of theism is found in the fact that through them God has satisfied mankind of his existence.

The drift of philosophical thought at the present time is unmistakably in favor of a full recognition of the revelations of consciousness; and Christian thought is giving peculiar emphasis to its subjective ideas and impressions in proof of the existence of God and the reality of religious experience. This line of evidence undoubtedly has great value, and, if it be not burdened with too great responsibility, will serve a valuable purpose in the interests of theism and Christianity.

* *Christianity and Greek Philosophy*, p. 173.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

BISHOP WILLIAM TAYLOR.

I. His Official Status.

The remark, quoted with approbation by John Wesley, that "God made practical divinity necessary, the devil controversial," is especially emphasized when the disputed points are about Church politics, and the controversy raised is made to interfere with the work of saving souls. We see, however, and with sincere regret, that precisely such a question is being bruited in the papers of the Church concerning Bishop Taylor's official *status;* and it is especially to be deprecated that in some cases these discussions have manifested a decidedly partisan spirit with uncharitable personal references. Accepting to a very limited extent the necessity of which Wesley further speaks, we propose to briefly notice a few of the legal points involved, and then proceed to the more congenial duty of looking after the work in which Bishop Taylor is engaged—its eminently apostolical character and the practical lessons that it is teaching.

It is well known to all who are informed respecting our Church's affairs, that at the General Conference of 1856 measures were initiated looking to the election of a class of officers till then unknown in our Church, to be called Missionary Bishops or Superintendents, "for any of our foreign missions, limiting his [their] jurisdiction to the same respectively." This measure was championed by Dr. Durbin, who, without conceding that the General Conference was not entirely competent, outside of the third restrictive rule as it then was, to create such an office, in order to obviate any possible scruples chose the process of adding the second part to that rule, by which the election of such an officer is directly provided for. Under that provision two "missionary bishops for Africa" had been duly constituted, when in May, 1884, the office having been vacant for a number of years, the General Conference resolved to appoint still another, by direct election, who should also be consecrated at the same time with the four regular general superintendents just then elected; and accordingly William Taylor was so chosen and consecrated, the third in the order of succession of the "Missionary Bishops for Africa." So far every thing seems to be plain and easy to be understood, and there is no evidence that either the new incumbent or any body else was at all in doubt respecting the nature of the office to which he had been called—its functions and the extent of its jurisdiction. His appointment made him the superintendent of the missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Africa, present or prospective, and in addition to the usual functions of such officer it endowed him with certain episcopal powers within his designated "jurisdiction."

As it is presumed that Bishop Taylor understood the character of his office when he accepted it, so there is no proof that he has since entertained any different opinions on the subject. He evidently understands that he is clothed with all needful authority for the performance of his great work, and that he is free to use it according to his own godly judgment; and all that he is doing right grandly. Without disrespect or depreciation, it may be said of him that less than most other men in similar positions is he troubled about ecclesiastical theories. Were he ambitious of a name and of renown, what more could he crave than to be the representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the sole superintendent of its missions in his designated field, and that field a whole continent with nearly a hundred million people—and authorized, within that field, to perform all the functions of a Methodist bishop? But some who assume to be *par excellence* the friends of Bishop Taylor have raised the question of his episcopal *status*, claiming that he is a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church *per se*, and that the episcopal "character" inures in himself and must accompany him wherever he may be. This seems to be the logic of the claim set up, which also carries with it certain implications respecting the nature of our episcopacy which may not be accepted without inquiry. If the well-established Methodist theory is kept in mind, to wit, that the episcopate is not an *order*, but simply an office, then all is simple and entirely plain. Episcopacy, as it has existed and been maintained in the general Church for fifteen hundred years, is not a scriptural order, but only an ecclesiastical arrangement. Bishops, according to the apostolical epistles, were pastors of local churches, and a little later, according to the "Didache" lately discovered, they were itinerant evangelists and visitors, with only advisory powers. The notion of an episcopal order, above and beyond the usual grade of Christian ministers, originated with the departure of the Church from the simplicity of primitive times, and it has been the fruitful source of corruption at every period of the Church's subsequent career. It is something with which Protestants, and especially Methodists, should have no part.

As a missionary bishop is the superintendent of a foreign mission, clothed with some of the functions which in the home Church have been exclusively devolved upon the general superintendents, so these latter are simply *presiding elders*, with the whole area of the denomination for their common district, having also committed to them certain functions which, by common consent, all others are forbidden to use. In ministerial order, or character, pastors, presiding elders, and bishops are the same; they are one in *kind*, but they have, to some extent, diverse duties. These diverse offices, however, are not specifically ordained in Scripture, but are only ecclesiastical appointments, devices of human wisdom (not excluding the guidance of the Spirit), and are included among the things which "every particular Church may ordain, change, or abolish." (Article of Religion XXII.)

With this view of the case in mind it cannot be difficult to understand the proper legal *status* of a missionary bishop. The missionary function

underlies and defines the episcopal—the latter is simply a qualification of the former. A pastor is such only within his pastorate, and a presiding elder has no official power except within his proper district; for nobody pretends that the presiding eldership is an *order* having its proper *prerogatives*, and not simply an *office*, charged with certain *functions*. The territorial episcopate of a general superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church is conterminous with the denomination, but beyond those limits his official powers are terminated. This broad extent of the episcopal field was ordained by the constituent General Conference, and the delegated General Conference of the present time is forbidden by its fundamental law to destroy that "plan;" nor was that restriction removed by the clauses added in 1856 respecting a missionary bishop. Until 1856 the entire work of the ministry was distributed among the pastors, presiding elders, and bishops; but since that time still another functionary has been recognized, called "a missionary bishop," appointed to serve "in any (particular one) of our foreign missions," with his jurisdiction specifically limited to the same. Within his properly defined field he may exercise certain functions which elsewhere belong only to the general superintendents; but beyond it, his special authority does not extend; and if he for any cause travels abroad, his episcopal powers are for the time being in abeyance—be becomes like any other Methodist minister among the same conditions. His episcopacy is local, and beyond that locality it is not. Should a missionary bishop visit any other mission field than his own he could not perform any properly episcopal work; he could not preside over an Annual Conference, and an ordination by his hands would be legally invalid. Should he visit the United States, his *status* while there would be that of a traveling elder, without official standing. If his services should be desired as a general superintendent the rule of the Discipline (§ 214) must be followed, which says, "A bishop is to be constituted by the election of the General Conference, and the laying on of the hands," etc.; and by virtue of that action, it must be observed, his duties would be so changed that instead of confining his labors to one specified portion of the territory of the Church, he must thereafter "travel through the connection at large," and with his associates in the general superintendency "oversee the spiritual and temporal interests of our (whole) Church." It is thus seen that not only are the offices of a missionary bishop and that of a general superintendent each distinct from the other, but the work of the two is necessarily incompatible. And because we believe that for Bishop Taylor to exchange the work in which he is engaged for the general superintendency of the whole Church would be a limiting rather than enlargement of his usefulness, we should greatly deprecate such a change. His present calling is manifestly in the order of Providence; let him abide in it, with time and opportunities to work out its grand results. And while speedy results may seem to be desirable, it must still be borne in mind that even in the salvation of the world God works by means, and seems never to make haste. Eighteen centuries have been occupied in bringing Christianity to its present state.

II. His Work.

William Taylor, engaged in projecting Christian missions among the pagan savages of Africa, is a spectacle of the sublimest interest. The career upon which he has entered, if continued and prosecuted with a good degree of success, will rival in renown those of Livingstone and Stanley, with the added luster of the thoroughly spiritual character of his work, bringing to the heathen that Gospel for which they were only pioneers and road-makers. The significant fact, as now seen, is, that he is doing something, not speculating on possibilities and asking how, and whom, and by what means, but actually going forward, and at least essaying to bring something to pass; and the great world, as well as the whole Church, has heard of him, and men are observing his movements as those of one engaged in a perilous but heroic enterprise, or as those of the magician walking alone in a charmed circle; and already premature shouts of praise are heard from those who admire greatness, though not themselves great, and whose impatience of delay renders them unmindful of the admonition that it is not wise to exult in an incomplete enterprise. And yet it is wonderful to see him moving unscathed under tropical skies, and among the death-dealing miasmas of African rivers and estuaries, threading their marshes and sleeping in their jungles, unharmed alike by the elements and the beasts of prey and fierce savage men, apparently in a literally realized fulfillment of the Scripture which tells of deliverance from "destruction and death," of a "league with the stones of the field," and which says that "the beasts of the field shall be at peace with thee." Steadily, and apparently with undivided purpose, he is seen going forward in ceaseless activity, and with large plans of action in hand, which he is pursuing with faith and in hope, and for whose outcome he seems content to wait.

Without at all depreciating the divine influences by which he acts, and which are the impelling and directing agencies that are leading him forward, due account must be taken of Bishop Taylor's personal qualities, which are especially displayed in his work. Among these the most considerable is his extraordinary personality, self-concentration resulting in self-reliance and forgetfulness of all else. This quality of mind, if accompanied by real ability in its subject, is mightily effective in one charged with onerous and difficult executive duties. It gives confidence in all undertakings, and evokes its own resources in both the individual and in its auxiliary agents, and is a perpetual assurance of success. It projects the work to be done, selects the auxiliaries, decrees the methods, and proceeds to the execution without any loss of power through divided counsels. These qualities have been manifested in all the life-work of William Taylor; but by reason of the wide field for their operation assigned to him by the Church they have now become the more conspicuous. To sustain the work taken in hand will, indeed, tax these powers to their utmost; and, while all who sympathize with the spirit of the missionary enterprise will earnestly pray and hope for his complete and

abundant success, it must still be remembered that his work is only just begun, that it is yet too soon to look for matured results. To labor on in the patience of faith, sustained by hope in God, is, therefore, the present duty, and especially should all concerned be mindful of the divine word of caution, "Let not him that girdeth on his armor boast himself as he that putteth it off." The campaign now only in preparation is no doubt destined to be long and painful, often beset with discouragements, and at all times calling for earnest and strenuous efforts.

The scheme or ideal of his work is unique; his modes of procedure are bold, almost to temerity, and yet his is evidently the only method that has about it any promise of success. An experiment continued more than fifty years, with an outlay of nearly a million dollars, has demonstrated the ineffectiveness of the methods that have been pursued. If it is well to learn wisdom by one's failures, our work in Liberia affords abundant facilities for the study; it should be cause for rejoicing that Bishop Taylor's work has been projected and will be prosecuted on another plan. His watchword is *forward*, FORWARD, and his objective point the center of the region among whose people he intends to operate, where a lodgment must be effected, and from which aggressive movements may be made. The boldness with which the work has been undertaken, and the disregard of difficulties and dangers, have their fascinations, which may be rendered valuable, and are also liable to become dangerous through temerity and want of foresight. The element of self-support, which is essential to any large success in missionary work, and which, therefore, should always be kept in view and steadily aimed at, but which is, and must somewhat longer continue to be, an unrealized ideal, has perhaps been too much talked about, for Bishop Taylor's African missions have received as large pecuniary favors as the average of new missions to heathen peoples. But that element will be developed, and there can be no question that when once established there are no difficulties in the way of self-support. There may be some danger that too much success in that line may develop the love of acquisition, than which scarcely any thing could be more to be deprecated. But years must be given in which to test the experiment.

III. Its Lessons.

Not the least valuable of the results that may be expected to accrue from Bishop Taylor's work in Africa is its probable influence in modifying the methods of missionary administration in the field and in the home office. It need not be denied that there is more or less danger of a kind of bureaucracy, with its routine and red-tape in the administration of boards and offices. To some extent something of this kind is inevitable, but it always tends to excess, and needs to be broken in upon by spontaneous, and perhaps irregular, movements. Organic ecclesiastical action is usually quite too conservative to utilize opportunities, or to venture upon perilous enterprises. The sure way to accomplish great results is to go about the work, and often that is possible

only through a degree of practical disregard of constituted authority. There is at all times an unused element of men and money that can be called out only by the wild cries and the irregular movements that are usually, perhaps justly, accounted somewhat fanatical. The hardships of ill-provided expeditions may become the most effective discipline for profitable labor; and if the outgoing host shall be depleted till only a few tried souls remain, these shall see the victory. It is expected that a large percentage of those who go out as foreign missionaries will prove failures; and it is not beyond probability that in addition to the confessed failures, others remain in the work from a variety of motives who would better remain at home. It is a good thing for a band of missionaries when the faint hearts fall out by the way; and Bishop Taylor's plan of hard service and poor pay may hasten the process among his not always wisely-selected recruits.

The watchword of "self-support" comes in good time, and it may be hoped that it will accomplish much-needed amendments in the financial affairs of some of our older and well-established missions. It is found to be generally almost absolutely impossible to bring up a mission to the stage of self-support. Like the taste of the bread of the work-house, which is proverbially fatal to manly self-reliance in those who receive it, the continuous and assured receipt of gifts from the home treasury by a foreign mission is far from being wholesome in its action; it will be well, therefore, if under Bishop Taylor's plan Christian communities shall be formed that shall eat their own bread and wear their own clothing, and build their own houses, and cultivate their fields, and learn the Pauline lesson, that they who are fed with spiritual nutriment should not expect that they shall also be fed with carnal things. To do this is a practice that it is often very difficult to bring into use in mission fields.

The promises of eminent success with which there is cause to believe Bishop Taylor will greet the coming General Conference, it may be hoped will encourage that august body to largely increase the number of missionary bishops, and to strengthen and facilitate the tendency evinced by some of the more fully developed missions toward autonomy and self-support.

The policy that has hitherto prevailed, of making foreign missions integral parts of the home Church, and so compelling them to appear as foreign bodies in their several countries, should be changed as rapidly as possible. There should be a local Methodism, with "home-rule," for Germany, for Scandinavia, India, China, and for Japan. This would not necessitate such complete separation from the parent body but that grants in money could be made and their right use assured, and also that missionaries might be sent out to labor among the people, and to teach them the way of the Lord more thoroughly.

WHAT OF THE BIBLE?

This is not a new question; but it is one that needs to be often asked anew, and one which each individual should honestly propound to himself. Nor should it be a difficult question to answer. It may also be said that there is an ever-present, though somewhat indefinite, answer to it in the common thought of Protestant communities; but that answer so far fails to meet not a few of the problems of the general question that it cannot endure the siftings of a rational examination. And this vagueness is no doubt an occasion of weakness in the convictions of the average Protestant believer. It becomes, therefore, a matter of very considerable interest that it should be clearly determined what ought to be believed, and what are the proofs by which such beliefs are supported.

The progress of biblical criticism has of late brought this subject so conspicuously to the front that its consideration has become a necessity. There is evidently springing up a kind of disharmony, more or less clearly pronounced, between the specialists in biblical studies and the traditional consensus of some of the orthodox denominations, which have led to conflicts of opinions among leading theologians, and to divisions in the proceedings of ecclesiastical bodies. A young man of fine scholarship and unquestioned Christian character was lately elected to a responsible place in a venerable theological seminary—one specially distinguished for its unimpeachable orthodoxy—its guardians testifying from personal knowledge to the unimpeachable correctness of his faith. But when his application for license to preach came before the proper ecclesiastical body it was met with objections because of suspicions that his views respecting the inspiration of the Scriptures, and of the "inerrant" correctness of every part of all the accepted canonical books, fell below the required standard. The objections so made, and afterward withdrawn, were not the result either of ignorance or captiousness on the part of those who made them; and yet the fact that they were made for the causes alleged, and also the nature of the further answers made by the candidate, which were accepted as satisfactory, suggest other and very significant inquiries. These things—for the case referred to is not a solitary one—call us back to certain first principles of the faith, and they require a clear and intelligent answer to the question at the head of this paper.

The distinctive point of difference between Romanism and Protestantism relates to the ultimate authority that must determine in matters of Christian doctrine. The former claims that it abides in the Church, (that is, of Rome,) and becomes obligatory when declared by a General Council, or the Infallible Pope; the latter, in the spirit of Chillingworth's famous aphorism, that "the Bible is the religion of Protestants," appeals to the written word, whose sense must be determined by the individual, who must read for himself and fashion his creed accordingly. The former

method is very simple and direct, and its outcome is easily ascertained, and it has the further advantage, in the estimation of the timid or indolent, that it relieves them from the drudgery of examining and thinking for themselves, and shifts the whole responsibility in the premises upon the shoulders of a ghostly attorney; while the latter requires not a little careful inquiry, and then, in most cases, leaves many things more or less in doubt.

It is, however, much more than possible that of those who professedly accept the theory of the free use and the private interpretation of the Scripture, a large proportion derive their opinions from some human authority. The traditions of one's religious environments, the lessons learned in childhood, the teaching of the pulpit, and the accepted creed of one's Church, usually determine the theological belief of most persons. That this should be the case is unavoidable; and it is probably for the best, since only a very few can be expected to examine these profound subjects from their first principles upward. It is also not to be denied that among those who attempt to settle these questions by their own study of the divine word there are not inconsiderable discrepancies of opinions, though it may still be believed that, as taught in the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, "those things which are necessary to be believed and observed are so clearly propounded and opened, in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned, but the unlearned, in the due use of the ordinary means, may attain to a sufficient understanding of them." In that fact is found the assurance of the substantial unity of all genuine Protestants, who, though often differing in respect to non-essential details, are nevertheless agreed in all that is necessary for spiritual instruction and Christian edification.

The earnestness displayed in respect to questions of biblical criticism, and the manifest divergencies of views concerning the inspiration of the Bible, indicate a transition of the prevailing thought respecting both the internal and the external character of the Bible. During the early decades of the present century the very generally accepted views respecting these things were extremely one-sided. The canonical Scriptures were claimed to be, in all their parts and portions, and all in equal degree, divine oracles. Their substance had been dictated to human amanuenses, who wrote only as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. The thoughts were all divinely given, and though they were expressed in human language, the language itself, in that use of it, was transfigured and glorified. The prevalent conception was that illustrated by certain mediæval illuminations, which picture the evangelists copying their gospels from heavenly books held open before them by angels.

The human element in the Bible consisted only in its outward form of words and sentences, and these were selected by the inspiring Spirit—all else was said to be entirely and exclusively divine. That conception of the case would necessarily shut up the range of biblical criticism to the definition of words and the unraveling of metaphors. Nor does it appear why, if a revelation so complete and unalloyed by human thought

was needful at the first, equal completeness and purity must not still be needful; and if so, copyists and translators can properly perform their work only as they are rendered infallible by divine inspiration.

It is not necessary to be at any pains to show that such views are now entertained by very few biblical scholars and critics. The theory on which they rested has effectually broken down by reason of its extreme one-sidedness. It subsisted and flourished in the unspiritual philosophy of the eighteenth century, and it is passing away with the removal of the conditions that cherished it. The early Reformers, although they assigned so high a place to the written word, were not disposed to make it a pope, much less to substitute it for God himself, and to clothe it with some of the highest attributes of the Most High. They indeed received the Bible as God's greatest gift—after that of his own Son—to the Church and the race, and as to the outward form they accepted the canon as showing what was and what was not of the Bible. And yet it is well known that Luther himself had no idolatrous reverence for the canon, but, evidently accounting it a human device, he reconstructed it and changed its composition by the omission of one or more of its books, and that less for critical than for dogmatical reasons. The more conservative English Reformers spoke of the Bible not as itself the divine word, but as *containing* "God's true word;" and having said so much they then appear to be chiefly careful to guard against supplementing its lessons by any thing of merely human authority, or of conceding to it any occult or mystical sense. It cannot, then, be unsafe at this time for any intelligent disciple of those justly venerated men to stand where they stood in their estimate and treatment of the holy Scriptures; and therefore, like them, we must submit those sacred and venerable works to the determinations of a reverent and intelligent criticism.

In conceding the supreme authority of the Bible in all matters of faith, there is also the assumption for it that it is given by God—that is, that it is inspired. In that concession two points must be noted: first, that God has in some way communicated to men certain truths and doctrines, to the knowledge of which they could not have attained by merely natural agencies; and second, that he at the first attested these revelations as divine, and afterward extended that attestation to the records that were made of them. And that attestation, or its equivalent, is as needful now as at first, and this calls for a providential superintendence exercised through all time over what had been so delivered and recorded. For there certainly is no less necessity for the hand of God in preserving and transmitting the written word than there was for the work of his Spirit in its original communication. These two things appear to be essential to any adequate conception of the word of God as "the only and sufficient rule of faith and practice," and these, therefore, constitute the real elements of the inspiration of the Scriptures. Wherever these are accepted we must confess that all that is essential to a true faith in the inspiration of the Scriptures is present; and without so much as is implied in these things, though there may be a very high esti-

mate set upon the book, still it cannot be received as in itself an infallible rule of life.

Further, some writers have marked a distinction between God's act in declaring his truth and man's subjective acceptance of it; and to the latter, especially, has been given the name of "inspiration." It is indeed quite possible that many things delivered to and recorded by the prophets were not apprehended in their spiritual significance by those who thus received and wrote them. To them, therefore, they were not truly revelations; and though written in the book, they still awaited another and clearer spiritual manifestation to bring them to the conscious perception of the soul of man. In like manner, the spiritual import of the word may not be apprehended by some who read it, not because of any lack of human learning, but for want of spiritual insight. This seems to be the meaning of yet another passage in the "Confession of Faith" referred to above, which says: "Notwithstanding our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth of the divine word, it is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts, . . . whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the word of God." Some not over-reverent critics have proposed to test the Scriptures by what they term the "verifying faculty;" but with them that faculty is human and merely rational, and therefore not suited to the task proposed. But a better authority tells of "an anointing from the Holy One," by virtue of which they who have received it "know all things" needful for saving faith and Christian life. No doubt good and sincere men often err from the truth, but not fatally, unless they are misled by their own pride of opinion.

Confessions of faith, because of their necessary brevity and conciseness of expression, are especially capable of more than a single construction, if the attempt is made to carry them out into details by a process of inferences. Some degree of indefiniteness and ambiguity may not be altogether undesirable in many cases, while to hold any one responsible for any thing that may be logically inferred from what he professes, though not declared by him, is an unjust proceeding. In that way this "convenient indefiniteness" is sometimes made to cover pretty broad doctrinal discrepancies.

In the published summary of beliefs submitted at the second hearing of the case referred to at the beginning of this article, the candidate declares that he believes "the Holy Scriptures not only *contain* the word of God, but *are the word of God*," and with that declaration his examiners were satisfied. But that last clause is very far from being definitely univocal. It may be, or it may not be, understood as a profession of belief that every part of every book of the canon is truly "the word of God." Had the attestant said that he believes that whatever was originally written in all of the canonical books is "the word of God"—*that and nothing else*—which would imply that every part is equally divine, his language would have been less equivocal, and some would think also less exactly correct. But unless he explicitly denies the presence of a human ele-

ment in the Bible he could not have said so. The profession of a belief in the sole and divine authority of the Scriptures in respect to faith and duty, though altogether excellent, is simply a commonplace; and when they are spoken of as *infallible* as a "rule of faith and practice," we must suppose that such a profession at that point is conditioned upon the supposed spiritual state of the subject, without which even a rule objectively perfect would fail of perfect results. Again, when it is said that "the revelations of God to the inspired writers were *absolutely inerrant*," the confessor either formulates an obvious truism which nobody ever thought of denying—for God cannot lie—or else he means to say further that all the records made by each and every one of the sacred writers are "absolutely inerrant;" and then there can be no human element in the Scriptures, since "to err is human," and all the confessed discrepancies and mathematical inaccuracies that commentators have so long wrestled with are equally true. All that may be said about the practical unimportance of the "difficulties in the Scriptures," attributing them in many cases to imperfect transcriptions, which biblical science tends to correct, is simply the commonplace of the class-room, and is quite correct; but it fails to answer the requirements of the case so long as a single instance is not covered.

The question then recurs, whether we are to understand by the word "Scriptures" every thing found in the Bible from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Revelation. Is every thing contained within that compass "the word of God?" And, if so, then we must ask which copy or version is the one genuine Bible? for there are many of these, and they present very considerable discrepancies. Does the declared "inerrancy" apply to not only the spiritual truths revealed, but also to every scientific implication, and all historical, genealogical, and geographical statements found in the Bible? This would of course entirely exclude all human elements from the sacred text, and give us the whole body of the canonical Scriptures as an undiluted mass of divine truth and doctrine, without any human admixture, and in every part equally and "inerrantly" the pure word of God. But is that the accepted doctrine of Protestantism? We have seen how Luther viewed this matter when he presumed to describe one of its chief portions as relatively "an epistle of straw." Nor did the English Reformers so teach; for we find at the opening of one of the "Homilies" prepared to be read by authority in all the churches, "On the Holy Scriptures," this language: "Unto the Christian man there can be nothing more necessary or profitable than the knowledge of the Holy Scripture; *forasmuch as in it is* CONTAINED God's true word, setting forth his glory and man's duty." And in the ritual of the Church of England—which is followed in this particular by our own Church—the candidate for the eldership is only required to profess at this point that he "is persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation." In all these cases it is assumed to be enough that we have the sacred volume, which alone, when unfolded by the teachings of the Spirit, is sufficient to guide the willing and obedient into

all religious truth. And although we have this treasure in earthen vessels—and even if it were deemed possible that some particles of earthy matter may be mingled with its pure gold—still the divine teacher, the Comforter that is to guide us into all truth, will know how to separate the human from the divine; and while human learning may suffice to compass all that is in the letters, still to the unspiritual the Bible is a sealed volume. If only the light of man's understanding is brought to its interpretation the result will be both incomplete and misleading. He who is himself the author of all that is divine in Scripture, when just completing his personal ministry as a man among men, left this promise to his disciples, and through them to the Church in all after times: "But the Comforter, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I said unto you," thus clearly intimating that the mysteries of salvation set forth in God's written word must needs be unfolded to the spiritual understanding by the ministration of the Spirit. And a little further along he amplified this promise by adding, "When the Spirit of truth is come, he shall guide you into all the truth, for he shall not speak from himself" (that is, make new revelations), but "He shall glorify me, for he shall take of mine (the words of Christ, uttered either by himself directly, or indirectly through prophets and evangelists and apostles), and shall declare it unto you."

As learners of the things that belong to salvation the Bible is to us the divinely designated text-book, but the Holy Spirit himself is every man's teacher; and, since he is infallible, any possible human elements in the text-book must be entirely harmless, for these are not among the things of Christ which the Spirit will declare to the docile subjects of his ministrations. "All the treasures of wisdom and knowledge" are not only in Christ, but they are *hid* in him; and, though written down in the book, they can be truly revealed only to those to whom the Spirit shall declare them. It is enough, as to our outward equipment, that we have in our hands the volume in which lies "the mystery of mysteries;" but beyond that, we need in our hearts the spirit of inspiration to receive for ourselves "the Spirit and the truth."

We confess in our sacred songs that the meaning of the written word must be given to each believer by the same Spirit that dictated it to those who wrote it; and that inspiring and directing Spirit, acting like the magnet, will bring to believing hearts only the unalloyed truth. For its divinely appointed purpose the Bible is a faultless volume, but its faultlessness does not necessarily imply its absolute "inerrancy" in its external form and human elements.

THE IRISH LAND QUESTION.

Geologists tell us that earthquakes are caused by movements in the earth's crust, the parts adjusting themselves to new conditions—a theory which makes those seemingly destructive movements simply attempts at new and better arrangements as demanded by changes already made, and, therefore, conducive to future quiet and stability. Perhaps similar considerations will apply to the pending political agitations just now occurring among the affairs of the [badly] United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. These movements are certainly sufficiently seismatic, and there may be good reasons to believe that they are the results of changes which have been going forward for a long time in the social and economical affairs of the kingdom, and that their tendency is not at all destructive nor largely revolutionary, though, like all readjustments, they may occasion local and temporary inconveniences.

The troubles that now convulse the whole kingdom—although the strained relations of the two islands, on account of their diverse races and institutions, are of long standing, and have become inveterate through age—center in the incompatible demands of landlords and tenants; the former requiring more, and the latter unable or unwilling to pay as largely as in the past. The question involved is, after all, simply one of facts: Can the tenant farmer afford to pay as large a rental for the acres he occupies as has formerly been paid? and can the landlord reduce the rentals without incurring the risks of bankruptcy? Probably both of these questions must be answered by a simple negative; and because the one party is not willing nor able to continue the old system, and the other party finds it very inconvenient to readjust his claims to the new demands, there is and must be a conflict.

After making all necessary allowance for the chronic religious feuds of Protestants and Catholics, and for the incompatibility of tempers of Celts and Saxons—the love of power in the latter, and the recklessness of life and love of a fight in the other—it still remains evident that the perennial spring of the conflict is a pecuniary one—the opposing demands for a larger share of the produce of the land. The Ireland of half a century ago exists no longer; both the upper and the lower classes have changed, but they have not come nearer together. The higher and more costly style of living that has come into vogue in both Europe and America has not failed to be felt even in the poverty-stricken regions of western and southern Ireland, and accordingly the landlord requires a larger income, and the tenants, after supplying their own augmented wants, find themselves unable to pay even as largely as their fathers did; and then America lies just beyond the Atlantic and is perpetually sending a current of moral and political influences across the ocean, which is acting upon the social atmosphere not less effectively than the Gulf Stream acts upon the climate. The material agencies, also, that operate between the two countries, are widely effective of changes in the views of the poorest of the poor in

respect to the common demands of living, making what were before almost unheard-of luxuries the necessaries of life, of which appetizing tastes come to them, from time to time, by gifts from kindred beyond the sea. But greater than all besides are the depressing effects produced on the value of Irish—and English also—agricultural productions, by the importation of American breadstuffs, and meats, and all kinds of provisions. "Times is bad," said a cottager to a traveler in Donegal, "and stock is low. A cow my father got eight pound for I couldn't sell this year for four pound. Every thing's fallen *except the rent.* What's to be done?"

This is the tenant's side of the case, plainly, and no doubt correctly, stated, and the statement explains and justifies the prevailing discontents without drawing upon the influence of political agitators, which is not much felt in the more remote and out-of-the-way places. But there is a landlord's side of the subject, which, if less pitiful, is scarcely less embarrassing. The landholders have come into their possessions with all the ideas and traditions of the past, but another order of things has grown up around them, for which they are not prepared. The incomes which were ample for their fathers entirely fail to answer to their necessities; they can, therefore, ill afford to reduce their incomes, and they complain that their tenants are idle, and obstinate, and seditious. Of this class we find a life picture in one of the English magazines, by the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, who last year made a tour of pleasure and observation through north-western and western Ireland,—as follows:

> No doubt Ireland has suffered cruelly from the worst type of that order who, generation after generation, lived recklessly, ruinously, in their Castle Rackrents, till their impoverished descendants of to-day, with the same extravagant tastes, the same contemptible pride, ashamed of economy though not of debt, have found it impossible to maintain "the family" in the only style which they consider its due. They therefore run away from what they dare not face; become permanent absentees, and spend in England or abroad the money they get out of the estate, keeping up the honor of owning property, but shirking alike its duties and responsibilities. Such landlords—and the Encumbered Estates Court has long proved how many there are—spendthrift "gentlemen," who have over-built, over-eaten, over-drank themselves, and then racked their tenants to supply their own extravagances, have been the curse of Ireland. They deserve no mercy, only strict justice.

All this is, no doubt, true to the original, and its censures are none too severe, but it would be found very difficult, in the changed condition of things, for better men to so adjust things that neither party—the tenants nor the landlords—shall escape from claims that cannot be met. Even those of the better class, next described, find it no easy matter to respond to the adverse claims made upon them.

> But there is another class who deserve justice also—and do not always get it, being included in the common howl against "landlordism," which is now sowing in Ireland all the seeds of civil war—I mean the "good old Irish gentleman" who has lived on his estate, as his fathers lived before him, spent all his money there, done his best for his tenants, exacted from them no more than his due, and shown an example of thrift, industry, kindliness, and charity which, if they did not imitate, it was their fault, not his. Such landlords do exist; but with the usual passionate impulsiveness of the Celtic race they are overlooked—even as the cool-

headed but prejudiced Saxon overlooks the fact that every tenant in Ireland does not go about armed with a gun, and, generally speaking, has not the slightest wish to shoot his landlord, unless coerced into so doing.

But "the good old Irish gentleman" is becoming only an historical character; the change of environments is unfavorable to the perpetuation of the species, and neither the superior nor the inferior party is willing to perform his part of the compact, by virtue of which such a class was possible. Social discontent has produced emigrations, leaving vast portions of lands uncultivated, and unsettling the minds of the common people; and the opportunities for outlays in not undesirable, but, for such as the tenant classes are, extravagant expenditures breeds further discontents and restiveness. The reduction of rents, in proportions that would sadly deplete many an old estate, must be the inevitable outcome of the new condition of affairs; and because the landlord class is legally the master of the situation, social strifes and incipient rebellion must compel the needed changes. But the outcome is as certain as the course of the seasons, and they only are the real friends of the national welfare who shall see the situation and seek to adjust affairs in harmony with the demands of the case. A reconstruction of society, in its social and industrial relations, has become inevitable by reason of the changed political relations already effected throughout Europe, and nowhere else more so than in all parts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. This process will necessarily destroy much that is venerable and pleasant to contemplate; for wide social changes, though inevitable and needful for the general welfare, cannot be effected without the sacrifice of some things that are in themselves valuable. The sentiment that cherishes the antique and time-worn simply because it is old must give way before the progress of the living present, for the dwellings of the living are of more account than the tombs of the dead.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

"How to Battle Against Methodism?" is the title of an address recently made at a pastoral conference in Erlangen, and which, in the form of a printed pamphlet, has attracted considerable attention in Germany. The author commences by stigmatizing, in striking outlines, the movement known as "Methodism" as an entirely "un-German," unevangelical one, undermining the foundations of the Reformation. He declares that it does this in a very crafty way, by agents whose well-calculated methods and laical style gain generous results. This leads him to the real point in question, namely, the attack on the State Church, whose faults and short-comings are the real ground for the inroads being made by the new faith. As such he very specially names the weakness and inefficiency of religious consciousness, the want of a confidential relation between the

congregation and the pastor, the rarity of divine service as well as its uniformity, and its exactness in regard to time and place and clothes, and the very decided neglect of special religious services. He complains much of the assumption on the part of the laity in the matter of church offices, and the total disregard of all police regulations in all their arrangements, which he would put into operation to check them.

If the author thinks in this way to stem the tide that now tends toward Methodism he does so on the supposition that real Christians can find in *the Church* the satisfying religious nourishment that the masses seek in Methodism; and this they do not. And in reality this is the great want that gives to Methodism its attraction. This arises from the growing democratic opposition to *Church-ordained* authority, and the ecclesiastical assumption that all who assume their prerogatives in any way are agitators. The German Church must abolish a good deal of its red tape before it can battle with any success against our faith.

THE BISHOPRIC OF JERUSALEM is a troublesome question that seems at last to be settled. The archbishop of Canterbury, in conjunction with his colleague of York and the bishop of London, published a circular announcing that after the lapsing of the agreement with the Prussian government an English bishopric has been established in Jerusalem. The High Church party protested against this in advance, as a sort of encroachment on the prerogatives of the Greek patriarch, in the fear that this measure might be regarded as one that would deny the legitimacy of the Greek Catholic Church.

A brief from the archbishop seeks to reply to both objections by affirming expressly that it is in nowise the business of the future bishop to make proselytes from the orthodox Church, or in any way to meddle with the jurisdiction of the patriarch; but rather to cultivate friendly relations with the other "*catholic*" Churches in Jerusalem, and especially with the Greek Church; and, above all, to convince these Churches that the Church of England desires to labor with them on the platform of catholic principles. The archbishop also adds to these words that the said prelate will have no territorial jurisdiction in Palestine, and hence bears rather unwisely the title of "bishop of Jerusalem;" he will have rather the spiritual supervision over the priests and missionaries of the English Church.

In explanation of the relation to the patriarch, a letter from the latter is given, in which he gives expression to the ardent wish for a closer connection of the Churches, and especially requests that the English bishop shall be stationed in Jerusalem, and not in Beyroot, as is urged in some quarters. Therewith the objections of the opposing parties seem to be met, for even they wished to see the English branch of the *'catholic* Church represented in Jerusalem in order in the Holy City, in common with the representatives of the other Churches, to celebrate the eucharist; only they suggested, in view of the sensitiveness of the patriarch, sending another high grade ecclesiastic — an archdeacon, perhaps; but

this objection seemed to fall away after the above quoted letter of the patriarch.

But, in spite of all this, the High Church party complain loudly. They think it fortunate that they are no longer bound to the Prussian State Church in this matter, and they have gotten rid of a corpse in the dissolution of the contract; but they greatly need the money that came from that quarter. This deficit is now to be made good by the "Church Missionary Society," and this is by no means of the High Church way of thinking. As this body now makes a considerable sacrifice for this bishopric, it naturally expects the advancement of its own interests, so that in the new arrangement either the patriarch will be deceived or the said society. Now, an English bishop in Jerusalem should owe his friendly reception to no false assertions. These will deceive both parties, and leave the field open to others who are more frank and more intelligently active. The Protestant "sects," as they are called in contumely, are developing so much energy that, while those others are lukewarm, these may step in and secure the prize.

PÈRE HYACINTHE is again becoming quite active in Paris, and is assisted this time by a coadjutor bearing the name of Abbé Jouet. This latter gentleman has lately enlightened the Papal nuncio in Paris as to the grounds of his separation from the Roman Catholic Church. Hyacinthe is no longer working in the sole interest of the Gallican Church, but rather for the union of the entire apostolic and episcopal Church, to be called the *Anglo-Catholic*.

In view of this new tendency of the noted père, he was recently invited by the rector of the Anglo-American Church in Paris to deliver in his pulpit a "Lenten sermon," on which occasion he said many strange things. This Anglo-American Church has a catholic interior in the matter of its ornaments, and the processional entrance was made in the style of the *highest* church, Father Hyacinthe and his assistant wearing the violet stole and the surplice. After the processional hymn Hyacinthe recited several prayers, in one of which he prayed for the blessing and the illumination of God on the patriarchs of the Romish, Greek, and Anglo-American Churches, and for the spread of unity, liberty, justice, and peace. From his prayer it appeared that Hyacinthe is willing that the pontiff shall remain as head of an Italian national Church, but everywhere else the national catholic Churches shall have a patriarch at their head, and all these shall unite in the one holy apostolic Church.

In the "Lenten sermon" that followed, the père said but little concerning the passion of the Lord, and very much about politics. He would have two free Churches in the two sister republics, namely, of France and the United States; from which it is difficult to distinguish whether the notable speaker is a republican or an imperialist, when he says that imperialism, or even a dictatorship, may be another form of republic. In the course of his sermon, if this political speech may be called thus, he enters the arena for the separation of Church from State; and in flaming words he

depicted the success of this system in the United States. This, he thinks, is seen in the respect for the Lord's day in this country, in the regard for conscience, and in the prayers with which each session is opened in the capitol at Washington, which, unlike the capitol at Rome, is not the symbol of oppression, but of liberty.

Finally, he comes to his darling plan of a union of the Episcopal Church of America with the Gallican Church of France. He regards this as the Church of the future, because its faith is pure and unspotted from the period of the apostles down to our day. Liberty and authority must be the foundation of a future union of Christendom, not despotism. The "majestic ritual" of the correct Anglo-Catholic Church caused the listeners to preserve the utmost decorum during the entire service, though the sermon was a strange performance for Lent. But we may thank Father Hyacinthe with all our heart that he extends his magnificent plan only to all "apostolic" and episcopal Churches, for in this way all other poor Protestant Christians are of course excluded from the electric stream of the apostolic succession.

THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION still comes to the surface in the French Chambers very often, and for the peace of that country, and perhaps of the world, it is again postponed without a solution; for any positive solution just now would be likely to produce serious results. It is certain, at least, that a violent separation of Church and State just now would lead to grave consequences.

The Radicals desire that all property now in mortmain in the hands of the Church should be confiscated, for thus might be obtained the money to support the budget for public worship. But thoughtful men—and it is surprising how thoughtful these men often become when they reach the helm—felt the immense weight of their responsibility, and rejected most decidedly this break with the Church just at present. As Minister Goblet recently assured Clemenceau, the present government desires the separation of Church from State, and sees for the future no other solution to the question; but Goblet says that this separation must be prepared by measures that for the present are transient, and which may require a series of years to ripen to a conclusion. This is a very reasonable position, but one which is bitterly attacked by the united Radical left.

In the meanwhile the government, and with it also Protestantism, gained a slight victory in the matter. In a recent discussion of the budget, the commission went so far as to cut off the credit for the theological faculty and the seminaries of the Lutheran Reformed Church, since this has long been done for the Catholic Church. But in further discussion it was not forgotten that this scarcely affects the Roman Catholic faculties, because the instruction and the training of the young priests are given in their own schools, which live now as they did before, and have perhaps gained greater influence. They have their own endowment to fall back on, but what has the Protestant Church of France? Its schools are mere eleemosynary institutions, in which poor students find a meager

support, and the faculty is the only source of instruction of the young theologians. With them faculties and seminaries are closely allied, and the fall of the one would evidently drag down the other.

This condition of things was not unknown to certain members of this commission, and still the majority voted to strike out the credit, saying and understanding that faculties and seminaries must fall together; and that in order to be equally just to the Protestants and to the Catholics it would be necessary in some way to give them a support. They either did not see or did not heed; they wished the credit among their followers of doing a bold thing. But the government, which seeks as far as possible to avoid sharp conflicts, this time energetically defended the interests of Protestantism; and it succeeded in bringing about an understanding with the budget commission, in consequence of which the credits for the Protestant faculties and their seminaries should without debate be granted for another year. We may well conceive that this news caused much joy in the ranks of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches; but what a sad life they lead in having the Damocles sword ever over their heads, not knowing from year to year when it may fall! But this yearly danger and its annual escape ought to teach them to take active measures against the fate that awaits them—namely, self-support.

WORKINGMEN'S COLONIES are proving quite a success in Germany. This is in reality another name for *tramps' homes;* that is, they are an experiment in the line of abolishing the tramp nuisance. There is now a Roman Catholic colony near Coblentz, and others are in prospect for Mecklenburg and even Poland. In Bavaria there is no sympathy shown for this benevolent enterprise (too much beer there, perhaps). In all the colonies, in 1886, 12,151 men were received, and 11,832 discharged. About 84 per cent. of these had been disciplined in some way by the police. At present there are about 1,519 in all the colonies, or refuges, as they are sometimes called.

And although the organization is yet imperfect, vagrant beggary is evidently on the decline in the neighborhood of these colonies. One of the provincial directors estimates that the province saved last year about $10,000 on account of these retreats for tramps, where they are made to work for what they get. The Prussian minister of the interior is so much pleased with the experiment that he lately granted 1,500 marks to the board of trust.

The same organization is also taking up the subject of care of habitual drinkers. The authorities are forced to confess that the consumption of strong liquors is greatly on the increase, thus adding to the production of tramps; and some legal measures of prevention are recommended to the imperial parliament: these are mainly a higher duty on liquors, and a restriction on their sale. Pastor Bodelschwing, who is the leading spirit in this movement, is quite discouraged at the coolness with which petitions in this line are received, and would establish what he calls *home colonies* for hard drinkers, where they can remain longer than in the

colonies, whose terms are seldom longer than from four to six months. Men cannot be cured of the passion for drink in so short a period; they do well while at work, but fall back as soon as they return to their haunts.

THE PROTESTANTS OF THE TYROL are greatly rejoiced that they are at last in possession of a place in which to worship, though under Austrian rule. The famous watering-place of Meran, the resort of so many invalids all summer long, and even into the late autumn, now offers to the Protestant heart a shrine wherein to worship God in simplicity and truth. It has cost a hard struggle to get it, and not a few years of work in various ways to secure the means. The edifice bears the name of "Christ Church," and is beautifully situated to attract the eye of all who enter Meran from Botzen, the usual approach of visitors.

Many of its adornments have come from different parts of Europe, as presents from those who have been frequent guests in this sanitarium. And it is not only foreigners who are pleased at the erection of this Protestant temple amid purely Catholic surroundings, but not a small number of the resident Lutheran Protestants rejoice that two deaconesses have started a Protestant school as a mission post. In 1837 the Lutherans were exiled from the land, as were their co-religionists from Strasburg in the last century. In 1859 the ban was raised by King William the Fourth of Prussia, who, while on his journey to Italy, passed through Meran, and succeeded in gaining some concessions for the Protestants.

After that period the Protestants were allowed to meet in private localities, and be served by pious laymen mainly. It seems quite exasperating that all this annoyance must be suffered in a private house; but such were the Catholic aggressions in the Tyrol down to the conflicts of '66 and '71. At last they succeeded in gaining permission to arrange a room as a church on their own private property. It was a glorious hour when the Protestants of Meran received the grant to construct a church for themselves, and on its arrival they sang with tearful eyes, "*Nun danket alle Gott!*" (Now all thank God!) The exceptional indorsement of a Protestant congregation in Meran was professedly only for visiting strangers and guests of the hotels; but in a little while the fever spread, and there is now also a Protestant congregation in Innspruck, which is a thorn in the side of the superstitious papists of that old town.

THE NATIVE AFRICANS are putting foreigners to shame by taking the sharpest measures to prevent the introduction of rum into their land. The emir of Rupe (on the Niger), in West Africa, thus writes to the colored Bishop Crowther: "A matter about which I would gladly talk to you I must write. It is no lengthy affair. It is only about rum (borasa). Rum has ruined our land. It has spoiled our nation. It has made our people crazy. I have now made a law that no rum shall be bought or sold. If any one is found selling rum his house shall be destroyed. Any body who is found drunk shall be killed. For the sake of God and the

prophet, dear Crowther, you must help us in this matter. You must not allow our land to be destroyed through rum. May God bless you in your work!" These are the words from the mouth of Mdiki, the emir of Rupe.

When a Bassuto chief died from the effects of rum, the chief, Letsee, at the earnest request of the missionaries, addressed a solemn warning to the people. A brother of the deceased king, Moschsh, went around as a temperance apostle, preaching every-where against rum; the result of this was that chiefs and people were seized with the excitement, so that all the priests and nearly all the people abjured rum entirely. Stern laws and measures were adopted against the importation of rum, and the liquor shops began to disappear.

This appeal has had its effect on the German public, now greatly incensed that certain houses will continue to send bad rum to African ports to destroy the souls and bodies of the poor blacks. The president of the German association against the use of spirituous liquors for the third time appeals to the parliament to take active measures to reduce the means of obtaining strong drink. The government promises to bring in a bill this winter, and in the meanwhile the German missionaries are circulating such literature as the above, in order to create in the public mind a disgust for the dealers who persist in sending rum to Africa.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN is in a very flourishing condition, the numbers reported for the winter semester being 5,357. This is the highest figure reached in any German university in modern times; it is an advance on the summer preceding of 1,066, and on the last winter semester of 165. This great number of students was divided among the faculties as follows: 794 in theology, 1,282 in jurisprudence, 1,297 in medicine, and 1,984 in the very various branches included in the German universities in the philosophical faculty. Prussia was the native land of 4,062, and 740 belonged to the remaining states of the empire. To foreign European states there belonged 381, and outside of European lands 174; of these latter 149 were from America, and 21 from Asia (the most of these from Japan). Besides the large number matriculated, 1,523 persons were authorized to hear the lectures, so that thus nearly 7,000 were in attendance on these. The faculty numbered 288, and of these 16 belong to the theological faculty.

In the University of Bonn there were in the last semester 1,121 students. Besides these were 74 not matriculated, so that the whole number was 1,195. In the Protestant faculty there were 122, in the Catholic faculty 86—there being two theological faculties in that university. The theological and the medical faculties are making the most increase there. There were three new professors in the Roman Catholic faculty; namely, Schrörs, Kirchkamp, and Fechtrup. These have referred the faculty statutes prescribed by the Tridentine Council to the hands of the dean, Prof. Kellner. To these statutes has lately been added that of papal infallibility.

A JUDAIC INSTITUTE is the latest addition to the University of Leipsic. For many years Prof. Delitzsch has been trying to effect this purpose, and has at last succeeded. This seminary is intended for the workers among the Jewish missions, in whatever capacity, either as missionaries or casual visitors in the service of the kingdom of God. They here receive a practical and scientific training, in an institution whose device is "Talk Kindly to Jerusalem."

A few months ago a schedule of studies was adopted; and this was quite rigidly adhered to, though but an experiment, during the last semester. The teachers number five; namely, Delitzsch, Faber, Lichtenstein, Cohn, and Anacker. Of these two are of Jewish extraction, and of genuine Talmudic-rabbinical culture. But the number of students was discouragingly small—only two—as the work is not very popular. One of these candidates was a German and the other a Dane, sent by the Society for the Conversion of the Jews in Denmark. There were a few who came simply as transient students for the most practical studies, from Finland, Cracow, and other regions. Besides their regular university studies they were enrolled as members of the Anglo-American Association founded by Delitzsch some twenty years ago for the purpose of exegetical studies; and they are also pupils of the Old Testament lessons of Dr. Baur. The schedule for the present semester includes an exegesis of the epistle to the Hebrews, with illustrations from Jewish literature by Lichtenstein, himself a Hebrew. Several other of the studies are specially calculated to meet the needs of an apostle to the Jews.

PROTESTANTISM IN SPAIN seems still to struggle on with a good measure of success. It is only twenty years that it has been permitted to show itself, and it now has about ten thousand adherents in some one hundred and fifty different points. It has not alone places of worship, but also schools and papers; and in the hospital of Madrid there is a separate ward for Protestants. The student Larranga, who had quite a conflict with the academic authorities, has been allowed to pass his licentiate examination, which closes his connection with the university; and he is the first student of a Spanish university that has remained a Protestant. He now goes to Germany to learn the language, and pass through a German university. More students from the Protestant gymnasium propose entering the university, and will, doubtless, be allowed to do so. This gymnasium is now receiving students from distant provinces of Spain, and it has in its corps of teachers an excellent German philologist, who is a fine scholar in the Romanic idioms.

THE DANISH BIBLE SOCIETY in Copenhagen, to which the British and Foreign Bible Society is about to yield the field, is making vigorous preparations to meet its responsibilities. For the purpose of securing the necessary financial support a yearly general collection will be granted it throughout the land. The society, which has lost a valuable worker in the death of Kaspar, sold last year over four thousand Bibles, and, since

its formation, about 590,000; while at the same time the British society circulated 48,000. In a pamphlet entitled "*Can Christians Recommend the Teachings of the Freethinkers?*" the chief of an hospital in Aalborg utters a warning against the growing dangers that threaten Christianity in Denmark, from the activity of certain teachers of the popular schools who are favorable to the doctrines of Grundvig, which are of a very rationalistic tendency, though wearing the guise of genuine Christianity. The author proves his position by quotations from their lectures, which contain the boldest attacks on the fundamental doctrines of Christianity.

THE NORWEGIAN BIBLE SOCIETY is also working with diligence. This is seen from its last annual exhibit, which reports a circulation of about 11,000 copies. But the Norwegians have a deal of trouble with the radical political element, which is generally of a rationalistic tendency in the matter of religion. Even the present highly liberal ministry are having trouble with that element, and are likely to lose their hold on it. Said ministry lately ordered the seizure of a highly sensational book, depicting the fate of a harlot in very minute and vulgar detail, and one calculated to corrupt the public mind. This measure created a great excitement among the working population of Christiania, and they got up a workingmen's procession, counted by thousands, to which quite a number of students attached themselves. All these, with a band of music and sixteen banners, appeared before the official residence of the premier, Sverdrup, in order to force a release of the book from ban. But this latter was maintained, and the minister who three years ago was the idol of the masses has now fallen under ban himself.

THE PROTESTANTS OF FRANCE are greatly encouraged by the success of the effort to make collections for the aid of their theological students, on account of the refusal of the Government to continue the system of stipendiums. These collections in the year past have actually exceeded at least what was called for, if not their needs. This aid for the students is so much the more necessary from the fact that the Church needs them so much. A large number of the parishes of the Reformed Church in France are still unsupplied. These vacancies occur mostly in the village parishes, because the pastors, it seems, much prefer the city to the village life. According to the last report there were no less than fifty-three vacancies, of which some have existed from eight to ten years. Indeed, in some of the churches the vacancy has lasted so long that the parish exists only in name. In the department of Sevres there are reported 11,323 Protestants, who, in consequence of the vacancy of two places, have been forced to remain a series of years entirely without pastors. On specially holy days these now go to the Catholic Church, in order not to be entirely without religious association.

"THE GERMAN TEMPLARS," as they call themselves, are making a great success of their work in Palestine, notwithstanding the indifference or opposition at home in Würtemberg, and in the Holy Land itself. The

first colony was founded in Jaffa, in 1869; the second was Haifa, at the base of Mount Carmel; in 1872, Hoffmann, their leader, planted the third in Sharon; and in 1873 the fourth was founded in Jerusalem. In consequence of the Russo-Turkish war the colonies suffered much in their industries, but among themselves they became stronger and more united as to measures and policy. Islamism looks with jealous eyes on European culture of any kind, even of the soil, and therefore embarrasses instead of aiding them in their system and enterprises. This colonization has not been helped from Germany because of its religious leanings, although the colonial association has been appealed to. The German Government has always protected them by the presence of ships of war in the vicinity, in times of excitement against Christians; and of late the Würtemberg minister of the interior granted them 3,650 marks for their schools. This gives them the stamp of approval.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

Our Foreign Missions in 1886.—How many of our pastors and laymen interested in our mission work will, we wonder, read the bulky Report of our Missionary Society? Perhaps a small percentage of the pastors will make occasion to give it a cursory examination, and regret that they have not time to possess themselves of the valuable information it contains. A still smaller percentage of laymen will look into it, and wonder why the interesting facts they find scattered through its three hundred and seventy-five pages cannot be given to the masses of the Church in a more available form. Many of our business men would unquestionably like to be better informed about the successes, the needs, the exact condition of our various missions, but cannot find time to examine and digest the annual reports, even if they receive them. If better informed, of course, they would give more intelligently; and to give more intelligently is to give more liberally. Our Church press gives, in one form and another, a great deal of missionary matter; and *The Gospel in All Lands* furnishes the busy pastor and inquiring layman twelve volumes yearly of cyclopedic information about general mission fields, societies, missionaries, statistics, etc., with much special matter about our own missions. But in the Annual Report we have such descriptions of particular missions, such accounts of progress, such statements of special difficulties and needs, as cannot be found elsewhere; and there is that opportunity of comparison of year with year which is not afforded by any other publication. We are persuaded that but few have learned the real value of these Annual Reports; and we are just as strongly convinced that it is of the highest importance that our people, ministerial and lay, should become acquainted with them. One way of interesting people in them is to point out their most interesting and important features. If some competent person were to take the proofs before the volume is issued, acquaint him-

self thoroughly with the contents of the reports of superintendents, presiding elders, and missionaries, and give a summary or survey for the year, quoting some of the more striking sentences and paragraphs, so as to give something of the tone of the reports as well as the facts, and issue it in a well-prepared sheet or pamphlet, a great and valuable service would be done. Most Methodists would read every word of it, and it would serve to direct the attention to the Report itself for further information.

The Sixty-eighth Report, edited by Dr. Reid, the senior secretary, and issued in April last, opens, according to the time-honored custom, with Africa, the oldest of our foreign missions. There is little enough of special interest in the fifteen pages devoted to it, save the account given by the secretary of Bishop Taylor's work on the Congo and in the coast countries bordering on it. The great want in Liberia seems to be church buildings, due perhaps to the want of a more energetic, enterprising membership. There is, however, a more encouraging tone in the reports this year, and it may be that the bishop will infuse some of his own energy and enterprise into conference and people. The bishop's work comprises two districts, the Upper Congo and the Angola. There are thirteen appointments in the former, and twenty-one in the latter, besides ten young people who are learning the language. We have now in Africa, not including Bishop Taylor's special work, 2,490 members.

For our South American Mission we have last year's appointments and last year's statistics, with only a page besides, stating that Bishop Fowler visited the field and reorganized the mission, and made important changes. Why South America sent no report is not explained. Our second oldest mission has not returned large results for fifty years' outlay. The year 1885, giving a net increase of about 150 members and probationers, was the best year the mission has had for a long period, if not the best since its organization. What is the matter?

In China, where we have been laboring thirty years, we have four missions, or rather had, before our work at Chungking, West China, was interrupted by mob violence. It is encouraging to be informed that the Chinese Government has very promptly paid the bill of damages, or about eighty per cent. of our claims, which promptness is in marked contrast to the dilatoriness of some other nations we know of, when China had valid claims to present. It is probable that the field will soon be occupied again. Of the other three missions Foochow has enjoyed the dignity of a Conference organization for ten years, and is in a very prosperous condition, under the care of its six native presiding elders. The reports of these district bishops make interesting reading. They give, in outline, pictures of the work in their respective fields, and we get a good idea of what they are doing, wherein they succeed and wherein they fail. Yek Ing Kwang, of the Hok-chiang District, says the people in the southern part of his territory are very ignorant and wicked, but the "dawn of the rising sun is appearing." In the northern part they are in good circumstances, but the devil has full sway, and it is "like the darkness when the sun has gone down." More preachers are needed to sow

the seed. That the district is not hopeless is shown by the fact that, as the result of the year's work, over one hundred persons have been received into the Church. This success is due to the "harmony between the preachers appointed by the Conference and the local preachers," and to the faithfulness of both classes, who neither "dread long distances nor the dangers of the way." It is "common for persons to become inquirers because of sickness or possession of evil spirits." They believe in Taoist priests and evil spirits, and are wild and turbulent. The elder pithily describes the various congregations. At one place the members "zealously hold the truth," and are increasing every year; at another there is much improvement—the members confide in God, as did the saints of old; at another, the members love one another, and are "as the salt of the earth, the light of the world;" at another, the members are "doing well, and occasionally bringing others in." Hu Po Mi, of the Hing-hwa District, speaks of a class-leader who is good in exhortation and diligent in witnessing for the cause of Christ; "but as to contributing money for church purposes, he usually leaves that for others to do." On a certain circuit, the "preacher in charge being a doctor, the work does not prosper," but the "local preachers are to be relied on." Over forty men and women have become inquirers in the district, and "whole families have been brought into the Church, and are devout worshipers." Hwong Pau Seng, of the Ing-Chung District, says the people he works among are in a pitiable state, like sheep without a shepherd; the prey of Yamen runners. He notices improvement: "Formerly, when we went out to preach the Gospel, the people feared, and dared not come near us; but as they have heard more they have understood better, and their doubts as to our purposes have ceased. During the fourth quarter, in company with one of the preachers, I visited many villages. After preaching, and as the people were about to disperse, it was our custom to sing a hymn, and ask them to join us. This they did; and most of them would kneel while prayer was offered by one of us. The prospect is certainly hopeful for the spread of the Gospel." There has not been much progress in the Yen-Ping District, writes Sia Sek Ong, but there is improvement in some places. Backsliders have been reclaimed. Among the converts was one man of fierce disposition, nicknamed the "Tiger." He has been wholly changed, and the people observe with amazement the power of the truth upon him. One of the features of the work in the Kucheng District is the fact that several persons of the literary class have become inquirers. The net gain in the Conference was nearly three hundred. Causes of friction in the Central China Mission have been removed, and a prosperous year has been enjoyed. In North China we are becoming stronger every year. Self-support is receiving thoughtful attention, and various plans are adopted by the congregations for raising money. Our school and hospital and press agencies in China are well conducted and effective. We have now nearly 4,100 communicants in China.

The Germany and Switzerland Conference has been divided, and each country has a Conference. The work in Germany is a steady and effective

work, and Methodism doubtless has a prosperous future before it in the empire. The Conference in Switzerland is small, but begins under favorable auspices.

Sweden proves to be good ground for Methodism. The increase of members for that country and Finland is 1,061. New fields are being occupied. Lutheran school-houses are frequently opened for services, and sometimes even the doors of state churches swing open to the preacher. In Norway Methodism commands public respect, and is exerting a large influence. The same is true of Denmark, in a lesser degree.

Our mission in India is now thirty years old, and the manner in which it has been extended from north to south, from east to west, is marvelous. Next year the report will describe the work of three Conferences instead of two, and what changes the General Conference of 1888 will authorize no one can predict. At a joint meeting of the North and South India Conferences in February, the Conference lines were rearranged and a new Conference organized, to be known as the Bengal Conference. Part of the territory in North India hitherto included in the South India Conference is now joined to the North India Conference The Bengal Conference includes Bengal, Burmah, and the Straits settlements. The year in India has been prosperous, and there have been large ingatherings. In the North India Conference the work among the Chumars, who are low caste, is going bravely forward. The people are leaving off idolatry, and receiving the Christian faith. They make faithful, helpful Christians. Missionary Bare, of Shahjehanpore, made a tour in the country, and great crowds assembled in school-houses, private houses, bazars, streets, and fields, to hear the word, and there are many inquirers. One whole village of a dozen families was put down on the inquiry list. Pahnapore has become a Christian village. Our church there has 189 members. The native minister of the Bilsi Circuit says the people are growing in grace, dropping their old customs, and becoming more intelligent Christians. Although ignorant in other matters, they can generally explain why they are Christians. Another preacher writes that when the people talk seriously they confess that idol-worship is foolishness, and that Christianity is the religion by which to get to heaven. Among the accessions in Lucknow all castes are represented. Some interesting cases are described. The net gain in the Conference was 1,649—854 members and 795 probationers. The contributions for self-support, however, show a falling off, although the principle seems to have been diligently inculcated, at least on some of the circuits. In the South India Conference a more determined effort to reach the natives has been made, without neglecting the large English work, and success has not been wanting. A further advance in this direction is to be made the present year, and the force of missionaries will be greatly strengthened. Dr. Thoburn says an opening has been found among the Mohammedans, in Pakour, 170 miles north of Calcutta, the most hopeful we have in India. Twenty or more have been baptized. The statistics of the Conference are, unfortunately, not new.

Bishop Ninde, who visited Bulgaria last year, thinks the question of discontinuing that mission ought not to be mooted. Though our progress is slow, the future is hopeful. Open opposition has ceased, young men and officials often attend the services, and the missionaries are treated with respect and kindness. He speaks of a gain of members and adherents. The table of statistics shows a gain of 10 members, but a loss of 17 probationers. The gain of adherents is 70.

The mission in Italy reports a gain in communicants of only 12; but (so says the Report) it begins another year more hopefully.

Japan is one of the richest of mission fields. Insulated peoples seem to be more accessible to the missionary than continental nations. Witness the South Sea Islands, Madagascar, and New Zealand. Much less Christian work has been done in Japan than in China, but the response has been swift and generous. The garments of heathenism are falling away from it, and it is ready to be clothed with Christ. The only question is, Are the Churches ready? Our mission in Japan is only fifteen years old, and yet we have 2,204 members and probationers; a gain for the year of 556, or more than thirty-three per cent. And much greater results could be obtained with a larger force. The secretaries say a hundred men, if they could be sent, would not supply all the openings. "For want of means and men much has been lost, never to be regained;" for while Christians are sleeping the enemy is sowing the tares of Free Thought and Atheism. Of the East-Tokio District Dr. Maclay writes: "The people are alert, progressive, and seem disposed to welcome the Gospel. The imperative demand is for more preachers." For the West-Tokio District a similar report is made: "Our work is seriously hindered, because we do not have evangelists to meet the demand for Christian instruction." In the Yokohama District there are "glorious opportunities" presented every-where "for enlarging the work and planting the Church of Christ." "A rich harvest for the Church is before us," is the report from the Nagasaki District; and from the Hokaido and North Hondo District notice is given of the necessity of preparing to reach multitudes. The contributions toward self-support in Japan were $4,118, an increase of over $1,000.

The reports from Mexico, which is now divided into three districts, contain encouraging features; but the statistics show a small decrease in the total of members and probationers. It is a hard field; but we will not be discouraged with a membership of 1,354, and 4,745 adherents. The Presbyterians lost enormously last year, according to their statistical report, the explanation being that former reports had been too inclusive.

Korea, our newest foreign field, is given thirteen pages in the report, and they are very interesting. The present is a period of preparation. No open evangelistic work is attempted, but much is done in the medical and educational departments. The attention of the government, we learn from a recent letter, has been attracted to this work, and the king has given favorable recognition of it. The mission reports one probationer and 100 adherents.

This completes the list of our foreign missions, in connection with which there are 118 missionaries and 76 assistant missionaries, and 57 missionaries of the W. F. M. S. The number of ordained native preachers is 328, a gain of 19; and of unordained native preachers, 413, a gain of 13. There are 40,213 members, a gain of 3,263; and 14,266 probationers, a gain of 3,194. In the eight theological schools there are 167 students, in the 17 high schools 1,639 pupils, and in the 598 day-schools 18,683 scholars. There are 396 churches and chapels, worth $1,320,536, and other property worth $750,000. The collections for self-support aggregate $92,490, against $74,347 in the previous year.

THE TONGAN MASSACRE.—We have noticed several times in these pages, particularly in the numbers for May, 1886, and May, 1887, the secession from the Wesleyan Church in Tonga, and the course of the leading seceders in persecuting the remnant refusing to join their so-called Free and Independent Church. In the last number of the Review we showed how cruel these persecutions were, and what trivial pretexts were seized upon to condemn faithful Christian natives to long terms of imprisonment, and to pay fines which they could not possibly raise. The case of Joel Nau, a faithful old native preacher who had done excellent missionary service in other islands, was given, and so insignificant were the acts upon which the charges were based, and so severe was the penalty pronounced, that it seemed incredible that such a case could occur outside of a barbarous country like Uganda. But later revelations put this illustration of the kind of justice an English missionary may administer quite into the shade. Shirley Baker, who, until he was removed in 1881, was superintendent for the Australasian Wesleyan Missionary Society of the Friendly Islands District, including Tonga, has caused fifty or more natives to be put to death under circumstances which make it not a judicial execution, but a massacre. The story is almost too horrible for belief; but unfortunately it is only too true. We give the story as we gather it from several different sources, Wesleyan, Roman Catholic, and otherwise.

On the evening of January 13, Premier Baker, while riding in his buggy, with his son and daughter, was fired upon from behind a hedge. Several men were in the party, and seeing them, Mr. Baker called to his son, who jumped down from the carriage, and approaching one of them ordered him to give up his gun. Instigated by his comrades the man fired, wounding the son in the arm. No shot was fired at Mr. Baker, for the reason, it is thought, that the men could not get him in range without imperiling his daughter. When the shot was fired at the son the men all fled. The horse sprang forward at the discharge of the gun and threw Miss Baker out, whereupon Mr. Baker, who had seen his son's arm shattered, drove away furiously, leaving both son and daughter to care for themselves. In a few minutes natives arrived and carried the son to a house near by. The premier, on entering his own house, fell in a faint, showing that he had been badly frightened. Fearing further attacks he asked the protection of the

British flag. As he boasted of being a citizen of Tonga, his action in putting himself under British protection was denounced as cowardly by the natives. Not daring to trust the Tonga soldiers, he sent for the Haabai and Vavau warriors, who came in great numbers by vessels, and began immediately to persecute and pillage. The Wesleyan College was visited, divinity students taken out and beaten, and property appropriated. Towns and villages were looted for miles around, and many Wesleyans lost every thing. In many cases Wesleyans were compelled to join the Free Church at the muzzle of a musket.

The men who attacked the premier were believed to be outlaws, men who had been imprisoned and broken loose, and over whose heads a reward was set. They gave themselves up, however. They were treated with great cruelty. The trials were conducted with closed doors. No Wesleyans or Catholics or Europeans were admitted, save the German proconsul and the British vice-consul. The latter did not understand the language, and was not allowed to have an interpreter. The jury was "packed." Mr. Baker himself presided, assisted by the Rev. J. B. Watkin, both ex-Wesleyan missionaries. Baker addressed the jury, reminded them that one of the prisoners had confessed, which is denied, and went out with them. Of course, a verdict of guilty was rendered, and the prisoners were condemned to be shot. While being removed for execution two of the men confessed to Baker that they alone were guilty, that the plot was political, involving a number of chiefs who had become restive under the tyranny of the premier, and that the Wesleyans were in no way concerned in it. The execution was conducted in a barbarous manner. A petition to the king, asking him to reprieve the unfortunate men, signed by all the Europeans, and by Roman Catholic priests and Wesleyan ministers, was prepared, but Baker, on learning that the name of Mr. Moulton, superintendent of the Wesleyan mission, was on it, refused to allow it to go to the king. On the 3d of February six more natives were condemned to be shot, after a trial conducted by Baker, and subsequently thirty more were similarly condemned. The Wesleyans were practically outlawed, at last accounts, and all sorts of indignities were being visited upon them. They were hoping that a French man-of-war would arrive and put a stop to the atrocities of Baker, even if annexation to France were the penalty.

King George is too old to take an active part in the affairs of government, having passed his eighty-sixth year, and Baker is virtually king, and is restrained, it would seem, by nothing in carrying out his purposes. What particular set of influences has operated upon him to make a monster out of a once reputable Wesleyan missionary we do not know.

In 1884 the Wesleyan Church in Tonga had 18,500 adherents. At the beginning of the present year there were only 2,100. This number must have been greatly reduced by the recent persecutions.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

THERE is a certain truculent vein in the mental make-up of the Duke of Argyle which gives spiciness to whatever he writes. Like Prof. Whewell, his foible is omniscience. It is nevertheless to be admitted that very few public men, and still fewer titled men, have any thing like the range of information and the solid ability of the Scotch peer. In the March number of the *Nineteenth Century* he criticises the article by Prof. Huxley in a previous number of the Review, in which the Professor attempts a reply to a part of a sermon by Canon Liddon. Canon Liddon had alluded to the credibility of miracles, re-stating the argument that miracles do not necessarily pre-suppose any violation of the laws of nature. He also used the familiar phrase, "the suspension of a lower law by the intervention of a higher," as when a man lifts his arm against the law of gravitation. This led Professor Huxley to write on Scientific and Pseudo-scientific Realism. It is very interesting to observe that in this paper the Professor repudiates altogether the argument which the preacher ascribes to physicists, and he denies that they withhold belief in miracles because they are in violation of natural law. He disclaims the assumption that we know the whole region of natural law, so as to be able to say that any given wonder cannot possibly be wrought by means of some law unknown to us. He withholds or suspends belief in miracles on deficiency of evidence, and even goes out of his way to show that science has now before it some hints, guesses, and surmises of the ultimate constitution of matter which bring some miracles which are difficult of acceptation within the limits of conceivability and physical causation. The Duke takes up the cudgels with great vigor in defense of the preacher, who is charged by the Professor with being a realist as much as Scotus Erigena, because he talks about the laws of nature as if they were things, or beings, or entities. The Professor claims that a law is not a thing. From this the Duke concludes that nothing is real which is not also a thing. When it is ascertained what the Professor means by a thing, we are forced to conclude that he means some bit, or, as it may be, some lump of matter. There is some excellent wit in this paper, called in to aid the Duke's logic in showing that there are abstract conceptions which are realities. Thus, the word "vegetable" represents an abstract idea, and according to Huxley has no reality. But a potato is a reality—an individual potato; not the idea of potato as a species, but only the individual potato—or an onion, which we can handle, boil, or eat. On the same principle there is no such thing as a professor or a preacher. There is only the man Professor Huxley, and the man Canon Liddon. If Canon Liddon is to be committed on this ground he may well feel sure that the Professor will be found standing in the dock beside him. Professor Huxley is reminded by the Duke that when he speaks on any question of biology he may speak authoritatively, but when he speaks of metaphysics or philosophy he speaks only with the authority which belongs to acute and powerful

minds when dealing with subjects on which other minds, equally powerful and acute, have differed and do differ widely. The reply to the Professor is also singularly acute on this point that, taking the scholastic as well as scientific idea that the universe is the manifestation of rational order, we must understand an order which is perceivable and intelligible to all faculties which make up the rational nature of men. The final conclusion of the Duke with regard to Professor Huxley's attack on the preacher is that he has been amusing himself with a metaphysical exercitation or logomachy. For once the pulpit has been far more philosophical than the chair. The Philosophy of Nescience has nothing to offer to mankind unless it be some results of caution.

The article in this number by the Rev. Dr. Jessup on the "Trials of a Country Parson," though referring to English life, shows that the country parson has every-where, in all countries, to endure about the same trials. It is evident that the English country parson suffers from the idea in the mind of his city brother that his money will go much farther than in the city. There are demands made upon his purse that approximate in intensity those made upon the city preacher. We commend this paper strongly to the attention of country ministers, for it has most intelligent sketches of character, and it has great wit. A sure sign that Mr. Gladstone is out of office is the appearance of articles by him in the Reviews. Thus we have the beginning of a series of articles in this number on the "Greater Gods of Olympus," this one being especially devoted to a Homeric study of Poseidon.

There are two articles only in the March *Contemporary Review* which are likely to attract the American reader. The first, by Captain Condor, on the "Old Testament Ancient Monuments and Modern Critics," compares the researches of Wellhausen with the facts of Oriental antiquity. To begin with, as to a very important question, namely, the origin of the sacred name of Jehovah and the diffusion of his worship, our critic informs us that Jehovah is to be regarded as the tribal or family God of the tribe of Moses, or of the tribe of Joseph; and in another passage we gather that his name was confined to Palestine alone. The Bible says otherwise, for Balaam, from Pethor on the Euphrates, adored Jehovah; Uriah the Hittite bears a name which suggests his worship of the same God. But for those who follow Wellhausen slavishly, not being able to quote the Bible against Wellhausen, the author calls attention to the recent discovery by Mr. Pinches, that the holy name appears on the cuneiform inscriptions as early as nine hundred years before Christ. It forms part of the royal names of the kings of Hamath before the captivity of Israel. It appears on Phenician inscriptions, not only in Assyria, but even in Malta and other Mediterranean islands. The testimony of the monuments accords with the words of Malachi, and shows us that almost as early as the days of Solomon the name Jehovah was adored by the Semitic peoples from Nineveh to Sidon and from Pethor to Jerusalem. The critical school of Gaf do not believe that any tabernacle (*ohel*) existed

in the wilderness. In Phenician inscriptions the word *ohel* occasionally occurs, and among the spoils taken by Thothmes III. at Megiddo were "seven poles of the pavilion of the enemy plated with silver." Thus we know that not only were arks and altars borne both in Assyria and in Egypt before the army, but tents, with plated pillars not unlike the *ohel* of the Pentateuch, were used in the field as early as the time of Moses. When Wellhausen regards the use of incense and the table of show-bread as evidences of a late period of writing, we must remember that incense was brought by the Syrians to Thothmes III., and that censers and a table piled with loaves like the show-bread are shown on very early Egyptian pictures. Captain Condor makes short work of Wellhausen's teaching, that whenever there is a resemblance between the Hebrew and Assyrian narrative the Hebrew borrowed from the Assyrian, and shows in one particular case that it could not have been imported before the time of Solomon. He remarks that there is a very close connection between the early story of Genesis and the Izdubar legends, but there is no identity. Had there been direct borrowing, the student of traditions would find much more exact resemblances. The names of Noah and Adam do not occur in other than the Hebrew narrative. The actors and the actions are very often different from those of the early chapters of Genesis. In regard to the notice of Ur in Genesis, Wellhausen sees in this name a later tradition of Hebrew migration. But it seems well settled that Ur is an Akkadian or Turanian word, and its occurrence in Genesis may be considered a mark of antiquity. Ur means "the city," and is perhaps to be identified with Ur-Uk, the "great city," once a sea-port on the Euphrates. The captain convicts Wellhausen either of gross mistake or sheer ignorance when he makes Baal represent "the female principle." It is evident that if, as Wellhausen says, the Hebrew religion dispensed with conceptions of heaven and hell, it differed widely from that of their contemporaries, for it is proven by Assyrian research that long before the days of Moses the Semitic peoples believed in future reward and punishment. This article is full of valuable matter, and shows how slow the Church ought to be in accepting the results of what is called "the higher criticism."

The other paper referred to is that by Dr. James Martineau, on "The National Church as a Federal Union." As might be expected, Dr. Martineau scouts any other than a spiritual unity. He dreams, however, of such an enlargement of the scope of the English Church by disestablishment as would plainly be an emergence into fresher inspirations and more fruitful labor. The article is valuable as showing how inevitably the force of the drift toward dis-establishment increases, and how the problems of that great work are already in process of solution.

The *London Quarterly* has less of American interest than usual, though all its papers are valuable for the student and literary man. The first notes the contrast between the Jewish and the Christian Messiah. Concerning the author of the *Greville Memoirs*, an unknown writer speaks as follows: "A conscientious chronicler and genial gossiper in the true line of succession from Pepys, but more solid in his tastes and more varied in his

The *New Englander and Yale Review* certainly improves in interest under the hand of its new editor, Thomas R. Bacon. Its five contributed articles discuss Tolstoi's novels: "Charity Organization," a "Social Study," "McClellan's Own Story," and "Education at the South"—this last topic treated by Ex-Governor Chamberlin. Mr. Richardson does not find that McClellan's own story is a justification of his inveterate habit of delay. The social study relates to what has been called "The Rebellion of the Majority;" namely, the efforts of the wage-earners to obtain a larger proportion of the profits of business. The editor writes an article upon "The Yale Student," in review of President Dwight's address upon that subject, which was certainly one of the best ever delivered on student life. The April number opens with a discussion of the difficulties of the Indian problem, by S. A. Galpin, which shows that the enthusiasts of the Indian Rights Association have something to inspire them as well as to discourage them. Professor Seymour, recently returned from abroad, has a charming paper upon "Life in Modern Greece." John Bascom's paper on "Scientific Theism," in review of Dr. Francis E. Abbott's "Organic Scientific Philosophy," is well worth reading.

The *Unitarian Review* for March has for its leading paper a description of the Harvard divinity school. From this article it would appear that the number of students is extremely small, the largest number in the seven years from 1872 to 1879 being twenty-three, and from 1879 to 1885 the highest number being twenty-nine. This is spoken of as a most gratifying increase, although in two or three of these years the number was as small as the lowest of the preceding period. This divinity school is called unsectarian, but its professorships are filled by men of various denominational affinities, and it accepts foundations for professorships to be filled by men who do not teach systematic theology from the standpoint of the orthodox denominations. It seems a curious fact, that side by side with theological teaching from a Unitarian point of view the teaching of the orthodox denominations is also given. Dr. Everett does not think, however, that a collision of teaching is as frequent as might be supposed. It is certainly a unique school in which, while the theology is Unitarian, the exegesis may be Trinitarian.

Our neighbor of the *Church Review* succeeds in treating matters of contemporary interest as well of those of permanent and historical value. In the March number the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Hall, of Brooklyn, discusses Mexico and Hayti, with reference to the constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and has some hard raps for the way in which the Protestant Episcopal Church has been managed in both these fields. Rev. W. L. Robbins, in Non-theistic ethics, inveighs with only just vigor against the effort of the Society of Ethical Culture to convince them that righteousness is a thing independent of God, and that faith is only a clog to good works. The April number has several articles of value to those outside of that denomination in the excellent paper on

admitting at the beginning that she is a Congregationalist because her fathers were, and, secondly, by conviction, because Congregationalism, considered as a policy and not as a creed, seems to combine in the happiest proportions individual religious freedom with social religious organization. To this writer all ecclesiasticism is of human origin. She claims no divine right for Congregationalism beyond the simple promise of Christ to the two or three that are gathered in his name. The chief advantage of Congregationalism in her mind is, that it interposes the least possible machinery between man and his Maker. There are many vigorous sentences in this article. For instance: "When the rest of the world is swinging its censer, and broidering its garments in the name of Christ, it is the part of Congregationalism to remind the world by example, rather than precept, that this is not Christianity. It may accompany worship, but worship is other than this." And the following: "Great men rise above all denominational limits, and appeal to the great congregation of the universal reason. The great man is, I think, never great as a churchman. He is great outside and above his church—no, he is even generally at odds with his church. Its bands hang loosely upon him, and they who are held together only by bands rise in bold, free flight." The article is well worth reading.

The chief interest of the *Andover Review* still continues to be found in its editorial departments. Of the four contributed articles the titles of but two are attractive, namely, "The Mormon Propaganda" and the "Nature of the Working of the Christian Consciousness;" while the four editorial articles are all of them strikingly interesting. The first is on the "Worth and Welfare of the Individual." In considering the criticism of *The Independent* on "Future Probation," there is an excellent summary of the position held by Professor Fisher, and defended at length in the editorial article, that sinners, at least among the heathen, can be saved without faith in an historical Christ. And again we are amazed that this should be hailed as a new view, when, among Methodists, it has been held from the beginning that the conscientious heathen, seeking after and reaching out toward the essential Christ, can be saved, and has been saved. Yet here we find it stated almost as a novelty. If Professor Fisher holds it, he holds the only view which is defensible. The atonement is a visible expression of the divine love and of the divine intent to save men if they will let themselves be saved; and those who have not heard of that atonement in the historic sense, but thrust themselves out toward the fatherly side of God in all sincerity of repentance, faith, and good works, may well be thought to be accepted in the sight of God.

There is also a long sketch of the life and work of Henry Ward Beecher, which is highly commendatory as a whole. Taken together, it is the best analysis of the temper and method of Mr. Beecher that we have seen. The writer admits that the theological element in the teaching of Mr. Beecher was undoubtedly inadequate. The man was of the poetic and not of the scientific cast.

expression." This comment on Greville is very just. So rich are his memoirs that it would be impossible to write the recent history of Europe without comparing his work with all that has gone before. The last volume is not so rich in personal gossip as the two which have preceded it; but this is due to the fact that he was shut out in some of his later years by ill health from the social life which so strongly attracted him in his youth and middle manhood.

The capacity of our institutions to develop a self-regulating and self-reforming element is admirably shown in the many discussions of our political methods and life which are now appearing in the current reviews and magazines. Recent notable revelations of Mr. Ivins, Chamberlain of New York, as to the cost of election to the chief offices in that city, have done a great deal toward calling attention to the immense power which money wields in city elections, and to the danger arising from the fact that to some offices men cannot be nominated unless they are possessed of large wealth, or willing to donate a very considerable portion of their office fees to the political managers and heelers who proffer and sustain the nomination. The veteran David Dudley Field, who at eighty is still one of the most active of our public men, writes in the *North American* for April on open nominations and free elections, declaring that we have in theory both, but that we have them not in practice. Twenty-five thousand persons in New York compel the two hundred and fifty thousand or three hundred thousand voters to vote for those whom they nominate. If they do not so vote their vote is thrown away. Mr. Field speaks none too strongly when he says: "Such an arrangement of government, however brought about, whether by law or custom, is unendurable, and, if not changed, must end in a catastrophe. The chief men of the city in its business life are compelled to say, in respect of their influence for or against any measure pending in the legislature, that they have none. The ward politician, the boss of the primaries, the man who haunts the corner grog-shop, these are the men of the chief political influence in New York." Mr. Field looks toward a constitutional provision that every man who would vote at the election must take part in the nomination. He claims that it would be a great advance if the legislature would provide by law for paying the election expenses of all candidates nominated in a particular manner. He suggests that registration in cities should be made early in October, next before an election; that at the time of registration the voter should be required to name the person whom he would nominate for the office to be filled, and that the persons thus nominated by a certain number—say one tenth of the voters registered—should have their ballots printed and distributed at the expense of the county. He also advocates greater secrecy in balloting, and the prevention of traitorous exchanges of ballots without the knowledge of the candidates.

Gail Hamilton contributes the denominational paper to this number of the *North American*, and shows why she is a Congregationalist;

"The Theories of the Holy Union," by Rev. W. D. Wilson, D.D., and in the review of Mommsen's "Provinces of the Roman Empire," by the Rev. W. Epiphanius Wilson.

The *Presbyterian Review* is as solid and substantial as its time-honored polity. Opening with a stately article upon the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, by the Rev. Henry J. Van Dyke, D.D., it passes on, after one or two other papers, to discuss the question "Were the Apostles Prelates?" This is done by the Rev. Professor Thomas Witherow in what is altogether the most interesting paper in the number. Professor Candlish examines Reformation theology in the light of modern knowledge, and reaches the conclusion that the theology of the Reformers stands the test of modern knowledge better than that of their successors in the seventeenth century, the reason being that the Reformers possessed intensity of religious feeling, and also sympathy with the best learning of their day. In the paper on the question "Were the Apostles Prelates?" the author substantially adopts the view of Bishop Lightfoot; not that the apostle of the first century broadened down into the congregational bishop of the second century and the prelate of the fourth, but that the prelate gradually rose and developed out of the presiding presbyter. Thus the congregational bishop developed into a primate, and the primitive parish became a diocese. The bishop of the third century was a very humble and modest officer of the Church, but after the union of Church and State he grew into the full-blown primate. By the fifth and sixth centuries the hierarchy was fully developed, and from the end of the sixth century we may regard the apex of the ecclesiastical pyramid as completed by the popedom.

The *Southern Methodist Review* for March opens with a vindication of the original status of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and of its episcopacy, by John J. Tigert, in which good use is made of the celebrated letter of Bishop Coke quoted by Dr. Atkinson at page 74 of his Centennial History. W. T. Bolling has an article on Methodism and ministerial education. A warning is sounded against the tendency to have no other than a college-bred ministry. The following sentences are worth attention: "If we depend upon the brain of the clergy to overcome the infidelity of our times, we may as well surrender now. No man's infidelity was ever of the head first, but of the heart. 'The fool hath said in his heart there is no God;' and the theory of driving it from the heart by beginning at the brain will not do."

Christian Thought for April has a portrait of Dr. M. Miskaka, called the Luther of Syria; and another of the (Samaritan) high-priest, Jacob. The leading article is by Dr. George B. Stevens, of Yale, on "Reason as a Basis for Theistic Belief," a highly creditable paper for the young professor. This number also prints the "Functions of Christian Doctrine," by Dr. J. E. Rankin, and an exposition of Wilfred Hall's "Substantial Philosophy."

Bishop Janssens, in the March number of the *Catholic World*, discusses the negro problem in its relation to the Catholic Church. It is a strong appeal to the Catholic body to attempt the work of catholicizing the negro; admitting that it can be done, however, only by the black priesthood. "They do not want," he says, "our preachers, and I do not know of any preacher outside the Catholic Church who has ever exercised any religious influence over them; while on the other hand the colored preacher is, as a rule, highly respected, and willingly obeyed by his congregation." Dr. Henry A. Brann examines the land theories of Henry George with a sharply critical eye, and very successfully refutes the doctrine that private ownership of land is public robbery.

The best thing in the April number of the *Homiletic Review* is a criticism, by an eminent professor of homiletics, on Dr. Talmage, which is to be followed by others on Spurgeon, Beecher, Phillips Brooks, John Hall, and William M. Taylor. The criticism is kindly but sharp.

The *Brooklyn Magazine* has blossomed into the *American Magazine*, an illustrated representative of American thought and life. The first number is out for May, and is excellent in appearance, sufficiently well illustrated with pictures of American authors, and compares well with its long-established predecessors.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Word-Studies in the New Testament. By MARVIN R. VINCENT, D.D. Vol. I. The Synoptic Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Epistles of Peter, James, and Jude. 8vo, pp. 822. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The title given to this work is especially a felicitous indication of its purpose and character. It is something more than a verbal criticism of a part of the New Testament. The subjects discussed are primarily words in their individuality, their genesis, history, relations, and their accommodated uses: and afterward of their force and meanings in the places where they occur. The work is thus made to occupy a place between a lexicon and a commentary, having some of the properties of both, and so amplifying these as to give it a character of its own. The necessary insufficiency of any translation to retain and reproduce in another language the finer shades of meaning of the words of the original—upon which also, in many cases, the best sense of the utterance depends—is recognized, and perhaps rather strongly stated, through not noticing considerations which modify and mitigate the confessed fact. This infelicity it is the purpose of these *Word-Studies* as far as possible to obviate, in the effort toward which it must be granted that the author has succeeded fairly well. While it is true that for the great mass of readers, not only the unlearned but also the so-called liberally educated — all

but one of a thousand—their chief source of information respecting the contents and doctrines of the Bible is their vernacular version, it is also true that the spirit and the truth of Holy Scripture are so diffused through and through the sacred text, in its entirety rather than in its verbal details, that any one really familiar with a version as imperfect and inadequate as our authorized English Bible is confessed to be will be pretty safely guarded against both "error in religion" and "viciousness in life." Still it is well that there shall be the fullest and most exact knowledge of whatever may be contained in the written word; and for the attainment of such knowledge books of this character are valuable helps.

It is manifest in the work itself, as the author himself also declares, that it has been performed much more as a labor of love than as simply a task of learned criticism, and accordingly some of its best features have resulted from that condition of the case; for the most fruitful thinking is done without the constraining sense of necessity to determine and declare matured results. While it is true in literature, as in nature, that we usually find only what we look for, it is equally true in both cases that, after the mind's eyes have been opened, the most valuable as well as the most pleasing "finds" are made without having been previously specifically objects of pursuit. That the author of this volume so came into possession of some of his best thoughts scarcely admits of a question, and his appreciative readers will share with him the joy occasioned by his findings. It is the best service of criticism to point out such excellencies as are equally obvious to all who are capable of knowing them, and therefore Dr. Vincent's volume will be most valued by adepts in New Testament Greek. It is, further, no inconsiderable recommendation to this work that it may be used, and its proffered advantages made available, without the drudgery of study. The work might, with propriety, be called "*Diversions*" or "*Amenities*" of New Testament criticism; and it will probably yield its best profits when used as such, rather than for necessary studies.

This volume, covering only part of the books of the New Testament, is itself the promise of another, for the production of which the author places himself under obligations. It will be seen that the parts omitted comprise the whole of the writings of John and Paul, and precisely in these are found the most fruitful fields for *Word-Studies*. No doubt our author will find abundant and valuable gleanings in them. The material make up of the book deserves decided commendation in respect to both the materials used and the character of the mechanical work. It is a valuable contribution to critical and exegetical literature.

Introduction to the Catholic Epistles. By PATON J. GLOAG, D.D., Minister of Galashiels, author of *An Introduction to the Pauline Epistles*, etc. 8vo, pp. 416. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

It is an encouraging fact that students of the Bible are no longer satisfied with merely textual study; that in addition to the older commentaries on the sacred text, with their verbal exegesis and "improvements," there is

a demand for broader and more comprehensive presentations of the Bible as a whole, and of the several parts of it in their individuality and entirety. The demand thus made is responded to, at least in part, in the many and thoroughly learned and able "introductions" to the Bible as a whole, or to its several portions, which have appeared within a few years in both German and English. The special value of these works is not so much in their wider knowledge of the subjects considered as in their improved methods of arranging and presenting their matter, and especially in substituting for continuous treatises on the whole Bible, which was the older form, monographs and special studies of single books or classes of books.

The work now before us is of this latter class. Its author has been for some years recognized as an able biblical scholar, learned and liberal, and yet eminently conservative in dealing with biblical subjects. His *Messianic Prophecies* (first delivered as the Baird Lecture for 1879), and his *Acts of the Apostles*, a critical and exegetical commentary, have received emphatic commendations from our ablest scholars and critics; but his *Introduction to the Pauline Epistles* lies more exactly in the line of the present work, and, to all who are acquainted with it, it will prove the best commendation to that now in hand. As between German writers in this department and those who use the English language, while recognizing the value of the indefatigable painstaking and attention to details of the former, we still prefer the free and broader methods of the latter, and their better methods of collection of details and of seizing and grouping results; and in these qualities our present author largely excels.

In dealing with the Catholic Epistles a large number of somewhat difficult questions required careful attention. The three principal ones, James, 1 Peter, and 1 John—have a well-ascertained canonicity, and they are universally conceded to be among the ablest and most valuable of the apostolical writings; but they still present some not inconsiderable difficulties in respect to their relations to each other, and still more so in respect to the Pauline Epistles. The author's treatment of these cases is eminently satisfactory. Respecting the other four, and minor epistles—2 Peter, Jude, and 1 and 2 John—the work was more difficult, and the conclusions reached more doubtful. The early Church long hesitated respecting them, and had they never been received, the canon of the Church would not have suffered any great loss. These questions are thoroughly examined by our author, and the evidences *pro* and *con* fairly presented; and while the author uniformly leans to the conservative side, he still leaves us to infer his own views, or else to inquire where he may stand. The work will prove useful to all our biblical students, and the most careful need have no fears in respect to any misleading tendencies.

Job and Solomon; or, The Wisdom of the Old Testament. By Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, A.M., D.D., Oriel Professor of Interpretation at Oxford. 8vo, pp. 309. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

The author of this work has heretofore become known, to all who keep themselves informed in current biblical literature, by his *Prophecies of*

Isaiah, the second edition of which was issued in this country by Mr. Whittaker in 1884, and noticed by us somewhat later. In that work the author clearly indicates his sympathy with the advanced school of Old Testament interpreters, although uniformly reverent in tone, and conservative of the spiritual and properly supernatural elements of the Bible. The poetical books treated of in the present volume afford him a theme especially suited to his genius and modes of thought and study. His position in respect to these books is that now very generally held by living biblical scholars; to wit, that there was a school of Hebrew literature extending from the age of Solomon to the Exile, which it also survived, to which all the specifically poetic parts of the Old Testament, except the oldest part of the Psalms, belong—the *Khokma* (wisdom) school of Hebrew poetry. He, of course, disallows any proper historical character to the narrative portion of the book of Job, viewing it as simply a semi-dramatic poem. Without attempting to determine its precise date he would assign it a place somewhere between the times of Solomon and the captivity, possibly not earlier than the post-exilian period. The Proverbs he considers to be a compilation of three parts, with two appendixes; the oldest the Solomonic, chapters x–xxiv, next the Hezekian, chapters xxv–xxix. Chapters i–ix he holds to be a later prefix, and chapters xxx and xxxi, independent additions. He admits both the canonicity and the inspiration of all these books, and he seems to include the "Wisdom of the Son of Sirach" among them, but just what he would include under these terms he does not clearly define. The book is learned, reverent, and easy to be understood; a pleasant one to read, and such as can scarcely fail to please and to command respect, even where it may not convince.

The Gospel According to St Luke. With Introduction, Notes, and Maps. Chapters I–XII. By THOMAS M. LINDSAY, D.D., Professor of Divinity, etc., Free Church College, Glasgow. 12mo, pp. 171. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

This is part of the series of "Hand-books for Bible Classes and Private Students," consisting of commentaries, Church histories, doctrinal and practical treatises, making a pretty wide range of religious reading, written with marked ability, and put up in a form suited to the classes of readers indicated; the whole edited by Rev. Marcus Dod and Alexander Whyte. The book in hand is a pretty full commentary on the first twelve chapters of Luke, with a valuable "introduction" prefixed, a provision that ought to accompany every commentary, and which must be studied in order that the text may be properly understood. The compact form of the volume, secured by the use of small print and full pages, brings the twofold compensation of low price and portableness, while the fine print is not seriously objectionable with those for whom these books are specially intended. It is remarkable, and something to be regretted, that books of this kind are not more largely published and circulated in this country, for they are incomparably better than some that are issued from most of our religious publishing houses.

His Star in the East. A Study of the Early Aryan Religions. By LEIGHTON PARKS, Rector of Emmanuel Church, Boston. 12mo, pp. 292. New York and Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The substance of this volume, we are told, was first given in the form of a course of lectures before the Lowell Institute, during the winter of 1885. Here, however, it appears in regular chapters, having been thoroughly recast and rewritten. The evident design seems to be to show Buddhism at its very best; and so, no doubt, it is made to appear somewhat better than its real best, apparently with the intent to point out its likeness in some of its features to Christianity, and also its contrasts, and to show its essential defectiveness as a religious system. The book is one that will certainly be read with pleasure by men of broad and generous views, who will be interested in its showing of the instinctive reaching out of men's souls after even the faintest traces of spiritual light, whether suggested by the intuitions or borne downward along the ages as survivals of the truths that were current in older and better times. No doubt Buddhism, while it is the most widely diffused of all the ethnic religions, is also the least grossly materialistic and anthropological. It is, however, essentially pessimistic, and seeks its highest good for its subjects in their nearest possible approach to the negation of personal being. As a system it is impotent to elevate either society or the individual, and its relation to the Gospel, wherever the two come into contact, is naturally and necessarily antagonistic.

The Bible-Work. The Old Testament, Vol. I, Genesis, chap. i, to Exodus, chap. xii. From the Creation to the Exodus. The Text arranged in Sections, with Comments selected from the Choicest, most Illuminating, and Healthful Thoughts of the Christian Centuries, taken from Four Hundred Scholarly Writers. Prepared by J. GLENTWORTH BUTLER, D.D. Imperial octavo, pp. 647. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The author of this volume is already known to the public by the New Testament portion of the projected "Bible Work," of which this is the initial one for the Old Testament. Those who have become acquainted with these volumes will not need to be informed as to the character or method of the present one, for the same characteristics reappear, with very similar methods of exposition and elucidation. The work rendered by the author is, indeed, one of selecting and editing rather than of composition and authorship. The writer's position is that of evangelical orthodoxy, and the authors chiefly drawn upon by him are those who have been usually accepted as altogether conservative in their conceptions respecting the teachings of the Bible. Still the positions usually taken are abreast of the learning and thinking of the times, as entertained by the better class of non-rationalistic exegetes and theologians. The selections have been made with care, and the author's judgment in choosing those to be used out of the abundant materials in hand indicates both his wide reading and good practical common sense. For non-professional Bible-readers, who would understand what they read, this work will serve instead of many others, and prove equal to all their requirements.

PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

Realistic Philosophy Defended in a Philosophic Series. By JAMES MCCOSH, D.D., LL.D., Litt. D., President of Princeton College. Two vols. 8vo, pp. 252, 325. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Introduction to Pyschological Theory. By BORDEN P. BOWNE, Professor of Philosophy in Boston University. 8vo, pp. 329. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Psychology. By JOHN DEWEY, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Philosophy in Michigan University. 8vo, pp. 427. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The studies which have been made in recent years of mental phenomena from the physiological side have added much to our knowledge on the subject. The character and functions of the nervous system have been looked into, and light has been cast upon its relations with sensation, thought, and emotion. Some success has been obtained in defining the precise regions of the brain that are in immediate relation with particular processes, and localization has been so far advanced that Professor Ferrier expresses a hope that we may soon have a "scientific phrenology." Writers on this line of investigation have sometimes assumed that the new system has put the old psychology out of the combat, and spoken of it as a thing of the past. Some of it has no doubt been corrected and modified. That happens to all knowledge. But the books before us furnish evidence that what is fundamental in the old, introspective psychology is still unshaken, and illustrate the pertinency of Prof. Bowne's remark, that its "physiological reconstruction has been postponed." Each of them demonstrates in its way that the science knows how to estimate the fruits of the new researches, and to select and assimilate those of them which are useful.

Dr. McCosh's "Series," while it betrays weakness at some points, is generally clear and useful. It premises that we need a distinctively American school of philosophy, and that it must be realistic; that is, that it shall regard the objects of its study as real, whether they be material entities, spiritual conceptions, mental faculties and powers, or abstract qualities. This comprehensive application of realism is explained and justified in the former part of the first volume. Next, the theory of causation is considered; the several kinds of causes are defined and their reality is shown, including among them final causes, or the purposes of things and processes. All causes and results are shown to be double, because two entities or agencies are concerned in the action or production of each. A chain of causes succeeding one another in a time no matter how long, with the accumulation of results, constitutes evolution, of the efficient operation of which, and its entire consistency with the intelligent foresight and superintending direction of the Deity, the author has no doubt.

The second volume is historical and critical. It summarizes and reviews the systems of the ancient and modern philosophers, closing with a fuller review of Herbert Spencer's philosophy. While the great value of this author's work is recognized, he is declared guilty of the fault of ap-

proaching the investigation of mental phenomena wholly from the outside, and failing to avail himself of the evidence which the mind itself affords by consciousness. His *Data of Ethics* is sharply criticised, and he and John Stuart Mill are declared, in their efforts to construct the universe without calling in God, an independent morality, or the immortality of the soul, to have "brought thinking to a very blank issue."

Professor Bowne's book—modestly declared to be only an introduction to psychological theory—aims less at a knowledge of facts than at an understanding of principles. Whatever may be the merits of physiological psychology, it must presuppose pure psychology, as the physiologists themselves are beginning to discern. The facts of psychology being chiefly revealed by consciousness, our method must be mainly introspective, and its results must be verified from our own experience. The subject of the mental life is self—mind, soul, or spirit—and is real and abiding. The attempts of materialists to do away with it, and reduce it to states of consciousness, are shown in a few clear words to be fallacious. Sensations depend upon physical conditions of nervous change, but are not explained by them. They are a mental reaction against nervous action, in which the nerves do not feel although they cause feeling; and the connection is inexplicable. These sensations may be reproduced in memory, or through association, by a purely mental process. Feelings—forms of consciousness, many of them originating in purely mental sources—are not susceptible of definition and cannot be deduced. Sensation, perception, reflection and action do not imply feeling, although they are all accompanied by it, not as an analytic implication, but rather as an incommensurable addition. The feelings, ascending to the æsthetic, moral, and religious sentiments, are the deepest things in us, furnishing the great impulses to action and outlining its direction, and are translated into volition and action. Consciousness is not a faculty in addition to other faculties, but a clear implication of the other faculties—an essential property of the mental processes. It is important to guard against the double error of trying to reduce these various faculties to some common form, as the sensationalists do, and the tendency to regard them as distinct entities.

> The transformations of sensationalism are purely verbal; and we have to assume a complex mental nature to account for the complex mental life. But we are not to suppose that this complex nature is made out of a bundle of independent faculties. The faculties are always and only abstractions from the many-sided mental life. This life is the reality.

The factors and processes of the mental life are afterward shown in combination, as in "perception," "the forms of reproduction," "the thought-process," and "interaction of soul and body;" and "sleep and abnormal mental phenomena" are considered. Professor Bowne has full command of his subject, and gives a clear, current account of mental phenomena, with satisfying exposures as he goes along of the fallaciousness of all extra-mental attempts to interpret or explain them.

Professor Dewey's work is intended for a text-book to be used in class

instruction. In determining whether he should take notice in it of philosophical principles, and thus admit matter of an historical character not strictly belonging to the subject, or, omitting such references, should confine himself to the facts of scientific psychology, the author found that the philosophic implications imbedded in the heart of psychology could not well be got rid of, and that the custom of the colleges to make this branch the path by which to enter the fields of philosophy forbade their being ignored. He has therefore written with reference to this point; and while avoiding, as far as was practicable, all material not really pertinent to the subject, aiming to reflect the investigations of scientific specialists, he has endeavored to arrange his treatise so as to lead to the problems that will be met in further studies, to suggest the principles along which they shall be solved, and to develop the scientific spirit. The principles and facts of mental phenomena are presented in the order usually observed, in compact sentences, which, while clearly expressed, suggest and stimulate thought rather than lead it on. The results of the latest studies, physiological and other, are recognized and given their due place. Copious bibliographical references to the works of authors who have treated of the particular subject, appended to every chapter, greatly increase the value of the book. W. H. L.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Waste-Land Wanderings. By CHARLES C. ABBOTT, M.D., Author of *Upland and Meadow*, etc. 12mo, pp. 312. New York: Harper & Brothers.

In the domain of Nature even more than in that of Art, only the "gifted ones" can see what would seem to be obvious and patent to all observers; a few such, however, there are, who find a real and congenial companionship in "all out-doors"—the every day affairs among which the multitude live and die and find no pleasure in them. A few of these have written down their observations, and so won for themselves reputations as authors, prominent among whom are the names of Thoreau and John Burroughs, and now, perhaps, Dr. Abbott must be admitted to the select fraternity. Thoreau, the hermit of the Merrimac, saw chiefly the "spiritual" side of nature, and seemed always to be conversing with the unseen, the souls of inanimate or irrational things, their qualities and attributes, "which only gifted bards can see," so that to him human companionship was an intrusion. John Burroughs, who lives among the hills of the Hudson, is more superficial and vastly more companionable; has more of the artist than of the metaphysician, and so the more readily leads others to see what he sees and to participate in his abundant joyousness. Dr. Abbott, who delights to roam along the Delaware, is the quiet observer of whatever nature offers in her humdrum aspects—the flora and fauna of the fields and meadows, the copses and woodsides, and especially the creeks and lakelets, of an agricultural neighborhood. He has not much

of the aspect of either the philosopher or the poet; but he shows a wide acquaintance with out-door life, and a keen eye for the changes of the sky and of the seasons. He knows all the birds and the mammals of our fields and woods, and the fishes in the brooks, and seems never weary in telling of their habits, with illustrative incidents and anecdotes. To one who has come to see with his eyes and to share his tastes, and who has learned his language, which is not difficult, his books are pleasant companions for leisure hours.

Henry Ward Beecher. A Sketch of his Career, with Analyses of his Power as a Preacher, Lecturer, Orator and Journalist, and Incidents and Reminiscences of his Life. By LYMAN ABBOTT, D.D., assisted by Rev. S. B. HALLIDAY. Characterizations and Personal Reminiscences contributed by Thirty nine Eminent Writers. Also, Mr. Beecher's Life as Sketched by Himself Shortly before his Death. 8vo, pp. 670. Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Co. Twenty full-page Illustrations.

That a person who had filled so large a place in the public mind as had Mr. Beecher should become at once on his demise the subject for a life sketch was only what might have been expected; though that so complete a work as this should be published so soon after his death is remarkable, and the fact shows that its preparation must have antedated his death. As should be the case, with what must be little more than an enlarged funeral tribute, the work has been performed by long-time friends and admirers, who are able and practiced book-makers, and of course the work is entirely eulogistical. And for eulogy the material at hand was abundant and of a high grade of excellence. To the admirers of the great preacher this work cannot fail to be a most acceptable gift; and that larger public which has marked that wonderful career will not fail to appreciate what is here shown of the bright side of one who has had few equals in modern times. The time for writing his biography, and fixing his place in the history of his times, has not come, nor will that task devolve upon any of his contemporaries. The marvel is that so excellent a piece of mechanical work could have been done so speedily, for it is really a fine book.

Charles Reade, D.C.L. Dramatist, Novelist, Journalist. A Memoir compiled chiefly from his Literary Remains. By CHARLES L. READE and the Rev. COMPTON READE. 12mo, pp. 448. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Charles Reade was unique in character and career, and it is well that a sketch of him should be prepared for the public by kind and appreciative hands. This has been done in a most satisfactory manner. The book will be read with genuine pleasure by especially the admirers of the departed *litterateur*, and generally by all who appreciate real and hearty excellence.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Poetic and Dramatic Works of Robert Browning. In Six Volumes, Crown 8vo. Riverside Edition. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Vol. I. Pauline, Paracelsus, Strafford, Sordello, Pippa Passes, King Victor and King Charles. Pp. 412.

Vol. II. Dramatic Lyrics, The Return of the Druses, A Blot in the 'Scutcheon, Colombe's Birthday, Dramatic Romances, A Soul's Tragedy, Luria. Pp. 404.

We are not disposed at this time to write a critique on Browning's Poems. It is not the time for such an attempt, nor would our space allow us to enter intelligently and at length into such a performance. Just now there appears to be a revival of Browningism, which will no doubt be promoted by this complete edition in uniform and elegant volumes. In their announcement the publishers say:

> This edition will form six crown 8vo. volumes. It will be carefully printed from long primer type, upon a high grade of book paper, and bound in neat library style with gilt tops. The first volume contains a fine steel portrait, and the sixth will have indexes of the contents and of the first lines of the poems in all the volumes. The price is $1.75 a volume in cloth, and $3.00 a volume in a handsome style of half-calf binding.

There is something significant in the fact, though apparently without special design, that those who shall use these volumes are designated "students of Browning," and not, as in other cases, simply *readers*, for surely only pretty diligent students will be able to appreciate his writings.

Pulpit Trees and Homiletical Undergrowth. Being Discourses, Sermonic Saplings, and Germs. By Rev. THOMAS KELLEY, Philadelphia. 12mo, pp. 336. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Sermonic literature is usually reckoned among the cheapest, both on account of its abundance and of the amount of thought expressed within a given space; but in the case of printed sermons no one is compelled to read them, and therefore none need complain. Of late it has become the fashion to strive for a hearing or reading by strokes of smartness, if not in the sermon itself, at least in its title or ostensible subject; so in this case very good and wholesome religious teaching is introduced by quaint and striking figures and names.

Creed and Character. Sermons. By the Rev. S. H. HOLLAND, M.A., Canon of St. Paul's. 12mo, pp. 343. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Learned, thoughtful, devout, are the terms that best characterize these sermons; for secondary qualities may be named, conservatism, moderation, churchliness. They abound in an abiding protest against the fashionable folly, not to call it by a worse name, of distinguishing doctrinal beliefs from spiritual religion, and bending the latter at the expense of the former. But like many of his class, the author appears to be incapable of thinking of religion in any form or degree except as it is manifested through the Church, which is assumed to be the outward ecclesiastical organism of which he is a member.

Representative English Prose and Prose Writers. By THEODORE W. HUNT, Ph.D., Author of *Principles of Written Discourse.* 12mo, pp. 527. New York: A. C Armstrong & Son.

Ever since the elder D'Israeli published his *Curiosities* and his *Amenities of English Literature*, other books on the same general subject, if executed with a fair degree of ability, have been acceptable to readers of the English language. Such a book as that named above is therefore assured in advance of a favorable reception, and in this case the same feeling will be rendered perpetual. The author, heretofore favorably known by his former production in another department of the same general line of thought and study, evidently came to the work of producing this volume with a hearty liking for the work. He presents first the "Representative Historical Periods" of the production of English prose literature. Next a discussion and classification of "Representative Literary Forms," and last, an estimate of certain "Representative Prose Writers and Their Styles." The manner and style of the work are fairly good, the views expressed are neither extreme nor commonplace, and the criticisms and suggestions are instructive and wholesome, altogether making a pleasant companion for the leisure hour.

Dr. Channing's Note-Book. Passages from the Unpublished Manuscripts of William Ellery Channing. Selected by his Granddaughter, GRACE ELLERY CHANNING. 16mo, pp. 110. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

A great damage is sometimes done to a fine reputation by having one's posthumous papers given to the public through filial partiality; but Dr. Channing was less liable to such loss than most men. We have here a book full of short remarks, from a single line to half a page in length, sometimes sparkling, and sometimes simply plain matters of fact, but always wise and wholesome.

The New Psychic Studies in their Relation to Christian Thought. By FRANKLIN JOHNSON, D.D. 18mo, pp. 91. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

We freely confess our inability to deal intelligently with these "psychic" wonders. Perhaps there is a real basis of truth under them. It is, however, certain that, whatever of truth there may be in them, there is very much of folly and falsehood in their manifestation.

The City Youth. By J. THAIN DAVIDSON, Author of *Talks with Young Men*, etc. 12mo, pp. 291. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

A subject at once of the highest importance and requiring the greatest delicacy of handling, ably and successfully treated. Let young men, every-where, read it.

James Hannington. D.D., First Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa. A History of his Life and Work, 1847-1885. By E. C. DAWSON, M.A., Oxon. First American from the Sixth London Edition. 12mo, pp. 471. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

A full and appreciative sketch of the latest martyr for Christ in Africa, with a circumstantial account of the massacre of the Christians.

The Russian Church and Russian Dissent. Comprising Orthodoxy, Dissent, and Erratic Sects. By ALBERT F. HEARD, formerly Consul-General for Russia at Shanghai. 12mo, pp. 310. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The history of Russia, both political and ecclesiastical, is still unwritten, though some creditable essays in that direction have been made during the not remote past—and in that company the book now in hand deserves an honorable place. The story of the introduction of Christianity among the tribes of the steppes forms an interesting passage in church history, but, by reason of the strange and multiplied division of indigenous sects, the real religious history of the people is an almost interminable maze. The National Church is nominally and by descent a part of the Eastern or Greek, as distinguished from the Western or Latin, Church, which two for many centuries comprised the whole of Christendom; but the Russian Church is, as to its polity, strictly national, and indeed a part of the imperial government, with the Czar for its head and ruler. The great mass of the people are nominally of that Church, and yet the dissenting sects are numerous, and some of them are not only tolerated, but endowed with large political and ecclesiastical privileges. The book under notice attempts simply to restate the chief points of that history without partiality and in plain and concise terms.

Was he Wise? By J. K. LUDLUM, Author of *Dr. Harry*, etc. 12mo, pp. 306.

Who was He? Six Short Stories about Some of the Mysterious Characters and Well-kept Secrets of Modern Times. By HENRY FREDERIC REDDALL, Author of *From the Golden Gate to the Golden Horn*, etc. 12mo, pp. 300.

Five-Minute Sermons to Children. By Rev. WILLIAM ARMSTRONG. 12mo, pp. 203.

Some Aspects of the Blessed Life. By MARK GUY PEARSE, Author of *Thoughts on Holiness.* 12mo, pp. 222.

The Sunday-school department of the Methodist Book Concern continues its emissions—sometimes good, and sometimes not so good. Of the above list the *first* is a story—a novel of no special worth. The *second* is a book of very considerable interest—"six short stories," each telling of an unsolved mystery respecting a real or supposititious character. They are, 1) "The Lost Heir of the Bourbons" (Louis XVII. of France. 2) "The Unknown of the Bastile" (Man in the Iron Mask). 3) "Some Strange Stories" (chiefly of English and Irish affairs). 4) "The Foundling of Nuremberg" (Kaspar Hauser). 5) "The Wandering Jew." 6) "Junius." Happily selected and fairly well treated. The *third* is made up of a hundred very brief pieces, short and crisp, and on the whole very good. The style "sermons" is not justified, except that a text of Scripture stands at the head of each. The *fourth* is by the author of "Daniel Quorm," on a much-written-about subject, bringing almost nothing new.

The People's Bible. Discourses upon Holy Scripture. By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D., Minister of the City Temple, Author of the *Inner Life of Christ*, etc. Vol. V. 12mo, pp. 360. Joshua and Judges.

The qualities for which we have commended former volumes of this work appear also in this, without any abatement of excellence.

A Tramp Trip; or, How to See Europe on Fifty Cents a Day. By LEE MERRIWEATHER. 12mo, pp. 276. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The feat named in this title is no doubt within the range of possibility; perhaps some might find it a pleasure trip, but not every one. The sketches are lively, and the descriptions full of valuable information, all the more so because they often relate to matters which would escape the observation of more expensive tourists.

Current Discussions in Theology. By the Professors of Chicago Theological Seminary. Vol. IV. 12mo, pp. 336. Chicago & New York: Fleming H. Revell.

This fourth annual report of the course of theological thought and discussion for the year last preceding the date of each volume very fully sustains the high standard reached by its predecessors. The joint authors and editors of the work are rendering a valuable service to others as well as honor to themselves.

The Merry Men, and Other Tales and Fables. By ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. 16mo, pp. 308. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The saying that "much of a story is in the telling" is very happily illustrated in this collection. The "Tales and Fables" are intrinsically of small account, but they are so written that they allure the reader to pursue them simply for the pleasure they afford.

In the Wrong Paradise, and Other Stories. By ANDREW LANG, Author of *Custom and Myth*, etc. 18mo, pp. 255. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Lang is good at stories. Here we have nine, of which that named in the title is only a fair average. They are wild enough, sometimes a little weird, and never have any more serious purpose than to amuse.

Pleading for Prayer, and Other Sermons. Preached in 1886. By C. H. SPURGEON, of London. 12mo, pp. 384. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Like every thing from the same abundant source, these eighteen sermons are sound in respect to fundamental Christian doctrine, and marvelously fervent in spirit and direct in their aim.

Bible Knights. McKendree Class-Meeting Talks, O. P. FITZGERALD, Leader. 18mo, pp. 168. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

In the form of class-meeting conversations the author of this little volume brings together a collection of religious thoughts, brief and pointed, and sometimes pungent and expressive, which will not fail to profit those who read them with a spirit to be profited.

Random Recollections. By HENRY B. STANTON. 12mo, pp. 298. New York: Harper & Brothers.

In this volume Mr. Stanton tells of what he saw, and in much of which he was an actor, of the politics of the nation in general, and of the State of New York in particular, for about sixty years, coming down to the present time. The story is full of life, and will be read with interest by all who may be interested in such matters.

The Beautiful City in Song, and Other Poems. By Rev. DWIGHT WILLIAMS. 16mo, pp. 144. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

If, as it has been said, the present time is the "twilight of poetry," in that fact may be found an explanation of the further fact that the age is so prolific of second class poets, stars of various magnitudes, which the absence of any great sun allows to become visible. In the galaxy so revealed the collection in hand, by one hitherto not unknown among the devotees of the Christian muse, will rank well up in the scale of excellence, in respect to both poetic fire and in correctness and felicity of versification. The spirit and lessons of the poems are intensely religious, scriptural in respect to the matter, and comparatively free from the extreme sensuousness that often deform productions of that class. Some of these pieces are of a decidedly elevated character, altogether worthy to rank with others that, first becoming famous through the name of their authors, have through their own merit maintained their places in the hymnic anthology. The book will prove a friendly companion to the appreciative spirit in the quiet hour.

Elijah Vindicated; or, the Answer by Fire. By Rev. J. O. A. CLARK, D.D., LL.D., Author of *The Wesley Memorial Volume*, etc. 12mo., pp. 399. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

King George's criticism on Watson's *Apology for the Bible*, that it needed no apology, might apply by adaptation to this volume, for many will feel that least of all men does the good name of the Tishbite prophet need to be vindicated. But the author has made an instructive and readable book.

New Science of Elocution. The Elements and Principles of Vocal Expression, in Lessons, with Exercises and Selections Systematically arranged for Acquiring the Art of Reading and Speaking. By S. S. HAMILL, A.M., Chicago, Ill., Late Professor of Rhetoric, English Literature, and Elocution, Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington, Ill.; State University, Columbia, Mo. 12mo, pp. 382. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Adapted for practical teaching. The rules are briefly stated and then illustrated by examples, to use which to advantage would require the aid of the teacher.

Epochs of Modern History. The Early Tudors. Henry VII. and Henry VIII. By Rev. C. E. MOBERLY, M.A., Late a Master in Rugby School. With Maps and Plans. 18mo, pp. 249. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

We have expressed our appreciation of this series, in respect to both the plan and the execution, in noticing former issues. The present volume is worthy of the place to which it is assigned.

A Manual of Christian Evidences. By Rev. C. A. ROW, A.M., Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral (London). 16mo, pp. 206. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

Two departments of "the Evidences" are here briefly considered, the "Moral," those which appeal to the moral sense, and the "Miraculous," which appeal to men's intellects, and are designed to serve as credentials to the teacher rather than demonstrations of the truths taught.

Laws and Forms Relating to Churches and Other Religious Societies: Being the Laws of the several States and Territories concerning such Organizations: together with Forms in harmony with such Laws. With an Introduction treating of the American Social Structure, Civil and Religious: showing the Position of Christianity and the Relations of Civil and Ecclesiastical Society in the United States. By ALPHA J. KYNETT, D.D., LL.D., assisted by WILLIAM W. COTTON, Esq., a member of the New York Bar 8vo (law binding), pp. 598. New York: Printed for the Author by Phillips & Hunt.

A comprehensive digest of American Church Law, with notices of the minor provisions in all of the States and Territories. A very desirable book for all who may be charged with the temporal affairs of churches.

Sabina Zembra. A Novel. By WILLIAM BLACK, author of *White Heather*, etc. 12mo, pp. 442. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Since the great novelists of the recent past vacated their leadership in fictitious literature, William Black has been very nearly the head of the list of living novelists. But like all second-class matters, his works suffer by comparison. His last work will probably neither enhance nor depreciate his reputation.

Episodes in a Life of Adventure; or, Moss from a Rolling Stone. By LAWRENCE OLIPHANT, Author of *Piccadilly*, etc. 12mo, pp. 343. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Oliphant is a good observer and an apt delineator of his observations, and here he has brought together a variety of the fruits of his wanderings, and has arranged them in successfully detailed narrative.

From Death to Life; or, Fragments of Teaching to a Village Congregation, with Letters on the Life after Death. By CHARLES KINGSLEY, Rector of Eversley. 16mo, pp. 111. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

In the author's best vein.

HARPER & BROTHER'S MINOR NOVELS.

King Solomon's Mines. A Novel. By H. RIDER HAGGARD, author of *She*, etc. 16mo, pp. 274. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Woodlanders. A Novel. By THOMAS HARDY, author of *A Laodicean.* 16mo, pp. 364.

Springhaven. A Tale of the Great War. By R. D. BLACKMORE, author of *Lorna Doone.* Illustrated by Alfred Parsons and F. Barnard. 12mo, pp. 512.

Buldine, and Other Tales. By KARL ERDMANN EDLER. Translated from the German, by the Earl of Lytton. 16mo. pp. 302.

Dawn. By H. RIDER HAGGARD. 16mo, pp. 367.

She. A History of Adventure. By H. RIDER HAGGARD, 16mo, pp. 316.

The Flamingo Feather. By KIRK MUNROE, author of *Wakulla*, etc. 16mo, pp. 255.

Lucy W Hayes

Lucy H. Hayes

METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1887.

ART. I.—WOMAN'S HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

CRUCIAL PERIOD.

THE relation between the present and the future is intimate and effective. This thought sheds light upon the best method of controlling the future by the selection of appropriate agencies in the present. The future is wrapped up in the present as the oak in the acorn, and it is scarcely less truthful than prophetic to say, that the closing years of the nineteenth century will give tone and character to all succeeding ones.

Our best thinkers and most careful observers declare with singular unanimity that this is the potential and crucial period of Republican institutions and of American Christianity, and that the work of the Christian Church for the next twenty years will decide the question whether the form of government of the United States will be republican or monarchical, whether the pure principles of Christianity or the wild theories of anarchists and infidels shall prevail. The solution of this problem here will aid in its permanent settlement everywhere.

We are living in the most wonderful age of the world's history. No Christian nation has shared so largely as we in the bounty of God. All providences tell us plainly that we are called to lead on in the work of the eventide of the world. The perils which beset us, the mad cry of men who clamor for a brotherhood without Christ, and the boast of infidels who would dethrone our God, warn, as in thunder, of the battle. No nation has survived the loss of its religion.*

* Bishop Whipple.

If the hosts of light and darkness are to be marshaled for conflict in this country, and the great battle for the triumph of the Church is to be fought here within the next quarter of a century, every possible effort should now be put forth to reach the multitudes that flock to our shores, and the neglected native populations of our own country, to teach them the value of Christian civilization, and to prepare them to become its earnest participants and zealous supporters.

The importance of a wide-spread movement to meet this crisis is indicated by the ominously rapid increase of our country's citizenship, and the fearful illiteracy and degradation in which so many are involved. The population of many foreign nations is comparatively stationary while ours is rapidly increasing—doubling every twenty-five years; so that, at this rate, in less than a hundred years hence we may number eight hundred millions, more than one hundred millions of whom will be colored.

Whether this nation, richly freighted with the hopes of countless millions, shall be preserved, and shall continue to be a beacon-light to other lands, is a question that lies near the heart of intelligent Christian women, not only because their own elevation and happiness are closely connected with every movement for the evangelization of the world, but also and especially because every impulse of their nature is in the fullest sympathy with such a result.

Changed Conditions.

The obligation of the Church in any period is determined by the conditions of the country and its inhabitants. A few years ago the South, with its peculiar institution, was closed against us. There was no welcome for free thought, free schools, a free press, nor a free Gospel. West of the Mississippi was an almost unexplored region. Immigration had not become so important a factor in our civilization. We had few great cities, and the prosperous states north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi River did not present a mission field of so much promise, nor of so great exigency, as it has since become.

Within a brief period the circumstances of the country have undergone marvelous changes, vitally affecting the obligations

of the Church. The South has been unsealed, the West has become more accessible to settlers, and a mingled current of humanity is pouring into these vast territories from all the nations of the earth. Within a half century less than one twelfth of our population was in cities; now, more than one fourth of it jostles and surges within city limits, and the upheavals of the volcano shake the foundations of the empire. Such a population presents a mission field of vast importance, demanding careful and early culture.

Formerly, communism, socialism, and nihilism were unheard of in our country. Now, hundreds of thousands of laborers, from the skilled artisan to the humble delver in the mines, are held in the sway of powerful organizations, ready to be hurled at any moment upon the community with most terrific results. Now, anarchists armed with dynamite prosecute their bloody work in our cities under the shadow of the courts of justice. Then, the thought and culture of the East and the principles of Puritan teaching were dominant in literature and in the prevalent theories of government, social and political. Now, in many parts of New England the population has already commenced a retrograde movement. The influx of foreigners, and the emigration of native-born citizens westward, make it difficult to maintain the Church in places long favored with religious privileges, while her cities are rapidly coming under the sway of infidel thought and Romish domination. In several of our territories the population more than doubles in a decade, while in them the principles of free institutions and of our holy religion are scarcely recognized by the multitudes there struggling to obtain a livelihood and amass wealth. The scepter of power is passing into the hands of sections where illiteracy and vice prevail. In many places Mormonism, Socialism, or Romanism dictates the schemes of government.

Hence it will be seen that the missionary work of our Church has heretofore been maintained under circumstances widely different from the present. Our Home Missionary field, from social and political changes, has become greatly enlarged, and has developed increased proportions of ignorance and danger not hitherto fully realized by the Church or the nation.

An Element of Strength.

If the Church in America is to be a power for the evangelization of the world, its latent energies must be developed, and its forces properly conserved. It is an encouraging fact that the value of organized efforts of women in Christian and philanthropic work is becoming more fully appreciated. Women constitute two thirds of the Church membership, and are, therefore, numerically, an element of strength; yet the additional number of workers that they furnish for the field is not the most important advantage. The great advantage is, that they bring an entirely new influence into the world of effort; a quiet, unseen, and pervading influence, the result of combined patience and strength, more potent even than what is gained by mere numbers and display.

Emerson says: "Civilization is simply the influence of good women." Righteous principles and pure motives of action planted in human hearts grow in power and give rise to moral reforms. The homes of the people are the real centers of the influences determinative of the character of the people. Woman's appropriate sphere of action is the home. As the spirit of practical philanthropy and religion thoroughly imbues the currents of her thought, she will be able more effectually to purify the sources of power, and to send forth vitalizing influences that will reach, with elevating effect, all classes and conditions of society.

To meet successfully the momentous moral questions involving the destiny of the nation, philanthropic measures should be so planned as to utilize this hitherto latent force of Christian women. The value of woman's influence is in proportion as she labors in harmony with the laws of her being. Hence, to secure the best results of her labor, the plans of organization must be such as will enable her to enter the fields of effort in ways consistent with, and congenial to, her womanly nature and endowments.

The employment of women in mission work is one of the most hopeful indications of the speedy triumph of the Church of Christ. Since there is nothing in her recognized sphere of action nor in the delicacy of her nature to prevent, she may be welcomed to association in thought and effort with the other

sex in the removal of human suffering, and in the introduction of a higher civilization. In the countries where the aid of women in benevolent work is rejected progress is well-nigh paralyzed; but in those where her intelligent co-operation furnishes the incentive to noble achievement, wonderful advancement has been made in every department of Christian effort.

Organization Demanded.

When it became apparent to those laboring to establish Christian institutions in heathen lands that their work could not be fully successful without the aid of women, the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society was called into existence, and this action has secured the happiest results. When the call for aid was made, consecrated women promptly responded. They organized societies, disseminated missionary information, raised funds, and sent forth their best workers into distant lands to rescue their sisters from the evils of heathenism. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society has become one of our most successful organizations. It has aided in awakening new interest in the world's conversion, and in bringing about a great missionary quickening; also in kindling and diffusing a new and thrilling sympathy in Christian missions throughout our denomination.

When attention was called to the neglected condition of the population of our own country—when it was seen how great a work each of our Church societies had in hand, and how difficult it would be for any one of them to assume additional labors and responsibilities—when it was remembered how important a work had been accomplished by the women of our Church in the foreign field, and when it was seen how much had been accomplished by the women of other denominations in the home field—it was felt to be a duty, from which it was not possible to escape, to organize a society of ladies connected with the Methodist Episcopal Church in behalf of the needy population of our own country. The Woman's Home Missionary Society represents mission work by women in behalf of our own land, similar to that undertaken by our sisters in foreign lands; and there surely is not the slightest ground nor warrant for anything but the kindest emulation between them.

This society, in its organization and history, and in the efforts of its friends to secure recognition and awaken increased interest in its special field, has called the attention of our Church to the neglected portions of our country; to the dangers which threaten it; to its great responsibilities, and to its controlling influence upon other lands. These efforts have deepened the sense of responsibility and obligation of our people on the subject of missions, and have contributed to increase the tide of religious effort in behalf of home mission work, which gives fresh heart and hope to every lover of his country.

Both societies, organized and conducted by women, one for the foreign and the other for the home field, were intended to cooperate with and supplement the work of the General Missionary Society, managed by men. Women could enter fields of usefulness, both in this and other lands, which were closed to the other sex, and this fact was influential in securing the organization of societies among the women.

If the responsibility of sustaining any missionary field should be intrusted to the women—if they should be allowed to select the field, plan the work, and commission the missionaries—there need be no solicitude felt for the result; for they would most certainly raise the funds and sustain the mission.

The ladies of the Foreign Missionary Society chose to aid the General Society in its work abroad. The ladies of the Home Missionary Society took that part of the territory omitted by the ladies of the Foreign, and to the extent of their ability are endeavoring to cultivate it for the Lord.

There is a clearly defined field of labor for these organizations, and each may move in its own sphere without collision, each shedding light and love upon the other.

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society aids the Parent Society in distant lands. The Woman's Home Missionary Society aids the Parent Society at home. The General Missionary Society, like a wise and loving parent, cherishes and encourages both organizations. All are animated by the same spirit, guided by the same wisdom, and upheld by the same almighty Power.

Bishop Wiley early recognized the importance of providing for the organized efforts of women in Christian and philanthropic work. He said:

We have entered upon a day when it seems as though a new revelation has dawned upon the women of Christendom, in opening to them the great domain of making the world better and happier.

Of the earlier movement he said:

I felt that the time had fully come, in the existence of our missions in foreign countries, when the women of the Church might take an efficient personal part in the great missionary work, by directing their efforts to the needs of women in the fields where the Church was working.

After the organization of the Woman's Home Missionary Society, in a letter to the writer he said:

Women must work for women in the mission fields of our country as well as for the women of foreign lands. God's providence brought into life the former organization in due time; in the same timely way, God is bringing your organization into the great field. To my mind, the work of Christian women for their needy sisters in their own country is now as indispensable as for the foreign.

The author of these cheering sentences has finished his work on earth and has gone home to his reward in heaven. To him more than to any other should be attributed the honor of originating, and, in its early history guiding, the Society. He was its true friend and wise counselor. He advocated its claims with great ability and eloquence. Having been a missionary in foreign lands, and understanding the need and urgency of mission work there, he became an earnest advocate of the movement in its behalf. Episcopal supervision brought him into close relation with our Western mission. As President of the Freedmen's Aid Society, he had a clear understanding of the Southern field, which personal supervision of the work only could secure. He became so thoroughly aroused to the dangers that threatened our own country, and the necessity of securing the co-operation of women in order to avert them, that several years before the society was inaugurated he urged an organization of women for home work.

Co-operation with Existing Societies.

A separate organization was not at first contemplated. Various attempts were made to enlist the women of Methodism in behalf of the home field through organizations already in existence.

During the meeting of the Executive Committee of the

Woman's Foreign Missionary Society at Chicago, in 1872, some of its members called attention to the importance of work among the freedwomen. At the meeting in Cincinnati, in 1873, Rev. R. S. Rust was introduced, and he urged the propriety of dropping the word "foreign" from the name of the Society, and making it the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church; its field to be the same for women as that of the Parent Missionary Society, including work in our own and foreign lands. A similar appeal was made in New England by Bishop Wiley; and in 1875, at Baltimore, at an Executive Committee meeting of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, the subject of the Southern work was discussed with much interest, and the notice of a constitutional amendment was given which would leave the society free to take up the home work. The following year, however, the plan of amendment of the constitution was laid aside as unadvisable. One reason, among others given for this action, was the important obligations already assumed by the society in behalf of foreign work.

Action was taken at a meeting called by the members of that Board, which we find recorded in the minutes of the Freedmen's Aid Society, as follows:

July 18, 1876, Mrs. Bishop Clark, Mrs. William B. Davis, and Mrs. R. S. Rust met the Committee, and presented the following communication from a meeting of ladies in behalf of freedwomen:

"Baltimore, Md., May 12, 1875, upon invitation of Mrs. Bishop Clark, the ladies in attendance upon the General Executive Committee of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society met to consider the claims of the freedwomen of our country. Mrs. Bishop Clark was called to the chair, Mrs. J. F. Willing was elected Secretary. Mrs. W. A. Ingham presented the matter of memorializing the Freedmen's Aid Society, asking that its influence be used at the next General Conference to secure the election of ladies as members of its Board of Managers, and the employment of ladies in collecting its funds. After earnest and enthusiastic discussion, Mrs. Ingham, Mrs. Lathrop and Mrs. Willing were appointed a Committee to present the matter in due form."

May 13, 1875, this Committee reports as follows:

Whereas: Our Bishops and the Corresponding Secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society have pressed upon our attention the

necessity of prompt and efficient effort to advance the intellectual, and especially the spiritual, culture of the freedwomen, and we recognize the fact that a solemn duty rests upon us to help those who, though neglected and degraded, are the mothers and teachers of millions who will become citizens of the Republic; and *whereas*, we are awake to the fact that the Roman Catholic Church has laid her hand of power upon these freed people, giving them beautiful churches, directing their worship, and educating their children, thus taking them hopelessly away from the influence of Protestant and American thought, and adding their votes to her already formidable political enginery; and *whereas*, we believe that if women were more largely responsible for work among the freedmen they would not only specially interest in it the women of the Church, but they would help establish direct communication between teachers in the field and Churches supporting them, and so give permanency to this interest: therefore, *Resolved*, That we respectfully memorialize the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, asking that they use their influence with the General Conference at its next session to secure the election to said Board of Managers of one woman from each mission district of the Church.

It was *resolved* by the Executive Committee of the Freedmen's Aid Society to extend to the ladies a cordial welcome to participate with the society in its vigorous prosecution of the work. It was also *resolved*, that Bishop Wiley, R. S. Rust, D.D., M. B. Hagans, and J. M. Walden, D.D., be appointed to confer with the ladies on the subject, and devise some plan of action by which the women of our Church may participate more fully and take a more responsible part in elevating the emancipated and degraded people of the South.

Cincinnati, October 13, 1876, the above committee reported as follows:

Your Committee see no obstacle in the way of introducing women into the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society as advisers. By the act of incorporation, males only are eligible to the Board, and entitled to vote, and are made responsible for the management of the affairs of the Society; but it is very desirable that the women of the Church should participate in our councils, and we unanimously recommend that they be cordially admitted to participate in all our meetings as advisers and counselors, and that the petition of the women put on record July 18, 1876, be granted.

Acting under the direction of the above committee, a circular letter was sent by the author of this article to one hundred

and fifty ladies prominently connected with the work of the Church, urging the claims of the home field, asking suggestions, and, if organization was deemed advisable, the form that the movement should assume. Invitations were sent to these ladies and to others to meet in Cincinnati the first week in December, 1876, for consultation and action. Several responded, and a resolution was adopted recommending a Woman's Department auxiliary to the Freedmen's Aid Society, under the direction of a lady as assistant corresponding secretary.

This was discussed at a joint meeting of ladies and the Board of Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Society, called December 7, and was referred to a special committee, which reported January 20, 1877, as follows:

> In view of the fact that the introduction of females into the Board of Managers, by the laws of the State of Ohio, under which the Society holds its charter, would endanger its title to property, it is not practicable to elect a lady as assistant corresponding secretary; and we tender the appointment of agent of the Freedmen's Aid Society to Mrs. Jennie F. Willing, to be employed by, and under the direction of, the corresponding secretary, in publicly presenting the cause, collecting funds, and organizing auxiliary societies.

Provision was made for the salary and traveling expenses of the agent, and a committee of twelve ladies was nominated to represent the claims of the cause through the Church papers.

As women could not be recognized in the Board of Managers of the Society, Mrs. Willing declined to accept the position, and the plan was not carried out.

Preliminary Movements.

Failing in the efforts to secure the needed work through already existing agencies, the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society or an auxiliary to the Freedmen's Aid Society, those whose sympathies had been enlisted continued to urge the work through the press, and by private appeals. Three years in succession the annual report of the Freedmen's Aid Society called attention to the importance of an effort in behalf of freedwomen.

During the winter of 1877 Mrs. Ryder, in response to the solicitation of Dr. and Mrs. Godman, was sent to New Orleans to labor as a missionary in connection with our Churches and the University.

In the annual report of the Freedmen's Aid Society of 1878 we find this paragraph:

To counteract the efforts of the Romanists, who are busily engaged in proselytizing the freedmen by the distribution of Romish pictures and images, we have been able through the influence of elect ladies to scatter through the South seventy-five thousand elevating and instructive pictures, to adorn their humble homes, educate the inmates in the truths of the Bible, and stimulate them to holy lives. Devoted Christian women have visited from house to house, tendering sympathy and advice to the families.

From the report of this Society for 1879 we take the following:

While slavery existed, and the communities were crowded together in the slave quarters, there could be no family order nor individual responsibility. Emancipation found them children in character. Ought we then to be surprised that the parents whose lives had vibrated between the field and the hut, who knew so little of the sacred bonds of marriage, should be unable to organize Christian homes, or train their children in the principles of morality of which they have no knowledge themselves? From these homes our schools are filled, and to them the pupils must return. In view of this fact it is evident that here in the South is opened to the women of America one of the greatest fields in the world for missionary work. To reach it seas need not be crossed nor languages learned, and the harvest can be reaped almost as soon as the seed is sown.

We quote also from the Society's report of 1880:

Woman's work in this mission field cannot be dispensed with. She alone can reach the homes of degraded females, and give the instruction, the advice, and the counsel so much needed to enable them to lead holy and pure lives. It is the freedwoman on whom the burden and the misery of this degradation falls with crushing weight. Woman's opportunity is now to enter these neglected homes and establish in them the principles of virtue, truth, and right living. We believe that God in his providence has laid this duty upon the women of the Church, to engage most earnestly in the important work of educating the freedmen preparatory to the redemption of Africa. An inscrutable Providence brought the Negroes here, and emancipated them; and now they must be prepared to enter the opening door to Africa, and take an active part in its evangelization. What work can be grander or more far-reaching in its influence? Clothe the millions of freedmen with the panoply of Christian civilization and they will be ready for an exodus that will have for its object the redemption of the more than two hundred millions of Africa.

In the same year's report we find the following account of an important enterprise that was inaugurated in New Orleans, and conducted by Mrs. J. C. Hartzell. Of her impressions of duty in regard to this work she writes from the North:

In the fall of 1878, while the mantle of death enshrouded our State, letters came saying, "Our colored sisters are praying for you, Sister Hartzell, that you may be able to bring back with you missionaries who will take their daughters and save them." In the midst of death these mothers dreamed of a life of purity for their daughters such as they had not known themselves, and they lifted up their hearts and voices for their salvation. Everywhere the people were giving of their time and money to relieve the sufferers from the fearful yellow fever scourge, and when in the midst of it there came this appeal from mothers for help to save the souls of their daughters, there suddenly came to my heart the feeling: Dare not refuse to be used in answering those mothers' prayers. And I said, Lord, do with me what seemeth good in thy sight.

In the fall of 1878 Mrs. Hartzell secured the interest of friends in the North and collected seven hundred dollars, with which four missionaries were sustained several months during the years 1879 and 1880. The ladies visited the people in their homes, held meetings for mothers and young women, in which they gave religious and moral instruction, suggestions and advice on matters relating to home life and personal habits and taste, taught plain sewing and useful housework, and urged attendance upon the schools and churches. This was gratefully welcomed and its continuance solicited by resolutions of the Louisiana Conference. This work was under the care of the Freedmen's Aid Society.

Mrs. Hartzell's report furnishes many touching incidents illustrative of this field. From this we take the following:

Mrs. Ryder found an old freedman in a cabin sitting in a corner, half asleep. She aroused him, and asked him if he had a Bible. He replied, "No, missus; got no Bible, and don't want none. I'se nearly done gone from dis world; got no money, and can't read none." Mrs. R. opened and read: "Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions, if it were not so I would have told you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself, that where I am there ye may be also." As she read he arose, and with trembling step walked to her side and, bowing his ear close to the book, said:

"What is dat you read?" She read it again. "Is dat in de Bible, honey?" "Yes," said the missionary, and then she explained the words to him. When she had finished he asked her to put his finger on the place and to mark it good, so he could find it again, and, with tearful eyes, he exclaimed, "O, honey, I must hab dat book."

When the trials of the hour compelled colored people by thousands to seek the shelter of Northern homes, the Lincoln Lyceum was organized in Cincinnati to aid and encourage those desiring to obtain an education and lead useful lives. The instruction was industrial and educational, and was continued through three years. Many distinguished names are among its lists of lecturers and teachers, and great good was accomplished by this effort. The report says:

It was aimed each evening to show how they could successfully pursue investigations in the various departments of science. They were encouraged to ask questions, advised what books to read, and lectures on familiar topics, illustrated with apparatus, were frequently delivered.

The absence of elevating influence among the colored people is one of the greatest difficulties that they have to overcome in their efforts to secure success in the new relations of life in which they are placed. They have been groping blindly in the dark in the pursuit of knowledge. They lack the experience, instruction, and example that will enable them to judge correctly at what to aim in education. The old habits of thought, and the embarrassments of previous conditions still operating in their homes, cannot easily be overcome. An incident from the report illustrates this:

An interesting youth about eighteen years of age came for advice. In common with so many of his race, he had the deepest reverence for books and learning. Toil had occupied his days. Scanty opportunity of night schools had enabled him to read. Said he: "I never lose a minute of evenings. I read all the time I can get in the library." What kind of books; what do you read about? Not comprehending the question, he answered, "O, books; I always read books; I read, and read, but I don't seem to get any learning; I don't get along." The discouraged look in the poor fellow's face touched us deeply. In his imagination, a book, any book, was the casket holding the coveted gem, and he wondered why, when he opened the treasure trove, the jewel did not shine upon his vision and illuminate his mind.

These appeals contributed to the formation of a wide-spread sentiment in the Church which led to the inauguration of our home mission work. The first contribution in this behalf was a five-dollar gold piece which Mrs. Haven, mother of Bishop Gilbert Haven, gave, saying, "It is for the work of freedwomen." Making this gift the opportunity, an appeal was inserted in the Church papers for money to sustain a missionary at Atlanta. Favorable responses were received, and in three weeks Miss Abbott, of Maine, entered upon the work, in which she continued for two years, our faith pledging the Church for her support. About the same time another missionary was sent to New Orleans. Later, Bishop Warren secured the means to sustain a lady at Atlanta, who labored among the poor white people of that city. Also Mrs. L. M. Dunton, through his instrumentality, made several missionary tours among the people in South Carolina. Afterward she and the writer visited many Conferences in the North, and set forth the objects and claims of the society. Mrs. Dunton's pathetic and eloquent word-pictures, and her faithful delineation of life in the South, awakened a deep interest, produced a profound impression, and exerted a strong influence in behalf of home missions.

The approval of these enterprises by the General Conference of 1880 encouraged the organization of the Woman's Home Missionary Society. In the General Conference report on this subject we find the following:

> The work among the freedwomen of the South has already borne precious fruit, and gives promise of adding much to the usefulness of the Society. The work contemplated is to send Christian women to the homes of the people, and, by good counsel, aid in the work of establishing Christian homes among them. Schools are to be organized for the girls and women in connection with our Churches and the institutions of the Society for primary and industrial education.

Much interest having been aroused in various sections of the country by the efforts above described, contributions of money and clothing began to flow into the treasury. To provide for the judicious appropriation of these donations, organization was demanded, and a meeting of ladies of Cincinnati and vicinity was called in Trinity Church, June 8, 1880, to which this whole subject was submitted. Prayer was offered by Mrs. Bishop

Clark, the object of the meeting was explained by the writer, and facts in regard to the work inaugurated in New Orleans were presented by Mrs. Dr. Hartzell.

Three plans for organization were presented for discussion: Shall the movement be auxiliary to the Missionary Society, or to the Freedmen's Aid Society, or shall a new organization be formed? The latter plan was approved, with a recommendation for special attention to the Southern field, and a committee was appointed to draft a constitution. Its report was adopted. The constitution, substantially the same as was approved in 1880, in 1884 was adopted by the General Conference.

July 10, 1880, at an adjourned meeting, Mrs. Bishop Wiley in the chair, Mrs. Rust presented the report of the Committee on nominations as follows: President, Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. Bishop Wiley, Mrs. F. S. Hoyt, Mrs. Bishop Clark, Mrs. A. Shinkle, Mrs. J. M. Walden; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. R. S. Rust; Recording Secretary, Mrs. James Dale; Treasurer, Mrs. A. R. Clark.

Twelve resident managers were elected, who, together with the general officers, constitute the executive board of the society, and Mrs. John Davis was chosen chairman, which office she has held to the present time, performing its delicate and arduous duties with fidelity and careful consideration.

Mrs. Hayes* has been the president of the society from its organization. At first she hesitated to accept the office, lest her duties at Washington should prevent active co-operation with the Society. After earnest solicitation, she accepted the position, and in her letter of acceptance said: "If the ladies of the Woman's Home Missionary Society believe that my name, and such service as I may be able to render, will aid so good a cause, I cannot decline." The event has proved the wisdom of this action; her influence as president has been of inestimable value to the Society. The honor and esteem with which she is regarded by the good people of this nation lead to a favorable consideration of the cause she has espoused, while her quick grasp of the principles involved, her clear understanding of the details of the work, and her wise judgment as to policy and methods, have been of great value in the

* The use of the accompanying portrait of Mrs. Hayes is kindly allowed by Mrs. Holloway, author of the volume entitled, *Ladies of the White House.*

administration of its affairs. She gives to the Society careful thought and effort, is frequently in counsel with its officers and executive board, and presides at its public meetings with grace and ability. Mrs. Hayes has always been actively engaged in Christian and philanthropic work. The key to her position on this question of home missions will be found in a few sentences of her address at the opening of one of our annual meetings: "We believe that the character of a people depends mainly on its homes. Our special aim, therefore, is to improve home environments, home education, and home influences."

The first public presentation of the claims of the society was made at a meeting held in connection with the Cincinnati Conference, September, 1880. During the fall of that year seven missionaries were employed—five in the South, and two in Utah. The salaries of these ladies were advanced by a friend of ours and of the cause, who believed that the surest way to secure funds to support the work was to enter the field with efficient laborers and demonstrate the practicability of reaching the needy people with helpful influences. Although at first the debt incurred in this work accumulated rapidly, and soon reached three thousand dollars, organizations were effected, interest was aroused, money commenced flowing into the treasury, and before the close of the third year the whole debt had been paid, while the work had been steadily extended, and the Society had raised and expended more than twenty-eight thousand dollars.

Official Recognition.

In the fall of 1881 the movement had already assumed extended proportions. Its friends, feeling that its success depended upon its being brought into harmony with the other enterprises of the Church, prepared a statement of the work and plans of the Society, and addressed it to Rev. J. M. Reid, D. D., and the Rev. C. H. Fowler, D. D., Secretaries of the Missionary Society, asking advice as to the best plans for co-operation with the other branches of missionary work in the Church. The paper expressed the desire of the ladies to bring the new organization into appropriate relations with other missionary enterprises of the Church, in the belief that united Christian effort would be

mutually profitable, and requested suggestions for the approaching annual meeting. The paper was signed by Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes, President; Mrs. R. S. Rust, Corresponding Secretary; and Mrs. Bishop Wiley, Mrs. John Davis, Mrs. W. G. Williams, Mrs. F. S. Hoyt, and Mrs. G. S. Savage, Committee.

A cordial response was received, recognizing the fact that within the bounds of the United States there is great need of woman's work by woman to extend the usefulness of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and suggesting clauses supplemental to the Constitution.

The Woman's Home Missionary Society at its annual meeting, 1882, adopted amendments in harmony with the suggestions of the Missionary Society.

At the next meeting of the committee the society responded that, "while not unmindful of the vast and important field the Woman's Home Missionary Society has entered upon, and the value of the work undertaken, the society had not constitutional power to enter into any alliance with another society that would give it control of the fields or plans of missionary labor," and advised a reference of the whole question to the General Conference.

The society tendered its services to supplement the work of the other connectional Missionary Agencies of the Church. The enterprise was approved by the General Conference of 1884, and the same relation was given to the Woman's Home Missionary Society as to the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. Previous to that time sixty Annual Conferences had approved the work, Conference societies had been formed in forty of them, over thirty-five thousand dollars in cash and supplies had been raised and disbursed, and promising missions established in the South and West.

Home Mission Field.

We can only briefly refer to the fields of want and wretchedness in our own country selected by the society for missionary effort. First: There are millions of freed people in the South, involved in the deepest ignorance and degradation, who can be reached only by women, and there are many unfortunate whites wronged and degraded by evils connected with slavery who can only be rescued by woman's sympathy and aid.

Second: The Spanish people of New Mexico are fearfully ignorant and degraded. They are nominally Roman Catholic, but really pagan. Their appeal for Christian aid is scarcely less pathetic than that of those embracing a similar faith and indulging in similar practices in foreign lands. Among the Mexican population no social odium attaches to those who are guilty of immorality and vice. Virtue is hardly known among them.

Scattered over this vast region, mostly in small towns, we find mining-camps and herders' ranches. Many thousand people live therein who know nothing of sacred things or of holy Sabbaths. There is probably less of the true religious element, in proportion to the population, than is to be found in any other settled portion of our country. Jesuit missionaries went into Mexico in the days of the Spanish conquest, with their missions and schools, ostensibly for the conversion of the Indians; but their efforts resulted in little less than the complete subjugation of these ignorant people to a thralldom of degrading rites and superstitions. The reports which come to us of the cruel superstitions connected with the worship of the martyrs, and the penances imposed upon Romanists in this free land, are appalling.*

Third: Indians in the territories, including Alaska, are the victims of the nation's cruelty and injustice. They have claims on us for kind treatment and for Christian civilization even more imperative than the heathen of foreign lands. Superstitious rites and ceremonies, the symbols of fetichism and fire worship, blight their hopes, while the service and sacraments of Christ are indiscriminately and profanely blended in the religious devotions of many tribes of these unfortunate people.

Fourth: More than two hundred thousand Mormons are establishing their abominable system of polygamy and government in the fairest and most promising portions of our country. While women suffer such fearful wrongs from this monstrous system of iniquity in this land, surely women should organize and do all in their power to relieve their sisters from such degradation and sorrow. Mormonism, with a scheme of government aggressive, audacious, defying the laws of our country and of God, is fastening itself with a demon's grasp upon our Western frontiers, where, in the near future, a dozen States may be organized. Already Utah, seeking statehood, has prepared a constitution which, while apparently condemning polygamy, is clearly a

* Fifth Annual Report, Woman's Home Missionary Society, p. 86.

pretense and a fraud by which that wretched system may be remedilessly fastened upon one of the States of this Republic.

Fifth: In our large towns and cities are congregated more than twenty-five per cent. of the population of the whole country, and this proportion is rapidly growing. In the ninety years preceding 1880 the population of the whole country increased twelve fold, while that of the cities increased eighty-six fold. In the leading cities, as Cincinnati, Cleveland, Boston, New York, and Chicago, from sixty-nine to ninety-one per cent. of the population are of foreign birth or parentage. In the larger cities it is well known that vice and socialism abound. In these the saloon rather than the Church holds sway. We are indebted to Dr. J. M. King, of New York, for the following significant facts of the cluster of cities circling around New York. Similar conditions prevail in other chief cities.

	Population.	Protestant Churches.	Roman Catholic Churches.
BROOKLYN.			
In 1840	36,233	23	2
In 1850	96,838	55	6
In 1870	396,099	189	26
In 1880	566,689	212	42
In 1887	650,000	242	53
NEWARK.			
In 1836	19,732	17	1
In 1850	38,894	32	3
In 1870	105,059	66	9
In 1880	136,400	81	11
In 1885	152,868	89	14
JERSEY CITY.			
In 1850	11,578	14	0
In 1870	82,546	28	4
In 1880	151,721	81	2
In 1887	.....	90	16

It will be seen that the increase in Protestant Churches in these cities has not been in proportion to the growth of population, and that the Roman Catholic Church grows much more rapidly than the Protestant.

In Brooklyn, in 1840, there was one Protestant Church to 1,500, and one Catholic Church to 18,000 people. In 1887,

there was one Protestant Church to 2,686, and one Catholic Church to 12,266 persons.

In Newark, in 1835, there was one Protestant Church to 1,160 people, and one Catholic Church to 19,732. In 1885, there was one Protestant Church to 1,700 people, and one Catholic Church to 10,918.

In these three cities in 1840 there was about one Protestant Church to 1,250 persons; in 1887, one to about 3,000. In 1840 there was one Catholic Church to 22,500 persons; in 1887 there is one to about 12,000 population.

NEW YORK CITY.

	Population.	Protestant Churches.				
In 1830.....	202,000	99	— one church to		2,040	souls.
In 1850.....	515,000	211	"	"	2,440	"
In 1870.....	942,000	380	"	"	2,479	"
In 1880.....	1,206,000	396	"	"	3,046	"
In 1887.....	1,500,000	400	"	"	3,750	"

Since 1880, population has increased in New York 300,000. To preserve the proportion of Churches then existing, there should have been one hundred Protestant Churches added during these seven years. There are now only four more than there were in 1880. The following figures are even more significant:

	Population.	Saloons.	Protestant Churches.
In the First Assembly District.....	43,998	1,072	7
In the Eighth Assembly District.....	57,342	482	5
In the Twentieth Assembly District....	60,738	287	3

In the 1st, 2d, 3d, 8th, 20th, and 22d, Assembly Districts, there were in 1880, 360,240 people, 3,018 saloons, and 31 Protestant Churches. For this population of 360,000, in New York there are over one hundred times as many saloons as churches; a saloon to every 112 persons, and a Protestant Church to every 10,000 persons.

In the 1st Assembly District there is one saloon to every 47 persons, and one Protestant Church to 6,285 persons. In the 8th Assembly District, one saloon to every 119 persons, and one Protestant Church to every 11,466 persons. In the 20th Assembly District, one saloon to every 208 persons, and one Protestant Church to every 20,246 persons.

In our country the Roman Catholics claim seven millions of

Romanists. These exercise a controlling influence on the politics of several of our large cities, and also on the government, and on the civil and social institutions in a portion of our country equal in extent to half a dozen states. There are, say, nine millions of foreigners among us, while a vast tide of immigration pours into our country, bringing hundreds of thousands every year. Many of these become good citizens, and take high rank among us, while a large proportion of them are the dregs of the Old World. Many of these are contaminated with socialistic and communistic ideas, having but little knowledge of or interest in our government and institutions. There are in the South more than seven millions of colored people, who are still, more or less, suffering from the disabilities resulting from centuries of slavery. Hundreds of thousands of white people in this section are in conditions scarcely superior to that of their dusky neighbors. Add to these the Mormons, the Indians, the Chinese, and the multitudes of ignorant and degraded people crowding the garrets and cellars of our populous cities, and we have an aggregation of dangerous classes furnishing an appeal that cannot fail to arouse the friends of free institutions to make every possible effort to save our country from anarchy and ruin.

Results.

It is too early in the history of this society to attempt to tabulate its results, and yet, for our encouragement, it may be proper to call attention to a few facts and statements illustrating its establishment, its work, and its success. Foundation work is slow. It escapes the notice of careless observers. It is not until the walls go up, and the noble superstructure rises, that merited attention to it is secured; that its beautiful proportions are recognized, and its advantages appreciated.

Thus far the work of the society has been largely foundational. It has been directed to the awakening of the missionary spirit in behalf of the destitute fields in our country, to the crystallization of this sentiment by permanent and efficient organizations, and, through these, to the earnest and successful prosecution of mission work, as the enlightened Christian benevolence of the women and the providence of God have directed and approved. More specifically:

1. The organization of this society has brought into the mission field an additional class of workers from the women. Only a small portion of the females of our Church are engaged in foreign missions; this society is designed to interest as many as possible of those that remain in the home field, which enterprise is no less deserving of aid, nor less promising in results. There are many women in our Church who are so deeply interested in Christian missions that they will cheerfully aid both societies, without any abatement of effort in behalf of the foreign work. They will do all they can to aid their sisters in the new effort for the evangelization of our own land. Service in the home field will quicken the zeal and strengthen the faith of its friends to such a degree that they will be satisfied with nothing less than united faith and effort in behalf of all the inhabitants of the earth.

2. It has been instrumental in awakening an interest in home mission work in persons indifferent and even hostile to foreign missions. Sacrifice for the salvation of the souls at home leads to similar effort for those abroad. Enthusiasm for the conversion of the whole world is sure to follow from a genuine interest in the salvation of any part in it, so that, following the Saviour's command, it is well to begin at home, and attempt to take the world for Christ. No intelligent Christian woman will be satisfied until this grand result is accomplished.

3. It has secured an interest among our people in lines of work hitherto overlooked by every other society of our Church, and of every other Church.

4. It has called the attention of our people to the perils of our own country, the opportunities furnished for usefulness and influence, and the obligations pressing upon us for its evangelization. The Church has been aroused. She is now, as never before, carefully investigating the condition of the needy populations of this country preparatory to a general and enthusiastic effort to capture it for Christ.

5. Organization has been commenced in Conferences, cities, and towns. It is intended to prosecute the work until there shall be an auxiliary of the Woman's Home Missionary Society in every charge of the Church. Fifty-nine Conference Societies have been formed. These include over twelve hundred

auxiliaries, more than thirty thousand annual members, and five hundred life members.

The Society celebrated its sixth anniversary at Detroit, Michigan, October 28, 1886, up to which time it had raised and expended for missionary work, cash, $106,772 78. Clothing and household goods valued at $57,709 23 had also been collected, and forwarded to needy ministers and Churches on the frontier, making in all $164,482 01.

The first year seven missionary teachers were employed, the second eleven, the third seventeen, the fourth twenty-one, the fifth seventeen, and the sixth twenty-eight—this year, thirty; aggregating one hundred and thirty-one teachers. Beneficiary aid to the amount of $6,110 56 has been expended to enable promising girls to profit by the advantages of the schools and model homes. The Society has vested, in property essential to the development of its work, $30,442 74.

The monthly, called *Woman's Home Missions*, published in the interest of the Society by Mrs. S. W. Thomson, has been self-supporting from the beginning. It reached last year a circulation of nearly eleven thousand. It has been edited with taste and ability by Mrs. L. D. McCabe. It is recognized as a most valuable auxiliary among the missionary agencies of the Church. The Society has distributed five million pages of leaflets and addresses. Its plans have been arranged to cooperate with other societies and to meet the needs of the selected locality, whether in the frontiers of the West or of the South, or in our populous cities.

Western Fields.

Dr. Strong stated that in nearly two thirds of all the territory of the United States between the Mississippi River and Alaska, 58.9 per cent. of the inhabitants are of foreign birth or extraction. He also says,

> that in Oregon, only one in eleven of the population in 1880 was in any evangelical Church; Dakota, one in twelve; in Washington, one in sixteen; in California and Colorado, one in twenty; in Idaho, one in thirty-three; in Montana, one in thirty-six; in Nevada one in forty-six; in Wyoming, one in eighty-one; in Utah, one in two hundred and twenty-four; in New Mexico, one in six hundred and fifty-seven; in Arizona, one in six hundred and eighty-five.

That the Church may be established in this section, the people must be reached by a power that will bring them into intelligent sympathy with our Christian institutions. The Church has no connectional educational association operating west of the Mississippi. The Woman's Home Missionary Society can most successfully aid the people through the schools. Women as teachers, through their influence with the children, can gain access to the homes and hearts of the parents. In many cases women alone can give the instruction that is needed to alleviate the prevalent wretchedness. This is true of a large proportion of the native women of New Mexico, of Indian women, and of those in the thralldom of Mormon faith and institutions.

The erection of the Home and Boarding Department of the Salt Lake Seminary was commenced in 1880. Teachers were sent that year to Utah. Each year the work has been enlarged. The Society has now twelve teachers in this field. It has schools or missionary teachers in the San Pete valley, at Ogden, Maroni, Mount Pleasant, Ritchfield, Ephraim, Elsinore, and at Salt Lake City. The difficulty of securing proper accommodations for them has made it necessary to aid in the erection of buildings to the amount of $10,863 45.

Advocating this line of work, the Secretary of the Bureau quotes from Rev. T. C. Iliff, Superintendent of Missions in Utah:

> Please urge upon your Society the need of doubling the number of missionary teachers and building as many of your little mission school-houses as possible. This work of teaching, while of the greatest importance now, will only be for a few years. Just as soon as public schools come into the hands of proper persons, this line of work will cease to be needed. But these little homes you are building are not only an equal necessity now, but will be needed in all the future in the direct carrying on of mission work in this territory.

Two years ago the first mission of the society among the Indians was opened at Pawnee, in the Indian Territory. In its influence for good upon the Pawnees it has been a marked success. Encouraged by the good results secured, steps have been taken to establish missions among tribes of Indians in adjoining Territories, and also in Alaska.

We quote from the report of the secretary:

There was no observance of the Sabbath by whites or Indians within a radius of forty miles. Our missionary addressed herself to establish the Christian Sabbath. In this she succeeded. The Indians, who entertained the whites on the Sabbath with bear-dances, now not only attend the services held by our missionary on that day but have given up their heathen dances. The mission has greatly benefited both whites and Indians, and introduced among them Christian civilization. One chief has died a beautiful death, addressing God as Father. Seven other Indians have recently professed conversion.

Earnest appeals for help come from the Klamaths, the Silets, the Yakimas, and the large tribes of Arizona. A promising field is opening on the Navajos Reservation, an area of the size of Ohio, in north-west New Mexico and north-east Arizona. The Navajos number 22,000. They have increased 12,000 within twelve years. They are rich in sheep, cattle, and horses. They are nomadic. It is proposed to establish a mission at Chenali, a trading post near the beautiful cañon of de Chelly. The manufactures of these remarkable Indians in silver, pottery, and especially in blankets, are very valuable. They are heathen, and destitute of schools. They despise our border civilization, and efficient, faithful missionaries can win them for Christ. Unless this is done quickly the encroachments of the approaching whites will bring upon us the horrors of an Indian war. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs has granted the Society eighty acres of land. Military protection is also promised, if needed. The Indians are ready for the Gospel, and often ask with grief, "Why, then, did you not tell us these things before?"

Of the claims of Alaska the report says:

While Christians made no effort to tell these heathen of Jesus, the whisky-demon began his work. In less than a week after the United States flag was raised at Sitka, among other vices that claimed its protection were "two saloons and two ten-pin alleys." The first gift to native chiefs by the commander of the new department was a few bottles of whisky!

Polygamy in its most hideous forms is practiced, fathers taking their own daughters as wives in the same hovel with their mother. The exchange of wives, as inclination or convenience dictates, is not uncommon. Human sacrifices, infanticide, and other kindred crimes, may be found among the mountains and ravines of Alaska.

Southern Fields.

The several denominations operating in the South have largely devoted their energies to the preparation of teachers and preachers. This has proved a most successful method of elevating the people. The wisdom of this policy is unquestionable.

Wise educators in all parts of the country are making provision for industrial training. Slavery put upon labor the badge of degradation. Our schools, by placing industries in the course of study, and by recognizing their importance, contribute valuable assistance for the removal of this odium.

The department for girls aims to impart practical elementary instruction in the lines of study included in good housekeeping. This requires a knowledge of chemistry, of the science of cooking, the purchase and care of family supplies, household accounts, vegetable, landscape, and floral gardening, home architecture, esthetic and decorative art. It also includes dressmaking, millinery, etc., and practical instruction in home sanitation, physiology, hygiene, physical training, and the duties of a nurse.

Industrial education in connection with the schools of the Freedmen's Aid Society furnishes the Woman's Home Missionary Society a definite field of labor, distinct from any other form of Church benevolence. The Church has thirty schools for advanced instruction in this section, in which are more than six thousand students. The fact that the fields of skilled labor are closed to a large proportion of the youth of both races, except through the instrumentality of the denominational schools, gives especial importance to this line of instruction.

The Society entered the South with its workers, who engaged in general city mission work and in visiting from house to house, but it was soon discovered that much valuable effort was lost for the want of continuous care and personal attention to mature into permanent form the results reached.

It has since developed two lines of work: one in co-operation with our schools of higher grade, furnishing educational and industrial training, which is illustrated by the work of the "Model Home." The other is carried on by itself, apart from school connections. It provides a home for girls, kindergarten, kitchengarten, industrial and school training, assuming their care and in part their support.

First. The "MODEL HOME," connected with the school, furnishes for the imitation of pupils a beautiful home life. These homes are designed to accommodate a family of from twelve to sixteen girls. The few already in operation have demonstrated

their great value. The Church has for years, at great expense, by educating the freedmen, been laying the foundation on which the Woman's Home Missionary Society may build. A large proportion of the pupils now in the schools have always lived in cabins, destitute of conveniences and comforts. They have little idea of social life and order, or of the sacredness of the family relations. They are drawn together from a widely extended territory. They represent the most enterprising elements of the population. From these are selected girls of considerable attainment, of good moral character, cherishing high aims in life. These, at moderate expense and in a short time, are prepared for missionary service. They become more successful teachers of their people than strangers, since they understand them better and can sympathize more intelligently with their needs.

In connection with each educational institution there is a demand for a Model Home. Young men attending the college, becoming acquainted with these excellent homes, are encouraged to cultivate the economical habits and the moralities necessary to secure one. They learn to respect woman in her proper sphere, as the conservator of home rather than as a laborer in the field, and the influence of these as ministers and teachers will carry the inspiration of better living all over the South.

The Society has five of these Homes; one at Atlanta, Ga., another at Orangeburg, S. C., the third at Greensboro, N. C., the fourth at Holly Springs, Miss., and the fifth at Little Rock, Ark. The aggregate cost of this property is $16,530. Since they were established one hundred and fifty girls have, in them, been provided with a year's instruction in housekeeping, six hundred have had special training in the industrial classes, while thousands of young men and women, instructed by the example of the Model Home, have received higher ideals of life, and gained much practical knowledge of its duties. A large proportion of these have taught a part of each year. The students that have gone out from the Home have given one or more years of valuable labor as missionary teachers.

Second. The Industrial Schools. The Society has two of these—one at Savannah, Ga., the other at Jacksonville, Fla.—in which girls receive industrial education and moral training.

The expenses of the pupils are largely met by the Society, although quite a number are supported by parents or friends. It is hoped that by retaining these young persons for a succession of years in the Home, they will acquire valuable information in the practical duties of life, develop symmetrical Christian character, and become useful members of society. The mission at Savannah has been in operation three years with gratifying results. Thirty-six are accommodated in the family, and one hundred in the day-school. Three missionary teachers are employed, and through their instrumentality a second mission, with Day and Sunday School, has been successfully inaugurated at Speedwell, a suburb of the city. The Sunday school at the Methodist Church is conducted by these missionaries, aided by their most advanced pupils. Mrs. J. L. Whetstone has taken a deep interest in this missson, and contributed liberally to the purchase of the property.

The enterprise at Jacksonville was opened last year, and is under the care of a missionary and an assistant. There have been ten girls in the family, and seventy-five in the industrial day classes. These missionaries teach sewing, and hold temperance meetings in three neighboring places. The building and grounds for these two industrial schools have been provided at an expense of $14,168 89.

Our Cities.

It is patent that the masses in our cities who most need the elevating influence of the Gospel are not attracted to the church by its accustomed services. The beautiful music, fervent prayers and eloquent sermons do not reach these wanderers from the house of God, with their burdened hearts. They need light in their darkness, sympathy in their sorrow, help in their poverty, and encouragement in their despondency.

Why not make mission churches centers for all saving influences, where may be found schools in which children may be trained in morals and in useful occupations, young women taught remunerative industries, agencies where employment may be secured, and, above all, places where any who come would be met with loving sympathy?

Through its Bureau of Local or City Work, the Woman's

Home Missionary Society might prosecute such a work as this. The strength of several Conference Societies might be concentrated in a large city for mission work, and prosperous churches so engaged would not languish and die. In this line of its activity the great possibilities of usefulness of the Woman's Home Missionary Society might be illustrated.

The necessity of self-sacrificing effort in behalf of the masses is most impressively enforced in the following quotation:

> The Church must show to the world a society in which the strong really, actually, bear the burdens and infirmities of the weak, and seek not to please themselves. The masses will never be won until the Church is such a society. If the masses will not come to the Church, then the Church must go to the masses. If men are to be saved, other men must sacrifice themselves to reach them. I can see no solution for our problem except this; we must compel men to come in by the power of love; we must go to them in the spirit that brought Jesus to the earth. The Church must go to those who will not come to it; go with its loving invitations, and patient instructions, and persuasive entreaties, and ceaseless ministries; and when it is willing to do that, it will find that most of its work for years to come will be taking Jesus Christ to those who will not come to him.

The report of the secretary of this department furnishes the following:

> The importance of the work committed to this bureau, namely, the supervision of the mission work, the support of industrial schools, temperance organizations, and the employment of Bible readers for general missionary work among women and children in our large cities and towns, a work supplementary to the Christian Church and leading into it, can scarcely be overestimated. There are localities and wards in every large city needing missionary labor as much as it is needed South or West; even more, if possible, for in the cities the disease is acute, and it is a question of saving a limb or losing the whole body. So felt is the need of purification in the great cities that we have no fear that, when our plan of work shapes itself in our minds, and our desire to meet the demand becomes known, workers and means will come to us as we need them. The Woman's Home Missionary Society wishes to put itself in its own special field—namely, woman's work for woman—into vital practical relations with all our Church missionary movements in the great cities, as rapidly as the way opens to us and means flow into our treasury.

From the commencement of this movement the Society has responded, to the extent of its ability, to urgent calls of the

most needy people of our country. Careful attention has been given to efforts in behalf of the Freedmen, of the Mormons, and of the Indians. But the society has constantly felt a strong drawing toward the needy population of our cities. Evidently God, in his providence, is molding and preparing it to engage in this important work. It has not yet been able to satisfactorily formulate plans and thoroughly systematize this work. While it studies the question, and listens attentively to the suggestions of wisdom and experience, we believe at no distant day, under Divine guidance, it will enter upon the work of saving the masses in cities with an enthusiasm and an efficiency that will secure the most hopeful results. We feel assured that a mission of so great importance is worthy the providential origin and earnest endeavor of this organization of the Church.

The Training School for Missionaries, at Chicago, by its remarkable success, suggests a new and efficient agency for city evangelization. Schools similar to this may be established anywhere, and become great centers of missionary influence. The enterprise was started under the auspices of this society, and has become an instrumentality of blessing not only for Chicago and this country, but for foreign lands. Already in it are consecrated women preparing themselves for mission work at home and abroad. A beautiful building for the school has been erected at a cost of $26,000. Forty-three students are in attendance, all of whom are engaged in active mission work. These have made this year 2,795 religious visits and have taught 5,432 pupils. Nine young ladies have enlisted in the order of Deaconess, and give their whole time and strength, without compensation, to city mission work in Chicago.

The report of the work says:

> Every pupil, whatever her purpose for the future, during her course of instruction is employed as a city missionary. This school has its workers in seventeen churches and missions in Chicago. The plan is to put ladies under the various pastors, making them responsible to the pastor for results and to the school for methods. The time seems near when every church and mission in the city that needs help from us may have, without expense, two or more missionaries under the direction of the pastor. Bishop Foster said of the enterprise. "This school is a growth. It has arisen to meet an absolute necessity. It is a

great thing that these students can have this training, and the best part of it is that they are introduced to the hardest mission work in the hardest part of Chicago. It will develop courage, skill, invention, and devotion."

The Society has a mission at Castle Garden, New York. Until a year ago there was no Protestant missionary at this place to attend to the spiritual wants of the English-speaking immigrants. The Hebrews were provided for, the German, Scandinavian, and Roman Catholic Churches had also their Homes, but the Protestant English-speaking immigrants were neglected. From the report of Mrs. Mathews, our missionary, we take the following:

The number of immigrants landed every year is very great. Eighty-four large steamships arrive from Europe every month, bringing passengers to this port. Of these, twelve come from the Mediterranean, laden with Italians chiefly; fourteen from the Baltic and Zuyder Zee, bearing Russians and Scandinavians; twenty from the German Ocean, freighted with Danes, Dutch, and Teutons; six from France; and last, but largest in number as well as interest, thirty-two from Great Britain and Ireland, loaded with English-speaking people.

When from 6,000 to 9,000 are congregated in the rotunda at one time the sounds are more suggestive of Babel than Pentecost, and the perfume is not such as arises from the gardens of spices. We have pathetic scenes. Women have come expecting a husband to meet them: he does not come, and no word comes. These need comforting. Poor people who have sold their little all for just enough money to get here, hoping to get work at once, are disappointed, heart-sick, home-sick, and hungry. These call for aid. Men who have left their country for their country's good—these need advice. Plenty to do among every ship load.

We are already seeing fruit from our seed-sowing. Many letters reach us from families for whom we have obtained situations, thanking us for the interest taken in them. Some of the immigrants have written home to their friends, telling them of the missionary at Castle Garden who will give them books and good advice, and it is quite common now to have parties inquire on handing for the Methodist missionary.

If we had a Home we could bring women and children there who are waiting to be met. We could have persons seeking employment, especially domestic servants, sent to us from the churches where they belong. The need of a Mission House and Immigrant Home becomes more and more apparent. Protestant people object to the priest's house, as they do not want to attend mass. Then the boarding-houses represented at Castle Garden are connected with the liquor traffic, but there is no cheap boarding house, conducted on temperance principles, near the Garden.

Art. II.—PROFESSOR BOWNE'S PSYCHOLOGY.*

Professor Bowne is no stranger to students of metaphysics. His trenchant and brilliant criticism of Herbert Spencer gained their attention, while his *Theism* and *Metaphysics* gave him an assured place among the first metaphysicians of America. All worshipers, therefore, at the shrine of philosophy—and there are still a few such—will be glad to hear of this new offering. Nor will their hopes be disappointed. They will find the same lucidity of exposition, the same power of illustration, the same merciless scorn of opponents, and the same acuteness of thought that characterized his earlier works.

In the book before us Professor Bowne attempts to answer two questions: 1) What are the ultimate elements of the facts and processes of the human mind? 2) What is our actual mental life as a combination of these elements? In opposition to Comte and his school, his method is mainly introspective, though he admits that we cannot gain a complete knowledge of the human mind by the study of the individual consciousness alone, and that the narrow and one-sided results of such a study need to be corrected and supplemented by a study of life and history and literature.

The author begins his answer to his first question by maintaining the existence of the self as the subject of our mental states. The followers of Hume assure us that the sensations, thoughts, feelings, and volitions which we experience constitute the entire content of our being. It is not true, they say, as common sense imagines, that *I* am something different from these experiences, something which *has* them; on the contrary, I *am* the experiences which reveal themselves to my consciousness from moment to moment and nothing more; my entire being is poured out into them without remainder.

The attentive reader will observe that this view is not only inconceivable—it cannot even be stated except in terms that imply its opposite. "I am the sensations, thoughts, feelings, and volitions which reveal themselves to my consciousness," etc. What does "my" mean? If there is no subject, if these vanishing experiences are all there is of me, is not the "my"

* *Introduction to Psychological Theory*, by Borden P. Bowne.

altogether meaningless? But if we not only omit it from the sentence, but seek to banish the fact implied by it from the thought of which the sentence professes to be the expression, we shall realize that we are in a new difficulty. For what is meant by "consciousness?" Is it something in addition to the experiences which, in order to be intelligible, I have been in the habit of calling mine? Evidently not, for according to the hypothesis they constitute my entire being. The term consciousness, then, either means nothing at all or is merely a collective term to denote the facts that are said to reveal themselves to it, and we are left with the statement, "I am sensations, thoughts, feelings, and volitions." But which group am I? To use the language of the ordinary creed—and no other is intelligible—there are many persons in the world. What characteristic or quality or attribute attaches to the group of experiences which constitute *me*, and differentiates it from those that constitute all other persons?

But, granting the possibility of mental states apart from a subject, such mental states could not account for the unity of our mental life. The co-existence and succession of mental states is one thing, a knowledge of such co-existence and succession quite another. Now if what we call a mind consists of particular experiences, though co-existent they cannot be known as such, since each, being particular, cannot know any thing of the others; for in knowing any thing of the others it would assume the character of universality—cease to be what the theory requires it to be.

Professor Bowne's illustration will make this clearer:

> Let *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* be respectively a sensation of color, of odor, of taste, and of sound. Plainly no consciousness can be built out of these elements. The color knows nothing of the odor, the taste knows nothing of the sound. Each is a particular and isolated unit, and must remain so until some common subject, *m*, is given, in the unity of whose consciousness these elements may be united. For as long *a*, *b*, *c*, etc., are all, there is no common consciousness, and hence no rational consciousness at all. We conclude, then, that the mental life, both in its elements and in its combinations, must have a subject. It is not only unintelligible, it is impossible, without it.—Page 13.

It should be carefully noted, that if this reasoning is just, we reach a subject of our mental states not by an inference

from the facts of consciousness, but by an actual analysis of them. The co-existence of mental states is an absolute certainty. That is universally conceded to be a fact of consciousness. What is involved in it? There is involved in it an element in our conscious lives *over and above* the co-existent states; a universal element present to each of these particular and co-existing states, and making possible the knowledge of their co-existence. Precisely as an analysis of water shows that it is a compound of hydrogen and oxygen, so an analysis of the fact that states of consciousness are known to be co-existent, shows the presence of something besides the co-existent facts: a subject to which these co-existing facts appear, and which knows them as co-existent.

It is hardly necessary to say that an analysis of the knowledge of likeness and unlikeness, of cause and effect, of here and there, of motion, of any relation, in short, will reveal the same fact. Two things may be like or unlike; they may be, in a word, relative to each other, one may be here and the other there, they may change their places, but the knowledge of these things is impossible if mental life consists of particular experiences not brought into unity by their relation to a common subject. If one man sees a moving ball for an indivisible point of time and no longer, and another for another, there can be no perception of motion, because there can be no comparison of successive positions. There *are* successive positions, but they are not known as such; A saw the ball at *a*, and B at *b*, but A's perception *a* and B's perception *b* are not sufficient to constitute a perception of motion—though they are a perception of successive positions—because they are not *known* as successive positions since they are not the experiences of one and the same person.

These considerations appear to me a demonstration of the reality of the mental subject. But this is so emphatically denied by materialism that it may be well to examine its grounds before proceeding.

No one denies that the mental life is in some way dependent upon the organism, especially upon the brain and nervous system. But materialism is not the necessary inference from such dependence. For though the explanation of it may be that the organism *produces* the facts of consciousness, it may

be, also, that the relation between those facts and the organism is not that of cause and effect, but of *condition* and *conditioned*, and that though the mind is conditioned in its activities by the organism, it is nevertheless distinct from it. Which of these is the true explanation?

We note in the first place the utter unlikeness of physical and mental facts. Matter has form and position; its forces are moving forces. How can they produce thought? The most plausible answer which materialism makes to this question is based on the doctrine of the transformation of energy. As in certain relations matter manifests gravity, in certain others affinity, in still others magnetism, so in others, it is claimed, it manifests vital and mental properties. Now, granting the utmost that this theory contends for, all it can do is to account for states of consciousness. But we have seen that though we cannot deny the possibility of a sentient life consisting simply of states of consciousness, the mental life of man consists in something entirely different—a consciousness of states. Thoughts and feelings, as we have seen, demand a subject, and are meaningless and impossible apart from it. In order to make out its case, materialism must not only account for thoughts and feelings, but also for the subject of them. Until it has solved this problem—until it has shown that co-existing facts are the same thing as the knowledge of co-existence—it has no claim upon our attention.

In the second place, materialism is not a workable theory. We are not merely or chiefly intellectual beings; we have a practical nature, and it is as incumbent in a theory to make provision for its legitimate demands as it is that it should have logical consistency. But if materialism be true, we are merely the creatures and tools of blind unconscious forces, and tragedy is comedy, and aspiration and heroism and self-sacrifice are entirely due to a certain collocation of the particles of our nervous systems. Will such a theory work?

We pass to consider sensation. Sensation is the effect produced in consciousness by certain nervous changes. The apparent causal order is, 1) the action of an external stimulus; 2) the resulting nervous change; 3) the conscious sensation. Some psychologists, Hamilton for instance, contend that there is something of a psychical nature intermediate between the

nervous action and the conscious sensation. The existence of this something—Hamilton called it latent modification of consciousness—is contended for on several grounds. One of them is, that the physical antecedents of sensation are often present when there is no sensation. There are authentic accounts of soldiers who were severely wounded in battle and remained unconscious of it until the excitement of the fight was over. But because there was no conscious psychical state are we justified in assuming an unconscious one? I cannot see why. Apart from experience, we should have no more reason to suppose that the infliction of a wound would cause pain than we have to suppose that a tree feels pain when it is cut down. Experience has taught us that under normal circumstances the infliction of a wound causes pain; if there are abnormal circumstances under which this is not the case, have we any right to invent a sub-conscious state in order to account for it? I cannot think so. For aught we can say, one is just as natural as the other. When the attention is free to follow the solicitations of feeling, the infliction of a wound causes pain. Will some one tell why? When the attention is powerfully drawn in another direction, the infliction of a wound may not cause pain. Will some one say why it may not be so? In the one case we have the infliction of a wound, and as its concomitant conscious pain; in the other we have the infliction of a wound and no conscious concomitant. Surely, before we are justified in assuming that there must be a psychical concomitant below consciousness, we must be able to explain why it is that the infliction of pain under normal circumstances has a psychical concomitant. The argument is based on a suicidal assumption. That assumption is, that an external stimulus must produce its full nervous effect without regard to the condition of the nervous system; and that the nervous system, in turn, must produce its full mental effect without regard to the state of mind. Now if this assumption is valid we are entitled—or rather compelled—to assume that this mental effect must in turn produce its full conscious result without regard to the state of the attention, which does not happen.

The existence of sub-conscious states is also based on such facts as the following:

a. The physical stimulus which excites the nervous action

is composed of an indefinite number of elements either of extension or of intensity. Now as the whole cause produces the effect of which we are conscious, each separate element must produce its separate psychical effect although we are not conscious of it. Hence there must be sub-conscious states.

b. Further, a regular succession of single beats is heard as single beats as long as the rate of recurrence falls below a certain standard. When it rises above this standard, we no longer hear a series of beats, but a musical note. Now as they were heard as a series when the rate of recurrence was relatively slow, they must *exist* as a series when the rate has become faster; and as they do not appear as such in consciousness, they must do so below consciousness.

c. Further, white light is composed of several primary colors, each of which must produce the psychical effect proper to it when acting alone, though the effect of which we are conscious is white light.

The first argument makes essentially the same assumption as the one already considered. Because a given quantum of stimuli produces a certain effect, it is assumed that each smallest part of it must produce an effect of like nature. But we have already seen that such assumptions are wholly without warrant.

The second argument, like the two already considered, ignores the fact that all we know about the connection between physical and mental facts is based on experience. On *a priori* grounds nothing would seem more unlikely than that motion of any kind would be the condition of any kind of sensation. And because we find it to be the case as a matter of fact, we have no right to go beyond experience, and decide that what does not exist in consciousness must exist somewhere else. What kind of mental facts, whether any or not, are connected with physical facts we must learn from experience, and where we have no experience we are entitled to no opinion.

The third argument makes the same general assumption, and need not, therefore, detain us.

Closely akin to this theory is another—that our sensations are not simple, but are susceptible of analysis into the elements of which they are composed.

Now these component elements are either conscious or uncon scious. If they are held to be unconscious, the theory is iden-

tical with the one we have just considered. But if they are held to be conscious, its supporters must point out the alleged elements; and until they do so we may fairly assume that their theory has no foundation in fact.

Inasmuch as many psychologists contend that simple sensibility is the only original faculty of the mind—that all we believe is due to sensations and associations of sensations—this seems the proper place to consider the laws of association. Professor Bowne thinks that all of them—contiguity in space and time, cause and effect, similarity and contrast—may be reduced to one, the law of redintegration. This law is, "that the mind can be stimulated to perform anew any past function by the recurrence in experience of one or more of the factors that entered into that function."—P. 91. The meaning of this is, that when any part of a previous experience is repeated the mind tends to restore the whole. If, for example, I have seen A and B but once, and then together, the sight of A would tend to recall the thought of B.

No argument is needed to show that all the laws except that of resemblance may be reduced to this formula. Contiguity in space and time have no effect on the mind save as the contiguous events and things are apprehended in a common experience. The same is true of cause and effect, means and end, contrast, etc. A cause suggests its effect, a means its end, because they have been seen or thought of together; because they have been factors of a common experience. Wherever contrasts suggest each other the reason will be found to be the same.

The law of association by resemblance is not as manifestly a case of the law of redintegration. Indeed, at first sight it seems impossible to so explain it. I see a Chinaman to-day whom I never saw before, and he makes me think of a Chinaman whom I saw in Denver ten years ago. How can this Chinaman, whom I saw to-day for the first time, be considered a factor of the experience which I had in seeing the Chinaman in Denver?

As the point is one of some difficulty, the reader shall have the benefit of Professor Bowne's own explanation:

> Likeness, as such, becomes a ground of suggestion only as the present experience, *AbcD*, contains elements, *bc*, common to another experience, *MbcN*. This common element, *bc*, stimulates the mind, under favorable circumstances, to fill out the allied form

MbcN. Sometimes *bc* is entirely inefficient, and then there is no suggestion. Sometimes it stimulates the mind to perform the function *MbcN*, but with only partial success. Then we have the peculiar experience of being reminded of something, we cannot say what. To understand this result, we must remember that all our experiences are compound, or have several distinguishable elements; for example, a picture may be distinguished by its subject, the treatment, the grouping, the drawing, the coloring, the frame, the hanging, and even by the location; and association or suggestion may take place through any one of these elements. Hence we may put an object, A, equal to its elements, *abcde;* and another object, B, may be put equal to its elements *ablmr.* If, then, we have A before us, and our attention be concentrated upon it, there will be no suggestion. In other cases, the factor *ab*, common to both A and B, may stimulate the mind to complete the function *ablmr.* If this succeeds, B will be recalled or suggested by virtue of the likeness of A to B; that is, because of the common factor *ab.* If it does not succeed to the extent of completely reproducing the function, then we say that A reminds us of something, we cannot say what.—Page 93.

The *ab* in this illustration are *identical thought factors joined with different sensational elements.* The Chinaman, for example, who to-day reminded me of the Chinaman whom I saw in Denver is identical with the latter *as a Chinaman;* different from him as a person with an individuality and characteristics of his own. I have but one concept of Chinaman, as I have but one of man, and this one concept I apply to every individual of the class. When I saw the Chinaman in Denver, I applied to him my concept of Chinaman; and when I saw the Chinaman to-day I had the same concept, though I applied it to a different individual. This reasoning enables us to subsume the law of association by resemblance under the law of redintegration.

But many psychologists, as we have seen, deny that there is any thought factor in our mental life in contradistinction from sensation and the laws of association. As this is on many accounts one of the most important questions of psychology, it deserves a careful consideration. Obviously the first thing to be done is to ascertain exactly what sensation is, apart from all the manipulations of thought or of the laws of association. Before we have a right to make up our minds that sensations worked over by the laws of association are capable of explaining our mental life, we must get clear ideas as to the material the laws

of association have to work on. The first step in this direction is the realization that a sensation *named*, considered as a member of a class, is *not* sensation as postulated by the theory. We speak of sensation of color, taste, smell, sound, etc. But all these are more than sensations; they are sensations *plus* something else, and that something is just that which gives them all their meaning—that which enables them to become the subject of intelligible discourse—that which enables us to regard them as members of a class. If we clearly realize that it is what I may call the universal aspect of any experience that gives it all its significance for thought, we shall see that sensation as an absolutely particular experience, deprived of all the contributions of thought, obstinately refuses to allow itself to be made the basis of an argument, because it cannot even be conceived except negatively. Professor Bowne well says that

> the single sensation is not properly known as long as it is only an affection of the sensibility; for sensation as a state of feeling is not necessarily a clear mental object. A child whose appetite is satisfied, and whose body is comfortably warm and at ease in all respects, is doubtless in a pleasant state of feeling, but it has no rational apprehension of the fact. The dog on the rug and the cat on the hearth are probably very comfortable, but it is doubtful if they can be said to know it. Before the sensitive state can properly become a mental object, it must be discriminated from the self as a state, and set over against the self as its object. And even this would imply only a general objectification of the object, and no definite knowledge. In order to reach an intimate knowledge, the sensation must be classified and related. It is hardly known at all [I should say it is *not* known at all] until it is known as one of a kind; and in order to this it must be discriminated from the unlike and assimilated to the like. Until this is done, we have a feeling without a clearly defined content, and one to which we can give no definite place in our mental system.—Page 118.

All this appears to me incontrovertible, and the failure to apprehend it is the source of all the fallacies of the associationalists. Confounding sensation as a simple affection of the sensibility with the consciousness of sensation, with sensation perceived to be of a certain kind and to be a member of a class—confounding the likeness of sensations with the consciousness of likeness, their existence with the consciousness of existence, their succession with the consciousness of their succession—they have had no difficulty in making sensibility do all the work of

thought. But when we clearly apprehend what sensation is, or rather, since that is impossible, what it is not, we shall see that there is another process in our mental life besides the "movements and affections of the sensibility; an activity upon them which results in the judgment, the establishment of relations, and thus in rational knowledge." This activity Prof. Bowne calls the thought process.

Prof. Bowne truly says that the existence of an activity above sensation is shown by the most familiar experiences:

> When we view a complex but unfamiliar object we have a complete sensation, yet we cannot tell what we have seen, owing to the failure to establish relations among the component elements of the object. Again, when we look at a large number of objects, or a figure with many sides, we have the same result. The sensation is perfect, but knowledge is lacking. Nor is knowledge possible until the mind has reacted upon the sensation, and by a process of counting and construction mastered its significance. Again, we may pronounce a sentence whose words are all familiar, as, Peter's wife's mother's uncle's sister's husband is coming to see us. In such a case we might be greatly puzzled to identify an understanding of the words expressing the relation with a comprehension of the relation expressed. Nor will any mere staring at the object help us to knowledge. Objects cannot count themselves. The eyes cannot count them. The plurality of sensations constitutes the countable, not the counted. The significance of attention does not consist in an intenser stare, but in a new order of activity, the establishment of relations among the elements of sense experience. These facts show sensation may be complete and knowledge lacking, and cancel the attempt to identify sensation with the knowledge resulting from it.

And just as the sensibility would give us no sensations if it were not induced to act by an external stimulus, so there would be no thought activity if it were not occasioned by the presence of sensations.

But what is the nature of this thought activity? All thinking consists in establishing relations of likeness and difference. But things are neither like nor unlike in general, but in certain particular points or features. We say of two men that they resemble each other in height, or figure, or style of dress, or taste, etc., but a likeness which does not consist in likeness in certain particular respects is inconceivable. Hence, to understand the activity of thought we must ascertain the general relations which thought finds or establishes among its objects.

The first of these relations—variously called categories of thought, regulative ideas, etc.—which we will notice, is time. Sensationalists have no difficulty with the question as to the origin of the idea of time, because they confuse the sequence of sensations with the idea of sequence. Having the idea of sequence, all that is necessary is to abstract from this sense experience in order to get the idea of time as a whole. But the fallacy of this confusion has already been shown, and need not be dwelt on further.

There are three conditions of the idea of time: 1. A sequence of states of consciousness; 2. Identity of the conscious subject; 3. An apprehension of this sequence by means of a comparison of it with the abiding subject. If our being consisted simply of changing states, the idea of time, and indeed of all relations, would be impossible. The idea of time is an idea of a relation between two or more things, and both terms of the relation must be grasped by something outside of them to make the idea possible. The idea would be equally impossible in the absence of all succession or change. That union of the changing and changeless—of that which passes away and that which abides—which we find in our self-consciousness is a necessary condition of the idea of time. If there were no change there would be no times between which to establish the relation; if there were nothing abiding there would be nothing to establish the relation between them.

It is important to note that the mind is not passive in its apprehension of time. Erroneously supposing that the mind is passive in external perception—that all we have to do in order to perceive the world of material objects is to open our eyes and passively receive their impression—we are apt to make a similar mistake in our conception of the relation between the sequence of states of consciousness and the idea of time. We are apt to suppose that consciousness passively perceives the sequence of its states somewhat as a piece of wax receives the impressions of a seal. But in truth the matter is far otherwise. As the perception of the external world is the result of the mind's reaction upon sensations—as there would be for us no external world were it not for the constructive activity of thought—so the idea of time first arises in the mind when its successive experiences excite it to unite them under the form

of time; and apart from its activity there would be for us no time.

Space is a category in the perception of the external world. We perceive material objects only as in space. What is the origin of the idea of space? The theory of common sense is, that things are extended and in space, and that the mind directly knows them as such. Now whether things exist in space independently of the mind is a metaphysical question with which we have nothing to do. The question we are discussing has no relation to space as an objective existence, but merely as an idea of the mind. But if space does exist objectively, and things in it, their existence does not explain our perception of them. We have as much right to say that the revolution of the planets about the sun in elliptical orbits is a proof of itself, that men never could have been ignorant of it because it is true, as that the existence of space and of things in space is a sufficient explanation of our knowledge of space and our idea of space. "But," the champion of common sense may reply, "the revolution of the planets does not *act* upon us." "Neither does space," I reply. "If space exists objectively—and I insist that that is not the question under discussion—it is mere emptiness, the entire negation of all energy and force." "But at any rate things with spacial properties act upon us," retorts the supporter of common sense. "Yes," I reply, "and so do the planets, in revolving around the sun in elliptical orbits." "But they do not directly act upon the mind." "No, neither do the things that exist in space. They act upon our nervous systems, causing a motion in its particles, and the result of this motion is an indescribable experience, as unlike its cause as words are unlike thoughts, which we call sensations." The possession of sensations is not the perception of the external world. Not until the mind puts its own stamp upon them, makes them intelligible by laws of interpretation of its own, is there any perception. Is the fact that things existing in space are the remote cause of the sensations out of which we construct the external world a sufficient explanation of the fact that we perceive things in space? Is it not, rather, clear that we perceive things in space because of the *manner* in which the mind reacts upon its sensations? In and of themselves sensations are a confused and meaningless manifold. Into this

mass of unintelligible hieroglyphics the mind reads a meaning by laws of its own, and one of these laws is the category of space. And if there were no law according to which the mind, by virtue of its very nature, perceives things as in space, we should have no perception of space, however real space may be. Precisely as a savage might stare unintelligently at Raphael's great painting in Dresden because his mind would not furnish the principle of interpretation, so we may conceive a consciousness with the same sensations which we possess but *without* the form of space, because the consciousness in question does not supply the form of space.

But the associationalists deny that there is any category of space. They hold that sensations and the recollections of sensations recurring in time, according to the laws of association, entirely explain our idea of space. We cannot enter into the details of this theory or of the author's examination of it. We sum up the author's criticism in his own words: The associational theory "either begs the question, or else, instead of deducing the idea of space, calls certain associations of temporal sensations space."—P. 147.

Number is another category of thought. The activity of the mind in this category consists 1) in establishing a unit, and 2) in counting.

It may seem at first sight entirely gratuitous to assume an activity of the mind in establishing a unit. It seems as though units were furnished directly by experience, and that in being conscious of our experience we are conscious of units. Before we can decide this question we must free the term experience from ambiguity. The term may mean the direct and sole result of the action of the sensibility, or it may mean this result after it has been manipulated by the categories of thought. Those who differ with Professor Bowne, and hold that units are furnished directly by experience, must manifestly use the term in the first sense. Now it seems to me that a little reflection should convince any one that experience in this sense only presents to consciousness *that which thought may regard as a unit.* I see a yard-stick. Is that one, or is it three, or is it thirty-six? It is any one of the three according as the mind chooses to make the unit an inch or a foot or a yard. Shall I take an apple, or a bushel of apples, or an orchard, or a field, or

a county, or a state, or a continent, or a solar system, or a universe as my unit? Which decides this question—sensation or thought? Plainly all that sense-experience does is to furnish us with the numerable, but our ideas of number are furnished by the mind itself. The difficulty in perceiving this grows out of a lack of what I may call metaphysical imagination. Ask a young student who is just being initiated into the mysteries of metaphysics if there is sound in a desert when an explosion occurs in the absence of any consciousness, and he will probably answer, Yes. He has been so in the habit of projecting his sensations into the external world—of clothing material things with states of consciousness—that he cannot think of material things apart from them. In like manner, there are things which, on grounds of convenience, are universally regarded as units, and this point of view of the mind, if I may use such an expression, has been so habitually projected into the world of things that we find it hard not to regard it as a property of the world.

The categories so far considered are formal and logical, rather than metaphysical. Relations of likeness and unlikeness, of time and space and number, do not necessarily imply any existence beyond the consciousness in which those relations are apprehended. If there were but one being in the world—if the world consisted of one conscious being—he might conceivably be conscious of like and unlike states; he might seem to perceive a world of things existing under the forms of space and time, and having the attributes of number, just as we do now, so far as the categories which we have so far considered are concerned. To get out of ourselves, to pass beyond the bounds of our narrow subjective existence into a world that exists apart from and independently of us, we must have recourse to the metaphysical categories—to the categories of substance and cause and effect.

Two very different questions concerning substance and cause are frequently confused with each other—the question as to the origin of the ideas of substance and cause, and the question as to the reality of substance and cause. Whence comes my idea of substance and my idea of cause is one question. Is there any such thing as substance and is there any such thing as cause is totally a different question, and should be carefully

discriminated from the other. The second question is a question of metaphysics rather than of psychology, though there is a point in which the two seem to coincide. In discussing the question of the reality of the mental subject, we sought to show that the existence of the mental subject appears from a simple analysis of the facts of consciousness. Here the facts of consciousness—psychological truths—seem to establish the ontological fact of the existence of the mental subject. And so they do—but only *during the moment in which we are conscious of them.* As soon as the facts of which I am conscious pass beyond the sphere of consciousness into recollection, I only remember that I had them; and though the present facts of consciousness always afford me assurance of the reality of the mental subject, I can know that this subject abides from moment to moment, I can know the identity of self only as I can trust my memory, and the trustworthiness of memory is a question of metaphysics, not of ontology. As to the origin of our idea of substance, we have only to get a clear conception of it to see that it does not come from sensation. Substance denotes "reality in relation to attributes," and the senses give us no knowledge of any thing but attributes. The eye tells us of color, the ear of sounds, the nose of odors, the tongue of tastes, but beyond this they are silent. They cannot lift the veil that curtains phenomena. If, then, we have the idea of substance it could not have come from sensation. Similarly with the idea of cause. Cause means "reality in relation to activities." Such an idea cannot have come from experience. Since Hume published his "Inquiry," it has been a truism in metaphysics that experience shows us nothing but antecedence and sequence. If our idea of cause contains more than this, it could not have come from experience.

As to the metaphysical question concerning the reality of cause, it needs no great acuteness to enable one to perceive that a denial of it cuts away the only bridge by means of which we can span the chasm that yawns between the *ego* and the *non ego.* No metaphysician has ever denied the reality of causes in every sense of the term. The empiricists, for example, have only contended that cause is not what Professor Bowne defines it, "reality in relation to activities," but some kind of time relation. John Stuart Mill defined it "invariable unconditional

antecedence." But that kind of cause, as the empiricists conceive it, will not avail to take us beyond the narrow confines of our subjective existence. For, as Mill was careful to state, the antecedent and consequent in question must both of them be phenomenal, something which may be conceived as capable of appearing to me. He expressly said that we have no right to believe in a cause in the sense of a relation between phenomena and something which is not phenomenal, because we are justified in believing in causes in the sense of a relation between phenomena. Hence all that such a law of causation can do is to serve as a basis for belief in phenomena and laws of phenomena; a non-phenomenal fact cannot, in the nature of the case, be revealed by it. If, then, I hold the empirical theory of causation, it cannot justify my belief in the existence of any human being save myself.

Many do not see the force of this argument because they erroneously imagine that other human beings are phenomena. But if we clearly realize that it is only as material objects that other human beings are phenomenal—that as conscious beings each human being is to every other an ontological fact, if he be a fact at all—if we see that the gap between one human being and another is as wide as that between the present and the past—to be crossed by thought but in no possible way by experience—we shall see that the same weakness which disqualifies the law of causation, as empiricists conceive, from taking us to an ontological external world, likewise disqualifies it from guaranteeing the existence of other people.

We go on to consider the feelings. Feeling cannot be defined. It can, perhaps, be best described as pleasurable or painful consciousness. To the question why we feel, various answers have been given, but none of them are satisfactory. Some have attempted to deduce feeling from knowledge, but though feeling depends on knowledge it is totally different from it. Nor can we see any reason why a being who knows should also feel. That lack of metaphysical imagination of which I have already spoken makes it difficult to realize this. "Is it possible," I can imagine one saying, "for any one to see himself threatened with instant death without any feeling?" Certainly, if he had no love of life; and love of life is a kind of feeling the absence of which is very easily conceivable. "But

could he see some one suffering intense agony without a feeling of pity?" Certainly, if he was destitute of all regard for the pleasure or pain of others; and does not history make that quite easy to be conceived? In brief, the idea that there is any necessary connection between feeling and knowledge is entirely due to the fact that because we cannot imagine ourselves knowing and not feeling, we think there is a necessary connection between them. But the truth is, that we can conceive of perception, thought, reflection—of all our cognitive activities—in the absence of any feeling. We know and we also feel, and that is all we can say about it.

Nor is the attempt to show that feeling is the result of a perception of the bearing of a given state on our well-being any more successful. It is, indeed, identical with the argument the fallacy of which we have just pointed out; but ignoring that, and granting for the sake of argument that pleasure is the result of the perception of the beneficial tendencies of a given state, and pain the result of the perception of the reverse, nothing is done toward showing why these perceptions give pleasure and pain. We can conceive of a being so constituted as to get pleasure only from that which is injurious and pain only from that which is beneficial. Indeed, Herbert Spencer says, that the reason why in the majority of cases beneficial actions are a source of pleasure and injurious actions of pain is, that animals differently constituted could not compete in the struggle for existence with animals who derive pleasure from beneficial actions and pain from those that injure them, and that the result is that such animals have died out and left a race of beings such as we ourselves are. So far, then, from there being a necessary connection between the perception of an action that tends to benefit us and pleasure, we are obliged to say, that, if there is any such connection, it is simply an opaque fact which we have to accept as true without being able to assign any reason for it, unless, indeed, we accept the conjectures of the evolutionist, as such. But it may fairly be doubted whether such a connection is by any means universal. A child wants candy even after it has learned by a painful experience that it is likely to make him sick; and there are few men who are not in some respects overgrown children, taking pleasure out of what they know is injurious in its tendencies.

Aristotle, and following him Hamilton, held that unimpeded energy, according to the laws of the faculty in question, is pleasurable, while the opposite is a source of pain. Said Hamilton: "A feeling of pleasure is experienced when any power is consciously exercised in a suitable manner; that is, when we are neither on the one hand conscious of any restraint upon the energy which it is disposed spontaneously to put forth, nor, on the other, conscious of any effort in it to put forth an amount of energy greater either in degree or in continuance than what it is disposed freely to exert. In other words, we feel positive pleasure in proportion as our powers are exercised, but not over exercised; we feel positive pain in proportion as they are compelled either not to operate or to operate too much. All pleasure thus arises from the free play of our faculties and capacities; all pain from their compulsory repression or compulsory activity." This theory undoubtedly explains a large class of the phenomena of pleasure and pain. A healthy man enjoys moderate exercise. A moderate and normal stimulation of the eye and ear give pleasure. A vigorous mind enjoys the acquisition of knowledge. Also a healthy man is pained both by excessive exercise and by the lack of sufficient exercise. The eye and the ear may become fatigued. The mind may become tired even of the acquisition of knowledge. But there are phenomena that obstinately refuse to be explained by the law. Why is quinine bitter? Not, surely, because of the compulsory repression or activity of the power of taste. And why does the perception of a beautiful object please us while one that is not beautiful is a source of pain? Says Sully:

> A beautiful natural object, as a noble tree, delights us by its gradations of light and color, the combination of variety with symmetry in its contour or form, the adaptation of part to part, and of the whole to its surroundings; and finally by its effect on the imagination, its suggestions of heroic persistence, of triumph over the adverse forces of winds and storms.

Now as far as our pleasure in such a case is due to the effect of the object on the imagination, it may fairly be brought under Hamilton's generalization. But as much activity may be required to perceive an absence of "gradations of light and color, the combination of variety with symmetry in its contour or form, the adaptation of part to part, and of the

whole to its surroundings," as is necessary to perceive them. In other words, activity is necessary to the perception of that which gives us pleasure, while an equal amount of activity is the condition of pain. Further, if there were no exception to the law we should still be unable to say *why* we feel. We could give no reason for the connection between pleasure and normal activity and pain and abnormal activity or abnormal inactivity. We should only be able to say that it is so, and acquiesce in it as an inexplicable fact.

We go on to consider several important classes of feelings. The first class which Professor Bowne considers is, what he calls the *ego* feelings. This class he defines as those feelings which are not elements of passive pain or pleasure, but which exist merely through their relation to our self-esteem and desire for self-assertion; those of which the *ego* is at once their subject and their object.

This relation to self is a source of a large part of the pleasures and pains that make up our emotional life. It makes the recollection of exceptional pains and hardships a source of pleasure by enabling us to feel that *we* have endured what most men have not endured. It is an important element in what is usually considered esthetic pleasure. The admiration of a beautiful painting is one thing, the admiration of ourselves because we have power to appreciate its beauty is quite another. Also the pleasure we derive from the possession of a beautiful painting, in so far as that pleasure does not spring from the thought that we have daily access to its beauty, is properly an *ego* feeling. It constitutes an element of what is usually considered an approving conscience. The admiration of a good deed, by whomsoever performed, is a purely moral pleasure; that surplus of pleasure arising from the consciousness that it is *we* who have done it, that the doing of it is a proof of our superiority, is a pure *ego* feeling.

The social feelings are the love of family, friends, country, mankind, etc. Some psychologists have attempted to deduce our social feelings from our selfish impulses. They have assumed a being with nothing but egoistic impulses, and have sought to show how he was transformed into a social and benevolent being. He seeks society in order to satisfy his desire for approbation. He becomes benevolent because he realizes

that others are necessary to him. But, unfortunately for the theory, the social feelings manifest themselves at such an early age as to make it impossible to attribute their origin to a perception of the advantages to be gained from society. And granting the ability to perceive the advantages of living in society prior to the development of the social feelings, there is no power in living in society for *such a reason* to develop the social feelings. An Iago-like simulation of social feelings for the sake of personal gain would have no power to transmute selfishness into benevolence. In truth, whoever contemplates the whole of human life with no theory to support will have no hesitation in admitting that the social impulses are as integral a part of our nature as the egoistic impulses.

The impersonal or disinterested feelings consist of three sub-classes—the esthetic feelings, the ethical feelings, and the religious feelings.

The esthetic feelings include those pleasurable feelings awakened by what is pretty, graceful, beautiful, ludicrous, witty, sublime, etc., either in nature, human beings, or works of art. The two most prominent characteristics of the esthetic feelings are their *inutility* and their *shareability*. The pleasure resulting from the perception of a beautiful object is derived solely from its beauty. As children play for the sake of play, without any ulterior end, so men admire the beautiful, and are pleased when they see the beautiful, simply because it is beautiful.

The capacity to be shared is another characteristic of the esthetic feelings. Coming, as they do, largely through the senses of sight and hearing, they may be enjoyed by a large number of people at the same time, not only without any diminution of pleasure, but with a positive increase of it through "interchanges of sympathy."

The three elements of esthetic enjoyment are what Sully calls the sensuous or material element, the perceptual or formal element, and the associative or ideal element. By the sensuous or formal element is meant colors, tones, odors, rhythmic movements, and the like, both singly and in combination. The pleasure derived from the perception of drawing, architecture, and sculpture illustrates the formal or perceptual element. The ideal or associative element includes all the pleasure arising

through the suggestions of the object. Many objects not at all pleasing in themselves give a high degree of pleasure through their suggestiveness. One who never lived in the country would hardly derive any pleasure from the croaking of a frog or the cackling of a goose; while to one who was familiar with these sounds in his boyhood they may be a source of the keenest delight. A riderless horse is not under ordinary circumstances an especially interesting object, but walking behind the hearse of a dead general it may have a high degree of pathetic beauty. A broken column in a building, to use the author's illustration, is utterly ugly; in a cemetery it may touch the deepest chords of feeling. Many objects contribute all these elements of esthetic pleasure. A fine cathedral delights the eye by the richness of its colors and its subdued light; it pleases the intellect by the symmetry and harmony of all its wealth of detail and the skill with which they are all arranged to contribute to the making of a noble building; it touches the imagination and heart by that solemn and infinite suggestiveness which makes it seem like a cross section of the great universe itself.

The object of the moral feelings is conduct of a certain kind. The perception of or reflection upon good actions pleases us, while conduct of the opposite character is a source of pain. The quality of the feeling depends to some extent on whether the action approved or disapproved has been done by us or another. We feel remorse as we think of our own bad deeds, indignation as we think of the bad deeds of another.

The most marked characteristic of ethical feeling is the sense of obligation to do what we perceive to be right, and shun what we perceive to be wrong. Both these characteristics—the feeling of obligation and the impulse to act in harmony with it—differentiate it very sharply from the esthetic feelings. We feel no obligation to cultivate a taste for the beautiful, nor does the perception of the beautiful look forward to any kind of action. The beauty of a beautiful object is an end in itself, and suggests to him who admires it nothing but the contemplation of it. And yet there is a close connection between ethical and esthetic feelings. Professor Bowne brings this out very clearly in the following passage:

The ideal commands perfection and condemns all below it. Hence many have thought that obligation might transcend ability. This, justice rejects with indignation; and yet it is the most prominent fact of moral existence that to do the best we can satisfies no one. This is due to the fact that the ideal, as such, is esthetic, and takes no account of ability, but only of perfection or imperfection. Ethics, on the other hand, while getting its law from the ideal, is forced to limit its actual requirements to the ability of the agents. This double point of view underlies some chronic disputes in ethics and theology.

As to the origin of the idea of right, the author avows his faith in an ethical development both of the individual and of the race, but maintains that this development is impossible unless the mind has an "original ethical germ or predisposition" which contains an immanent law of moral development. The great diversity of moral opinions he regards as due to the "profound interactions" between the moral and intellectual nature. Different men have different experiences of the consequences of conduct, different conceptions of tendencies, different theories of the world, and the result is different ethical codes.

Professor Bowne regards the religious sentiments as differing from the ethical in that the object of them is some supernatural being or beings, conceived as personal. Hence he first seeks to ascertain the origin of the idea of a supernatural person. He rejects the view that we have an intuitive knowledge of the existence of God, because men generally undertake to prove it. He thinks that the conception of the supernatural is the outcome of the total experience of the human mind,

not as the result of conscious inferential processes, but as the expression of its own needs and nature. As the result of some sensations, we posit a world of things; as the result of others, we posit a world of persons; as the result of our total experience, we posit God. The result is not the outcome of logical compulsion, but of a certain psychological necessity expressed in the nature of our intelligence. It is not made or deduced, but grows out of life itself. This view is the only one which clearly accounts for the universality and persistence of the idea.

But with the bare affirmation of the supernatural, the religious problem is by no means solved. The idea has next to be defined so as to meet the demands made upon it. In this work all the factors of our complex nature work together. Each faculty has its special ideal; and God is the ideal of the whole nature or the ideal of ideals. The intellect demands unity, and contributes its

ideal of perfect reason and insight. The conscience furnishes its ideal of perfect righteousness and holiness. The esthetic nature furnishes its ideal of perfect beauty and harmony. The heart furnishes its ideal of goodness and love. These are all united in the thought of God, the ideal of religion. When this is impossible there is discord in our nature, with resulting dissatisfaction. As long as any claim of heart, or conscience, or intellect is unrecognized, there can be no abiding peace. But when all the claims of our many-sided nature are united in the thought of an all-wise and holy God of love, our whole nature is at peace, and each faculty finds its claims at once recognized and assured. The intellect finds its highest support and warrant in the thought of an eternal reason at the root of things. The conscience rests secure in the thought of a throne of righteousness which can never be overturned, a Holy Will which can neither be defied nor mocked. The esthetic nature finds its full satisfaction, and the heart finds an object worthy of everlasting love.—Pp. 212, 213.

Desires are feelings arising from reflection upon the causes of our pleasures and pains, the action of which is conceived as possible in the future.

It is a much disputed question as to whether we desire the pleasure or the object which gives it; the beautiful object or the delight in beauty. The truth seems to be that we usually *think* of the object, but that its capacity to give us pleasure is the sole cause of our desire for it.

In considering volition we must be careful not to confuse it with its psychological concomitants. Because volition is generally based on a judgment, and because it often springs from desire, we must not suppose that it is either judgment or desire. They are, indeed, very different. That which we decide to be wise is by no means that which we invariably will to do; and that which we desire we do not necessarily will; since though there may be conflicting desires there cannot be conflicting volitions. "The will is the power which the soul has of controlling itself within certain limits, and the volition is an act of such control."

Professor Bowne maintains the freedom of the will against determinism on the ground, 1.) That if determinism be true, action must follow its antecedents immediately. According to determinism, the strongest desire always issues in action. There is no more possibility, according to the theory, of the prevalence of a weaker desire than there is that a balance containing a one-pound weight will sink when the other contains

two. Now just as the balance containing the heavier weight sinks, and must sink immediately, so, if determinism be true, action must follow its antecedents immediately, and hesitation, vacillation, deliberation are impossible.

2.) Professor Bowne objects to determinism, also, on the ground that the logical outcome of it is philosophical skepticism. To attain truth we must have a standard of truth, and we must be able to direct our rational activity in accordance with this standard. We must be able to restrain our believing propensities and hold our judgment in reserve in the absence of evidence. If this is not possible, one conclusion is as good as another; every thing that we believe being merely the outcome of mental mechanism.

3.) The theory does away with all moral responsibility. We have already seen that a true theory must be workable; must satisfy not only the claims of our intelligence, but also of our whole nature. Hence a theory so hopelessly antagonistic to our moral and emotional nature must be rejected.

Further, the apparent presumption in favor of determinism will not stand the test of a careful examination. The incomprehensibility of the freedom of the will is, undoubtedly, one of the strongest reasons men have for rejecting it. But does not all explanation repose on and start from the inexplicable? What reason can be given for any fact, in the last analysis, save that it is so? That the soul should have the power of choosing between conflicting desires is no more improbable on *a priori* grounds than that matter should attract matter.

But the law of causation, it is claimed, contradicts the freedom of the will. Does it in truth? According to the law of causation, every event must have a cause. Is not the mind itself the cause of its volitions? Undoubtedly when the law of causation is interpreted as identical with the uniformity of nature, freedom and causation are inconsistent, for the advocates of freedom hold that the mind is a cause which in given circumstances may produce either of two or more results, while according to the doctrine of the uniformity of nature the same antecedent or group of antecedents can have but one consequent. But there is no ground for such an interpretation of the law of causation. The freedom of the will is a fact of which most men think they are conscious. The uniformity of nature, even when we re-

strict the term nature to the external world, is by no means proved, however strongly we incline to believe it; and before we have a right to extend its meaning and make it include the phenomena of volition, the freedom of the will must be disproved on other grounds. For these reasons Professor Bowne thinks we are justified in believing in the freedom of the will. He does not regard it as "absolutely proved," but as "a necessary postulate of reason and conscience."

Consciousness is the last factor of our mental life which Professor Bowne considers. He defines consciousness as the specific feature or condition of all mental states, not as something apart from or antecedent to them, but as that element which constitutes them mental states. He rejects the identification of consciousness with knowing because of the difficulty, on that supposition, of determining the relation of consciousness to the phenomena of volition and sensibility.

Consciousness exists under the general form of the antithesis of subject and object. Those who deny it, and maintain the possibility of a purely sensitive consciousness containing no reference either to subject or object, deny that there is any subject of our mental states. But we have already seen that this denial is illogical and absurd.

A distinction is often made between consciousness and self-consciousness, but without good reason. We may, indeed, concentrate our attention upon the object or upon the subject, and to that extent there is a difference between the facts signified by the terms. In consciousness attention is centered upon the object; in self-consciousness, upon the subject. But as no concentration of attention upon the object enables us to forget that it is we who are thinking of it, so no concentration of attention upon the subject enables us to forget that we exist in a certain state, since in no other way can we make ourselves an object of thought.

But though consciousness exists under the general form of the antithesis of subject and object, we must be careful not to regard the subject and object of which we are conscious as ontological facts. The object of which we are conscious is states of consciousness; the subject in consciousness is the *ego* which has those states. Not understanding this, Hamilton argued against idealism on the ground that we are directly

conscious of the external world, although we have the same consciousness of the external world in dreams as in our waking states.

We must also be careful to distinguish between our thought or conception of ourselves, and our feeling or experience of ourselves. The former is a late product in our psychical history, the latter is present at the beginning of our conscious existence. This distinction enables us to understand why children are so slow in learning to use the personal pronoun *I*, and why some people never cease to identify the body with self; they have the *feeling*, the experience of self, but no conceptual knowledge of it. Not till the attention is concentrated upon the self as the subject of the mental life does the *feeling* of self become the conception of self.

I have thus attempted to give a brief account of Professor Bowne's answer to his first question: What are the ultimate elements of the facts and processes of the human mind? How imperfect and fragmentary my sketch is no one can be more vividly conscious than I am. But if I so far succeed in interesting my readers as to induce them to seek a knowledge of the book at first hand my purpose will be fully accomplished. I cannot better express my appreciation of it than by saying that if a man should determine to limit himself to the study of one book on psychology, I know of no book in the English language I would recommend before Professor Bowne's. I do not pretend to agree with him in all respects—did two metaphysicians ever entirely agree?—but where he seems to me to be wrong the general trend of his thought seems to me to be toward truth. And he combines lucidity of exposition, and aptness and power of illustration, with a profundity and acuteness of thought to an extent rarely equaled. The reader who is repelled by his pages may feel sure that he has no aptitude for philosophical study.

Art. III.—POLITY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

"To perfect the system and forever prevent revolution, *power* is reserved to the *people* by amendments of their Constitution to remove every imperfection which time may lay bare, and adapt it to unforeseen contingencies." So writes Bancroft, at once an historian and a political philosopher, who beyond most of his class has come to understand and appreciate the genius of republicanism, and the fundamental principles of the ideal American polity. Applying this law to the polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it may be premised that no claim has ever been made that it was originally perfect, or that it has since grown into a state that admits of no emendation, although the wisdom of its founders deserves the highest praise. They fully met the demands of their times, and laid a foundation of just principles upon which they reared a system of administration which might become the regulating force in a great Church of the future, with duly guarded provisions for the introduction of such modifications or amendments as time and experience might show to be needed.

And now, after the lapse of more than a hundred years, during which the little one has become millions, it still remains the fact that its polity has not become so adjusted as to include the great body of its members in its growing forces.

The Methodist Episcopal Church is the product of a great missionary enterprise. It has been from the first conducted on the principle of a self-sustaining work. There was not, in the beginning, a great missionary society to open up new fields and nourish the feeble societies, but the pioneer Methodist preachers went "without purse or scrip." The people were in the "wilderness," but they were not destitute of some religious knowledge, and this partial and imperfect preparation made them accessible, so that immediate success was attained. The pioneer preachers must also become the shepherds for these new converts. They were hungering for the Gospel, and any system that would meet the emergency and satisfy the immediate demands of the time would, in the providence of God, become the instrumentality for good. The

Church of to-day is what it is by reason of having had such antecedents.

A very practical problem now before us is, What disposition ought we to make of our acquired forces? If it were simply a matter of wealth, it might be disposed of very easily; but we, as a Church, have become possessors of men and women. They have more than reached their majority in years; and besides, they have intelligence and piety. They have a love and a loyalty for Methodism that can be safely trusted with any interests that may legitimately fall to them. The thought will not be entertained for a moment that our ecclesiastical polity underrates the intelligence and loyalty of the individual membership of the Church. The individual and constitutional right of the governed must be an after consideration with any Church having such a history as our own. All these things come as do other gifts in the providence of God, and must be disposed of according to the disposition of human judgment and discretion. The continent of America had to be discovered first, and possession of known territory fixed, and then followed the complicated and associated rights of those who comprised the community. The few to whom power was given, without representation on the part of the people, might have prolonged their period of rule if they had adjusted themselves to the interests of the governed. Revolt and revolution brought what ought to have come by amicable processes of adjustments of laws and regulations to the changed condition of things.

The membership of our Church, until lately, have consented to be governed without class representation. Indeed, they have never demanded a change, but, like loyal subjects, they have waited and accepted gratefully whatever power or privilege has been conferred by those to whom the governing power was committed. The only radical concession ever made was the admission of lay delegation to the General Conference, which, indeed, secured a nearer approach to the people in the legislation of Church affairs; but that arrangement secured a very remote representation to the laity, and accordingly the pulsations are neither deep nor strong. It seemed at first an assurance that other changes would follow, bringing the great constituency of the Church into closer connection with those who rule; but after nearly twenty years no progress in that direc-

tion has been made. If it had been demonstrated in the agitation that the ministry were unwilling to trust the membership with the responsibilities of partnership in the government of the Church, then bitterness and distrust might have been created; but nothing of that kind appears. But there was an honest conviction with very many that the change in the form proposed might not be for the best. On the other hand, the wisdom and efficiency of those who held the reins of power were not questioned, but the environments called for a readjustment. The fundamental maxim of conservatism, "Let well enough alone," strong as the statement was to those who knew the history of the Church, was not sufficient to check the rising tide of discussion, and the trial must be made for the new order of things.

Several reasons might be assigned for the past success of Methodism. It would not be safe, neither would it be just, for us to say that any *one* thing has been sufficient of itself to account for the work already done. Three general features may be named:

1. The ministry had the best form of theology for the masses. The creed could be traced to the Bible. It had an impartial application to all men, and the wants of humanity were fully met in its provisions. These pioneer itinerants could be biblical and at the same time have a most complete assurance that they held the common sense road to the hearts of the people. These preachers battered away at Calvinism until our membership were thoroughly grounded in the Arminianism of Methodism. The field was open for discussion, and the membership was compelled to join in the contest. Other dogmas were attacked with like results. These garnered truths became the property of the whole Church, and hence we have a membership fairly well informed on all questions of Christian doctrine.

2. The Christian evidences of conversion became a stirring feature of that period. The terms conviction, repentance, faith, conversion, the new birth, summed up in the one expression, experimental religion, were emphasized by the preachers, and a revival of heart religion ensued.

3. Methodism adopted a polity for aggressive work. It must go where there was no invitation, and make a church society

out of those converted to its faith. This was the character of the movement over the whole field, and hence we see the wisdom exercised in the creation of a church government such as we have. It had a military precision in its organization. It could execute its plans. Loyalty to the appointing power by pastor and people was a cardinal virtue. And under this system of action it must be conceded the Church has done nobly. It would exhibit a great lack of wisdom and want of appreciation did we fail to recognize the value of the work done, and, of course, of the agencies by which its results have been reached.

And now a very practical work lies before us. Our successors will demand something tangible. A very nice theory, without a demonstration, will have no real value and no future. Our ancestors met the emergencies of their times, and we have entered into their labors, and reap that we sowed not. This Church of a pure faith, and a good experience, and the best polity, taking all in all, of all the denominations, should have a future worthy of its record.

Is it a thought to be entertained by the friends of the Methodist Episcopal Church that it may become completely American, and at the same time retain all its essential characteristics? This seems to be within easy reach, and need not involve any revolutionary changes. The episcopacy need not be disturbed; our connectional system of government would be solidified, and would reach a little deeper into the foundations; our doctrines would not be jeopardized, and our itinerancy would have an additional security for a continued work. The Church ought to feel that its interests are safe in the hands of its friends. It is simply asking that the unemployed energies shall be utilized and brought into a closer sympathy with the Church and its work.

Lay delegation in the General Conference was one step in the right direction, and toward the people, or the membership of the Church; but it stopped short of popular government. It is class-legislation. A selected few have the privilege to exercise the right of franchise, and the power to determine the local interests of the Society and participate also in the higher counsels of the Church. Instead of Quarterly Conference lay representation, which is all that we now have, our *membership* ought to have personal representation. An individual who

represents the interests of others ought to receive his credentials from those who are to be represented. It is a serious charge for other denominations to make against our intelligent loyal membership that they are practically disfranchised, and yet no man can repel the imputation. If our civil government, as Americans, were not so democratic as it is, and other denominations were as we are in the matter of representation, then we could more easily satisfy our people, because our record is a good one, and the interests of the governed have all along been the prominent consideration. Besides all this, our system paralyzes individual rights that come to us as Christian freemen as well as by our civil government. We may be glad to make the statement that our Methodist membership are not an office-seeking people. In many of our large towns in the West, it is frequently remarked, Methodism has no representation, or a very slight recognition, on boards of education and in other local matters, although our Church is numerically and often financially in the ascendent. It may be, some will consider that our Church polity has little influence in this direction, but it will be discovered to be a very potent factor in the every-day life of its members. A low valuation of individual rights will help to obliterate any claim in that direction, and indifference will have a like tendency.

Our Church polity carries several hundred thousand of its members—the larger portion of its adult membership, in fact—as *passengers*. Practically they are not properly members of the corporation, their voice is not heard. Their only duty is to pay their passage—do the work assigned them—and enjoy the privileges secured to them. When a church is to be built or repaired, or the pastor's salary is to be raised, they are expected to do their part, or a liberal sum is desired as a voluntary offering. Our system, in this particular, goes directly to the pocket. If our membership were as ignorant as the membership of the Roman Catholic Church, it would even then be a very questionable method. But when we consider the intelligence of our people and their loyalty to our doctrines and usages, there is no reason why their rights of copartnership should be curtailed or withheld. For an illustration of our automatic arrangement between our membership and the bishops we have only to call attention to the collection for their

support. They have had no voice in their selection, but they are expected to contribute in a very mechanical way for their support. As long as the Book Concern paid the bill there was little seeming responsibility. About all that the Church at large expected was, that the bishops should do their duty and honor their high position.

The same difficulty exists between the pastor and his membership. The Quarterly Conference fixes the salary, and then the local society is expected to meet the obligation. They have no representation in the matter—their voice has not been heard, and there is no provision in our economy by which they may speak. The only alternative is to pay, or else repudiate the claim. If the latter is chosen, then they are placed in a false and odious position.

There would be an easy way out of all this difficulty if the membership of the Quarterly Conference had their authority from the suffrages of the membership. Lay delegation in the General Conference has a line that is complete as far as the Quarterly Conference, but there it ends. The representation terminates at that point. The selection of officers and the legislation determined by the laity in the General Conference could make answer only to the Quarterly Conference.

It is hardly probable that our membership will continue to hold their individual rights by such a slight tenure. Murmurs of discontent are already heard among the more intelligent. The discontent has not taken the form of revolt, and is not likely to assume that form, but the reasonableness and justice of such a claim are being formulated for a speedy adjustment.

A distinguished jurist was asked why he did not present this claim of the unrepresented of the Church, and his reply was substantially this: "It can be discussed to better advantage by the ministry. They hold the key to the situation, and concessions will come with better grace without a demand being made by the laity. No complaints need be made against those who hold the reins of power, and there will be no occasion to call in question the intelligence and loyalty of the laity to whom larger interests may be committed," both with safety and to the advantage of the whole.

Some change will soon be made in the polity of the Church to meet this growing necessity. It is well to have all of the

light that can be gathered, so that the very best thing may be done when the final action is taken. It is not the purpose of the writer to cause unnecessary agitation, or create discontent, but to forestall the latter and stimulate an intelligent consideration of the important issues that are upon us.

The last General Conference increased the maximum number of stewards to thirteen. This was done to secure a larger number of the representative members to Quarterly Conference privileges. But why continue to enlarge upon class-privilege; why legislate to enfranchise a limited number hitherto unprovided for, and leave the great majority as they were, without a voice in the local work of the society, and no voice in the legislative counsels of the Church?

The plan for creating a mission Church by the polity of Methodism is a complete system for propagandism. It is unique, and it gives power to reach beyond present possession and occupy new territory, and it is all done in the name and with the authority of *bona fide* members. But we, by our polity, continue to recognize a very large portion of the old members as mission material. Churches have been organized for decades, and the largest part of the membership has never had a voice in the local or in the legislative affairs of the Church.

Look at the process of constituting the members of the Quarterly Conference; especially the stewards, and in many localities the trustees, of the church. These official members are appointed on the nomination of the pastor, elected to the offices named by the privileged number who, having been before so nominated, compose the Quarterly Conference. This process of reproduction and accretion is foreign to American ideas, and would be most dangerous in politics. Methodism is fortunate if it has escaped all of the dangers involved in the system.

Our practical, orthodox, and loyal membership ought to have the right of suffrage. We would be out-and-out American in our methods, and none the less effective in our work; but rather the Church of the people, in a more complete sense than ever.

The stewards, trustees, and Sunday-school board are the prominent office-bearers of our Church. To these are committed important and vital interests in the home work. These workers should be elected by those who have the work to do. If it were necessary to consider these as cabinet officers

to the pastor instead of as the servants of the people then it would be well to have the pastor make the selection, subject to the approval of the members. It is replied that the pastor can make better selections than the whole Church. That is the very question in dispute, and, more than that, the question of right is involved. There is an assumption of power without even a delegated authority, as conducted by the Quarterly Conference. Then again, it is said, there is less friction by our present method than if privileges were extended to a larger voting body. If that be the end to be gained, then our board of bishops might in secret session elect such persons as they might choose, and the excitement and friction of an election at the General Conference could be avoided. Friction is not always a misfortune, to be deprecated. Machinery must have its bearings, but these ought to be wisely chosen. We could, I presume, trust our bishops to make choice of men for the chief places—the book agents, editors, and secretaries—but we are better satisfied to leave the choice to the larger body. The latter, though not by the election of its members, still because of its numbers, more nearly represents the membership of the Church. It must furnish some degree of satisfaction to the man charged with public duties to know that he was selected by those who had the work to be done. Bishop Asbury refused to be ordained to the office of bishop until he was chosen by the vote of his brethren [but his liberalism proceeded no further].

These officers in the subordinate places of the local Church would enter on their work with a proper indorsement if elected by the membership, and an importance would be given to the positions that they do not have at present. A few persons are clothed with power to decide whether they will continue themselves in office for another year, or what others they will admit. It is, in its form and theory, a system of unlimited despotism, and is capable of great abuse. It is true that the large majority of those same persons who hold the official positions would be selected even if submitted to the choice of the larger number. If it were otherwise, another kind of friction would be produced that would prove very disastrous.

Further, these few must determine who will represent them in the Lay Electoral Conference every fourth year to choose lay delegates to the General Conference. All these powers can be

employed without a single privilege or protest on the part of the membership outside of the Quarterly Conference.

The law-making body ought to provide for these disfranchised and unrepresented adult members. The Methodist Episcopal Church would in such case become "our Church" in every locality, and the life-currents of these unemployed forces would not only find a channel to the home work but to the legislative body.

The question arises, Is there any *demand* for the engrafting of this procedure into our polity? We need it to *employ* and *interest* our membership in our own Church affairs. We do provide for them in the religious privileges, and are rewarded with active intelligent workers. Take the average Presbyterian, and he will not compare favorably with the average Methodist when it comes to prayer and testimony. He has not had the practical education. But you examine him on the polity of his Church, and the average Methodist will be put to shame in the comparison. We have educated our membership religiously, but not ecclesiastically.

There are some *conditions* that call for this change. Methodism in its formative period was the revival Church. It ought to continue its leadership in this respect. But now many other denominations are striving, with a good degree of success, to equal her in proficiency in this department of work. It is not essential to join a Methodist Church to enjoy a class-meeting, or a wide-awake prayer-meeting. We do not attract to us in these particulars as formerly. Many came to us because of the practical experience our fathers preached. Other Churches have become enriched by our converts, and now it is a very common thing to hear it said, "Why, he preaches just like a Methodist." Our distinctive Arminian doctrine has become the property of all the orthodox denominations. Our episcopacy and our settled itinerancy are not absorbed yet, but even these are held as desirable.

On the other hand, many sects claim to be the Church of the people in an organic sense, and we are put to silence in the discussion. All we can do is, to demonstrate to them that we have made a wonderful record, and have outrun them all, and that our officials seldom abuse the power given to them, although our methods are not very democratic. It puts us on our good

behavior, but it must be humiliating to the adult members to confess to a rival Church that they are dealt with as foreigners or infants. There are some indications that we are vulnerable at that point in our polity. It is true that our strength and vigor in other directions offset our defect in this, but the demand is all the more imperative that we remove every obstruction that may hinder our advancement.

It has been a matter of rejoicing that our Church has done more for fraternity than any other. We find it is easier for Methodists, when occasion demands it, to go into other orthodox bodies, and become members or ministers, than it is for others to come to us. We felicitate ourselves on that fact.

We find, also, that there is an easy transition from us that is not so complimentary. Members can go from us into other Churches and have a voice in their affairs; but one coming to us must forever learn to "keep silence," unless he is fortunately elevated to official membership.

The demand for this fundamental recognition of suffrage is more imperative with us than with any other. Our connectional polity calls for a united and operative Church from its very foundations. The hand should reach up as well as down. Those who administer the laws should be able to say, We have received them from the hands of the ministry and laity. The answer must not be made bearing a fictitious value. The intelligence of our people is such that they can discern at once whether they have participated or not in the deliberations or in the making of our ecclesiastical polity. All our environments are forcing the issue upon us. Our civil government dictates to us, with its authority of example, the individual rights of the governed. Other denominations are about us making an issue on this point.

Some have gone to the other extreme, and have lost the unity and power that should be found in Church government. These abuses can be avoided without the necessity of an experiment. They are ever before us. The extreme on the other side is no representation at all [as found in the Roman Catholic Church].

There must be a happy mean, and to that we should gladly turn. Our membership want a recognition somehow in the Quarterly Conference; sufficient to secure a "right of way," or

a title to co-operation in Church affairs. It might either be in person, or by delegates chosen by them to represent their interests. From that point concessions are already made to reach the General Conference. The three classes of officers named above, namely, stewards, trustees, and a Sunday-school board, would give a voice in every department of the home work.

The duties of the first two classes of officers are well defined in the Discipline of the Church. The Sunday-school board, as constituted, has very objectionable features. Its members come into place without a voice from the Church, save as the Quarterly Conference has given its approval of the committee appointed, and the law of the Church has given a certain number the *name* of Sunday-school board. The Sunday-school has become a very important part of Church work, and the question has been raised, "What shall we do with the Sunday-school as an institution?" The agitation has not come any too soon. In some places the whole school participate in the election of officers; others confine the right of choice to the more advanced classes, irrespective of Church membership; and others follow the law of the Church. The latter is by far the better method, yet there is the very serious charge against it that has been referred to in the constitution of the Quarterly Conference. It is not representative, and it has the power to perpetuate itself in defiance of the wishes of the membership of the Church. It is not often that the abuse of this power is felt, yet it is not wisdom to provide for the occasion. The members of the Sunday-school board ought to be elected by the membership of the Church, and they should be chosen to do a delegated work, namely, to elect officers for the Sunday-school. There could be no complaint that it lacked representation. The *Church* should be the only party authorized to speak in this matter. Whenever the Church loses the power to direct the instruction of the children, then we are adrift, and the Sunday-school, as an "institution," is in the hands of the irresponsible.

It will be readily seen what the writer would be expected to say concerning the Quarterly Conference. It ought to be for the entire membership of the local church. To this body reports of officers and its committees could be presented for approval or disapproval. In this way the business of the

Church would be before the whole body, and these delegated members would go out to do their several duties with the authority of those who sent them.

At the fourth quarter, or annual meeting, the election of stewards and Sunday-school board, and of trustees when they are not appointed under the provisions of civil law, could be held; not on the nomination of the pastor, but by the vote of legitimate members of the Church of a prescribed age.

There would, doubtless, be committees for assigned work, and these could be left to the nomination of the pastor and the approval of the annual meeting. The appointment of class-leaders and licensing of exhorters and local preachers are well provided for in the law of the Church.

Once in four years, at the fourth Quarterly Conference, there would be the election of delegates by the entire membership as representatives to the Lay Electoral Conference. The pathway from the most humble member to the highest authority of the Church would thus be complete.

The denomination that will hold our doctrines and the essential peculiarities of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and at the same time foster the confidence that should be maintained in a loyal membership, will be the Church of the future and of the masses. We should desire to have our people say in a familiar way, "This is Our Church;" not simply the local organization, but Methodism at large. We will not succeed in this until we give some practical education. The membership must be framed into the organic structure, and then they can say with some assurance and dignified fortitude, We helped to make this ecclesiastical body which we call Our Church. It is worth while to study the demands of our times, instead of relying entirely upon the wisdom and thinking of our ancestors. If they had done as many would have us do there would have been no Methodism. The coming generations will want to know whether we were worthy to be the successors of the founders of our Church, and able to meet the emergencies that were upon us.

Art. IV.—THOUGHTS ON THE ATONEMENT.

In the early Church, we are told, there was not much controversy concerning the relation of Christ's death to the salvation of the world. The great question of metaphysical and theological discussion was the Person of Christ; the atonement was neither scientifically apprehended nor developed. During the ante-Nicene age the counsel of the world's redemption was not darkened by words without knowledge. The Church rested with a sublime faith on the simple fundamental truth that the sufferings and death of Christ were essential to the forgiveness of sin. Its teaching was the undistorted reflection of the plain utterances of the New Testament. The teaching of Paul, who represents the judicial and rectoral view, and that of John, who represents the love and moral influence view of the atonement, were fairly reproduced by the writers of the second century. Then the speculative spirit fastened itself on the leaders of theological thought; a spirit that produced such theories as have made it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for the average mind to ascertain with tolerable exactness the teaching of the Bible concerning the necessity, nature, and benefits of the atonement.

Most certainly, the atoning work of Christ is shrouded in mystery. Its perplexities baffle the skill of the acutest intellects. It has depths that lie beyond the fathoming of the profoundest minds, heights that soar above the loftiest finite thought. The *heart* can best understand the atonement, for the reason that it is larger than the intellect. The atonement is a many-sided truth, and the heart seizes it as a *whole*, while the intellect lays hold of single points. This fact mainly explains why men possessing depth and breadth of thought have produced such distorted, repugnant, and incomplete theories of the atonement; theories that have led vast numbers to instinctively reject it altogether, or to so modify them as to eliminate therefrom the element that imparts the atoning character to the sufferings and death of Christ. It is sometimes difficult to determine which class has injured most the cause of Christ—those who have openly opposed it, or those who, by perverting and misrepresenting its foundational truths, have made it offen-

sive to enlightened reason, and repulsive to the best instincts of the human heart. One of the reasons why the world has been cursed with so many repulsive and conflicting theories of Christ's atoning work is, men have put forth herculean efforts to so interpret the Bible as to make it support their own cherished theory. They have tried to *compress* infinite thought, love, and suffering into their little, logical, theological, and philosophical propositions. This seemingly laudable, scholarly, but unwise attempt is largely responsible for many of the difficulties now connected with the atonement. Some are the results of careful, candid, deep, and comprehensive thought; others—and by far the most—are products of a cold, rationalizing literature. We should discriminate, however, between the difficulties involved in Christ's atoning work and those which are the results of speculative thought concerning that work.

Looking at the present *status* of theological thought concerning God, man, sin and its results, and redemption through Christ, we recognize two extremes: one which says that God is all love, therefore does not need to be propitiated, and that sin is simply a trifle, an imperfection, a resultant of finite conditions and powers, to be remedied by intellectual evolutionary processes, hence does not demand any blood atonement; the other maintains that sin is so exceeding sinful that its penalty—*pain for pain, death for death*—must be, and was, endured by the divine Christ, in order to make salvation from sin and its penalty possible; that is to say, Christ must pay the debt, mill for mill, that man has contracted against divine justice, and when once paid, that is the last of it. Justice has no further demands, the debt cannot be collected a second time, it is on Christ, the sinner goes forever free. Of course, the logic of this theory depends on whether Christ died for a part or for the whole of the human race. If for a part, *that part must inevitably be saved;* if for the whole, then the whole is *absolutely sure of salvation*, as all conditions are excluded; besides, justice cannot exact payment twice for one debt. The palpable and inevitable conclusion of the first is simon-pure Calvinism, and the only logical conclusion of the latter is Universalism. If, then, Christ thus died for a part of the human race, that part may exultingly exclaim, "Therefore hath he mercy

on whom he will have mercy," and *we* are the "elect according to the good pleasure of his will." But, on the other hand, if Jesus, by tasting death for every man, paid every man's debt, then *every* descendant of Adam can joyfully sing the misleading little ditty, "Jesus paid it all, paid it all for me."

But this theory, denominated the commercial theory of the atonement, is not only full of difficulties, but contains absurdities and contradictions. It makes Christ, whose life was sinless, both a debtor and sinner, as he is said to have so identified himself with those for whom he died as "to be counted as sinful," and punished for those sins; things that were psychologically and morally impossible. Now in these extreme theories are involved most of the difficulties connected with the atonement.

Let us look first at the extreme theory which tells us that God, being love, possesses no attribute that needs to be propitiated. That "God is love," in the deepest depths of his infinite nature, attributes, activities, and moral government, is a subject that challenges our admiration, profoundest thought, and affection. But does this life principle of the universe—this primal cause of all that is—this essence of the divine nature—this deepest feeling of the Infinite—exclude every principle and feeling that demands a propitiation for man's sin? How can that be? Does not the love of God express not only deep and matchless feeling for a world of lost sinners, but also the universal rectitude of his nature and character? It cements into grandest harmony all the perfections of his being. God is one. In him there can be no conflicting tendencies, movements, or claims. Justice and mercy, as they exist in God, were never at war, and never can be. God is at one with himself; and this unity of his nature and attributes is the unity of his goodness. His mercy and justice, therefore, can never move on separate lines or seek to accomplish opposite tasks. Both move and act together, and for precisely the same object. God never acts on the ground of pure sovereignty, but on the ground of righteousness. Things are not done by him as products of his arbitrary will, but of his righteous will. His love enthrones justice in the defense of truth and right. Justice and judgment are the foundations of his moral government. Justice, then, is love under another name, when acting

in the domain of retribution. Love is the "pure white light" of God's righteous character, "analyzed as it falls upon human life, throwing against the sky of our view the upper and nether rainbows of the Gospel and the Law, of rewards and punishments." It is in this love we may find the hottest fires of retribution. When man sinned love did not command justice to vacate the throne, but insisted upon a rigid and immediate enforcement of righteous law; and for the reason that a God of love—not blind sentiment, but holy love—must be a righteous God, and a righteous God must condemn and punish sin. Love must "condemn as well as approve, curse as well as bless, and make a hell as well as a heaven."

On these momentous questions we are not left to mere guessings, as we may read this twofold manifestation of love both on the pages of history and the Bible. We know absolutely nothing of God but what his works and word reveal, and these tell of justice as well as mercy, of severity as well as love. Professor Tyndall speaks of an inscrutable Power, at once terrible and beneficent, that is to be propitiated by knowledge and action—action shaped and illuminated by knowledge. Who cannot see that nature has in it more than sunshine, zephyrs, calm, beauty, and beneficence? Science, no doubt, reveals to us the workings of a beneficent law, but it also reveals terrific disintegrating, and destructive forces. John Stuart Mill says, "Nearly all the things which men are hanged or imprisoned for doing to one another are nature's every-day performances." But, of itself, nature does nothing. It is the Omnipotent Will that speaks beneficently and severely through the operations of nature. So he does in man's moral being, in the Bible, and in history. The world is full of wretched victims of physical, mental, and moral retribution; a fact that has no explanation unless there is a sternly severe element in God that he has expressed in his dealings with the human family. The God of love is also a consuming fire. He can and does create in human souls a hell as well as a heaven. Epicurus said, "The world is imperfect, presenting nothing but scenes of misery." Homer makes Jupiter exclaim, "There is nothing more wretched than man!" And a greater than these tells us, that "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain." Nature, history, and the Bible unite in proclaiming the

existence of a severe element in the Creator, Ruler, and Redeemer of man. *And it is this severe element that constitutes an impassable barrier in the way of a sinner's forgiveness without an atonement.* It must be propitiated, or the salvation of a sinful race cannot be righteously accomplished.

What is the verdict of consciousness on this point? Joseph Cook says: "When a man has willfully violated the radiant moral law it is instinctive, if the eyes are kept open to its light, to feel that something ought to be done to bring about satisfactory relations between the rebellious spirit and the Author of that ineffably resplendent moral enactment." These words of light and strength express a deep and universal feeling—a feeling that reveals what God has implanted in man's moral nature. Consciousness of guilt, of danger, of ill-desert, of the necessity of doing something to restore the soul to its normal state and relations to God, is a resultant of God's action in the realm of conscience. From the beginning of man's sinful history he has instinctively felt moved to make some reparation to an offended God, so as to regain his lost approval. This is the ineradicable feeling that underlies all the sacrifices in pagan lands. But the pagan world has never felt satisfaction with its sacrifices. Its innate sense of justice, which lies back of its consciousness of ill-desert and the necessity for an atonement, has led it to make its costliest sacrifices, but it has not found in them permanent satisfaction and peace. The logic of this universal experience is, that there is One who is in our sinful race but not of it, who is displeased with its sins, and who will not be satisfied with mere reform or human methods of salvation, but imperatively demands an atonement that possesses infinite value.

A shallow liberalism may dogmatically affirm that because God is love he needs not to be propitiated; but God's revelation of himself, as read in the deeply rooted instincts of the race for thousands of years, stamps the affirmation as false. Those instincts confirm the plain statements of the Bible on this question. God's love is holy love; not a mere sentiment or sympathy that prompts a father to forgive his child without an atonement, but the love of a righteous Ruler who upholds righteous law and government. What a father may safely do in his private domain is one thing; what a ruler may do in his

official capacity is another and entirely different thing. A righteous ruler vindicates law and maintains government. Whatever of pity for violators of law he may possess, he punishes them because he loves truth, right, and justice. So the God of love, who is full of compassion for sinners, is "righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works." Righteousness is the fundamental and immutable law of divine action, whether it burns a city, drowns a world, or saves a sinner. God can no more pardon a sinner unrighteously than he can drown a world unrighteously. In the fathomless depths of his infinite personality there exists eternally a sense of righteous indignation against both what the sinner *is* and *does*, and that feeling has never allowed him to forgive sin in the absence of an atonement. Such an act would be a contradiction of his nature, a trespass on his infinite sense of right. This fact may explain why Christ is represented as "*the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.*" The atonement was no afterthought of God, no device to meet a sudden and unexpected emergency, but an essential part of the creative plan. When, therefore, Christ became incarnate to execute part of this plan, by making the forgiveness of sin possible, he was no intruder, but came to express an eternal, immutable, axiomatic truth; namely, that "without shedding of blood there is no remission of sins." In this great axiomatic truth—this eternal and immutable law of the moral universe—we have a revelation of God's moral nature; and also of man's moral nature, which is the image of the divine. Now, it is in these natures that we may find the primal and most imperative demand for an atonement. If we interpret them correctly, we may get rid of some of the difficulties connected with Christ's atoning work. We may see why that work was needed before sinful man and a holy God could be reconciled. God's love of law, truth, and right demanded it. Man's consciousness of guilt, ill-desert, and divine displeasure demanded it. Man, in all ages, has never felt prepared to go into the presence of a holy God clothed in his own merits. In him, as well as in God, there is a law of righteousness that imperatively demands an atonement. There is, then, nothing arbitrary back of Christ's atoning sufferings and death. They are the natural expression of God's love of truth and righteousness, as well as his love for a world of

sinners. Dr. Bushnell bases the necessity for the atonement exclusively on moral grounds, Dr. Miley mainly on governmental grounds. To us it seems as if these great thinkers had omitted the most important part of the foundation; namely, the palpable facts of God's and man's moral nature. The governmental necessity for the atonement is simply an expression of what was in God before he embodied it in legislative enactments and penalties. The only difference between what is in God's interior nature and his promulged laws and penalties is, that what is in him is infinite, what he has expressed is of necessity finite, as finite forms cannot fully express infinite truths. God has reserved more righteous indignation against sin, and more love for the sinner, than he has expressed in both Law and Gospel. When God puts his thought, feeling, and power into forms he necessarily acts under limitations; a fact that makes it not only difficult, but impossible, for finite beings to fully comprehend his words and works. No wonder, therefore, that the atonement has its difficulties, when we remember that it expresses infinite thought, love, hatred, and holiness! In the God-man we have the most perfect revelation of all the perfections of the nature of the Infinite, and yet, as they were expressed in finite forms, we cannot see them fully.

Socrates, who saw not the revelation of God in Christ, could not see how God could forgive sin. "Plato, Plato," he exclaimed, as he one day saw the turpitude and demerit of sin, "perhaps God can forgive deliberate sin; but I do not see how." Socrates had a glimpse of what he and the world of sinners had often felt: the necessity for a divine atonement. They felt that God could not, consistently with the law of righteousness, forgive sin without some satisfaction being made to the resplendent majesty and eternal authority of violated moral law. This is no "judicial notion imported into theology," but an essential part of righteous moral government. A pardon, simple and abstract, would belie and dishonor God, as he must maintain the rectitude of moral government—a thing that he cannot do if he forgive sin in the absence of a "blood atonement."

And now comes another difficulty. Christ's atoning work, in the estimation of some, involves an act of base injustice. We are asked what we should think of a ruler who pardoned

a great criminal, and exonerated him from punishment, on account of an innocent person's voluntarily suffering the penalty due the criminal. We might answer that no one ever heard, or ever will hear, of such a case. "For scarcely for a *righteous* man will one die;" but for a *criminal*, who ever heard of a sane innocent person offering voluntarily to die? No righteous ruler ever compelled an innocent subject to die for the guilty. Certainly God never did. Whatever the great Atoner did he did of his *own free will.* He had power to lay down his life; no man could take it from him. His atoning sufferings and death were voluntary. "But"—and here is what some regard as an insuperable difficulty—"why was it necessary that a spotless and sinless being should suffer and die for a sinful world?" The answer is, Because in no other way could the sinful world be saved. If Christ had not been both divine and human, and sinless, his sufferings and death could not have been substituted for the guilty. The guilty cannot atone for the guilty. But is it not manifest injustice to inflict the penalty due to the guilty on a sinless Victim, even if the Victim is willing? Most assuredly it is, but it cannot be called injustice for one being to suffer in behalf of or instead of another.

At this point correct statement and discrimination are needed. Joseph Cook says: "The ghastliest of all misconceptions is the assertion that the doctrine of the atonement implies, first, that an innocent being is made guilty in the sense of being personally blameworthy; and, secondly, that an innocent being is *punished* in the sense of suffering pain for ill-desert." Yet a distinguished writer, some years ago, wrote in our *Quarterly Review* that "Christ was counted as sinful and punished for us." But Christ never sinned, therefore could not, in the very nature of the case, ever become conscious of guilt or ill-desert. Having never sinned, how could he be "counted as sinful, and punished for us?" Is not this a gross distortion of the teaching of the Bible on this foundational truth of Christianity? And is it not as horrible as it is unphilosophical? Personal guilt and ill-desert cannot be transferred from one individual to another. Like consciousness of guilt, they are not transferable. The acute and logical Martineau rejected the idea of vicarious atonement, because the statements of its distinguished advo-

cates involved the difficult and absurd idea of the sinless Christ suffering for sinners the *penalty* of pain and death, as if he were adjudged a sinner. Martineau did not learn this abhorrent idea from the Bible, but from the conclusions of theorists, which they based on parabolic, figurative, and isolated portions of the Bible. The debtor in the parable given by Christ must suffer unless some one pays his debts; but this is a very crude illustration of the doctrine of the atonement, and becomes perilously untrue and unscriptural when its details are literally interpreted. Christ intended to show simply *how* God forgives sin; that is, he *freely* forgives the sinner, as he is an absolute moral pauper. But, we might ask, what is there to forgive, if the whole of the debt is paid by Christ? Right here is found a difficulty. If Joseph owes his brother Benjamin one thousand dollars, and he being so poor that he cannot pay one cent of the debt the generosity of his brother Reuben is so excited that he pays the whole debt for him, where can Benjamin's forgiveness of the debt come in? Justice says, He needs no forgiveness. It would, therefore, be absurd for Joseph to pray, "Brother Benjamin, forgive my debt." And it would be equally absurd for Benjamin to respond, "In view of the fact that brother Reuben has paid the whole of your debt, I freely forgive you." So we affirm that if Christ literally paid sinful man's debt against divine justice, "tooth for tooth," pain for pain, death for death, there can be nothing left that requires forgiveness.

The debt conception of sin and the atonement, if taught in the Bible, is manifestly a figure designed to represent a deeper truth. And yet this is the conception that pervades Joseph Cook's illustration of Bronson Alcott's school, which is intended to relieve the atonement of the difficulty in question. The great lecturer says, that the master of the Concord school made it a rule "that the pupil who violated its regulations should inflict chastisement on the master as a substitute for his own punishment, in order to maintain the authority of the school." Of course, the chastisement was voluntarily accepted and endured, and the unique method of sustaining the majesty of the law and maintaining governmental authority was crowned with success. It also showed that bad human hearts can be changed and rebellious wills subdued by

others submitting voluntarily to suffer chastisement for *their* deserved punishment. It removed, too, the liability of the pupil to be punished by the master, as the master paid the pupil's debt by substituting for his punishment his own chastisement. But is this Concord school example of substitutional suffering an apposite illustration of the vicarious sufferings of Christ for sinful man? We think not. In the first place, *love* for sinful man is the originating power that lies back of all that Christ said and did for him; secondly, it was the Father, not the sinner, who inflicted stroke for stroke, that most bruised and chastised his son. "It pleased the LORD to bruise him." Bronson Alcott received from the offending pupil the same kind and number of strokes that should have been inflicted on the pupil had it been the principle of the school to punish evil doers. This was not true with regard to Christ, as it was impossible for him to suffer the same kind and measure of punishment due the sinner. Then, in the last place, a pupil with a refined and sensitive nature would suffer much more mentally than his substitute could suffer physically, which was not the case with Christ and sinners. As Mr. Alcott puts it, "One of the boys shed tears and passed through a struggle such as made him seem to be in a baptism of fire." Then what that boy suffered in after years no one can tell. A consciousness of what he did to that master would not give him much peace. How different the result of Christ's atoning work! His substitutional sufferings, being an expression of his holy love, give peace and joy and hope to believing sinners. If these friendly criticisms are correct, the Concord school-master's substitutional sufferings do not throw much light on this difficult phase of the atonement. Nor do we see how any example can, as Christ's atoning work is unique. It has never had, and never can have, in its most essential facts, an exact parallel. The Locrian king who, to maintain governmental authority, caused one of his own eyes to be put out to save one of the condemned eyes of his guilty son, is a striking, and in some respects a pertinent, illustration; but as it represents the "tooth for tooth and eye for eye" theory, it fails in the most essential point.

It fails to illustrate how a truthful, righteous God, after having annexed a certain—and we may add enforced—penalty to violated moral law, can consistently accept as a substitute for

that penalty the sufferings of the sinless Christ. At this point we find the main difficulty. We do know that God has thus accepted the sufferings of Christ, therefore it must be wise and right; but just *how* he can thus release man from a natural and deserved penalty and restore him to life, purity, honor, and immortality, is a difficulty we cannot explain. Not that we have any objection to a divine incarnation, suffering, and death; we have not. And for this reason the great law of sacrifice is the universal and immutable law of the universe. Parents, patriots, and philanthropists suffer vicariously, and often die for others. Life lives on death, therefore Christ's voluntary sacrifice of himself for a guilty race is but the grand culmination of this principle, the divinest expression of an all-pervading, dominant law in the realms of life. As finite forms of life are under the law of sacrifice, we see no valid reason why infinite life, prompted by infinite love, and for highest purposes of law and government, as well as to make possible the salvation of a race of lost, responsible, immortal beings, should not surrender himself to his own law of sacrifice. This he has done. "The life was manifested" in the infinite Christ. He expressed the eternal Father's infinite thought, love, and righteousness by a life of vicarious work and suffering.

Notice, Christ's work, suffering, and death in no sense *changed* God's thoughts and feelings toward sin and sinners; but they *did* satisfy God, satisfy himself, and satisfy man. They satisfied the sense of justice inherent in the divine and human conscience. As soon as Christ had, by his atoning life and death, fulfilled and honored the law, and established righteousness on a firm foundation, the atonement was made and the sense of justice in God and man was satisfied. God accepted Christ's atoning suffering and death as a *substitute for the enduring of the death penalty by guilty, hell-deserving sinners.* *Why* he has done this is not revealed; and *how* they constitute, in his estimation, a sufficient atonement for the sins of the world is still among the "secret things that belong" not to us. If we will but discriminate between *suffering vicariously* and being *punished penally* we shall obviate a great difficulty in our discussions of the atonement, as an innocent being cannot justly be punished for the guilty, but there is no principle of justice that forbids the innocent voluntarily suffer-

ing to save the guilty. Men do this as the highest expression of their love for their friends, or to maintain the life and unity of their nation. By what law, then, shall God be excluded from such an expression of his love? Men may sneer and be captious, and ridicule the atonement as betraying on the divine side a thirst for blood, but the reverent and devout mind will see in the agony and bloody sweat of Gethsemane, and the sufferings and death of the cross, resultants of an eternal Father's love for sinners, truth, and righteousness.

In the atonement we may behold the eternal Father and Son struggling, not to harmonize conflicting attributes, but to save man from the grasp of violated law and insulted justice; a work that could not be done without suffering and death. *Could* not, we affirm, as infinite love of right was as inexorable as infinite justice. Love for sinners cannot act apart from love of right and justice. They dwell and act together in the most perfect harmony. Love can do nothing until law is honored and righteousness is lifted into supremacy. Infinite love, therefore, gladly satisfied itself and justice by suffering, dying, and rising again to save sinners. This vicarious work of infinite love is in perfect harmony with justice, and instead of involving cruelty, it is the sublimest possible expression of divine benevolence. The atonement, then, is the grandest embodiment and satisfaction of both love and justice.

What is needed to lead men to see that the atonement is the grand, central, life-and peace-giving truth of Christianity, is a candid, careful grouping of all the facts it involves; then an honest, prayerful effort to find out their meaning by comparing fact with fact; then submission to the fixed conditions on which its benefits can be realized. If its opposers would wisely do those things they would soon find out that this doctrine is no priestly invention or "butcher theory," designed to meet an unlooked-for contingency in the historic development of humanity, but an essential factor in the creative plan. And a clear vision of this fundamental truth would reveal to them that Christ was no forced victim of his Father's wrath; that he came not into our race to fulfill a bargain that he made with his Father, to pay his life as a ransom price for a few elect ones, but to manifest his Father's love, purpose, and righteousness, which he had revealed in man's moral nature, history, and

the Bible. He could say in the garden of Gethsemane and on the cross, "I am showing the Father's unutterable love for lost sinners; the consuming fire of his wrath against sin; and his righteousness, because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime in the forbearance of God." Here are deep, grand, and awfully sublime revelations! Nature trembles in their presence, the sun is darkened, the gates of death are violently opened, and the smiles of the eternal Father are withdrawn from the Son of his love. The Christ suffers alone, of the people none are with him! What mean those unique sufferings and death? There is but one explanation: "It pleased the Father to bruise him," by putting on him, because of his voluntary assumption of the position of the sinner's substitute, the penalty due to the iniquity of the world. The sword of his Father's wrath against sin pierced his soul, and caused him to feel as if he were forsaken by him. Of course, the forsaking of Christ in those last hours of fearful agony by his Father was only apparent, not real. Such a thing was impossible, as he and the Father were indissolubly one; but so dense was the dark cloud of suffering that rested on and penetrated his soul that he realized no sensible tokens of his Father's love. Never was the Father so near to his Son as in that last fearful agony, but his love could not write itself on a consciousness that was enduring a baptism of fire; and thus voluntarily tasting death, he drank the cup given him by his Father to its very dregs, and while doing it he had the sympathy, love, and support of his eternal Father.

Most assuredly, an atonement that is a resultant of such agony and blood has its difficulties—*must* have its difficulties—but they are difficulties shrouded in love. "Herein was the love of God manifested, that God hath sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him." His love expressed itself in divine suffering and blood, hence it represents an atonement of infinite value; one that satisfies both God and man. Bad men and shallow men may call it a "blood theology"—never mind; it saves souls from sin, death, and hell, and in doing this necessary and divine work it demonstrates to the thought and Christian consciousness of the world that it rests upon impregnable foundations.

ART. V.—BISHOP McKENDREE—A SKETCH.*

WILLIAM MCKENDREE was a Virginian, and was born in King William County, 1757. He came from the best circle of Virginia planters. His parents were in easy worldly circumstances, though plain and industrious people. They were members of the Church of England, and brought up their children carefully in the tenets of the Church. In common with many others of the same class of people, they joined the Methodist Society on its first establishment in Virginia.

While McKendree was a child Whitefield visited the city of Williamsburg, near which his father lived, and there is little doubt that it was owing to his earnest ministry that Mr. John McKendree, father of the bishop, in after time joined the Methodists. William was a boy of seventeen when Mr. Shadford and Robert Williams visited the section of country in which he lived. He joined the Society, but by his fondness for gayety was led back to the world. He took part in the Revolution, and was an adjutant in a Virginia regiment. The war ended, and he returned to his home. Here he led the easy life of a country gentleman. He was very moral, free from all gross vices, and, while irreligious, was not at all skeptical.

John Easter was at that time a flaming evangelist, and came through the country in which McKendree lived. McKendree was at the house of a friend, drinking wine and reading a comedy. The wife of his host and companion went to hear Easter preach. McKendree heard from her the story of Easter's wonderful power. He went to hear him himself, and was profoundly awakened and deeply convicted, and after a little while soundly converted. He writes:

Not long after I had confidence in my acceptance with God, Mr. Gibson preached us a sermon on sanctification, and I felt its

* *William McKendree, the First American Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By GEORGE G. SMITH, of the Georgia Conference.
PAINE'S *Life of McKendree.*
STEVENS'S *History of Methodism.*
BANGS'S *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*
REDFORD'S *Methodism in Kentucky.*
Life of James O. Andrew, etc.
MCTYEIRE'S *History of Methodism.*

weight. When Mr. Easter came he enforced the same doctrine. This led me more minutely to examine the emotions of my heart. I found remaining corruption, embraced the doctrine of sanctification, and diligently sought the blessing it holds forth. In its pursuit my soul grew in grace, and in the faith that overcomes the world; but there was an aching void which made me cry,

> "'Tis worse than death my God to love,
> And not my God alone."

One morning I walked into the field, and while I was musing, such an overwhelming power of the Divine Being overshadowed me as I had never experienced before. Unable to stand, I sank to the ground, more than filled with transport: my cup ran over, and I shouted aloud. Had it not been for a new set of painful exercises which now came over me I might have rejoiced evermore; but my heart was enlarged, and I saw more clearly than ever before the danger of an unconverted state.

This is as definitely as he ever professed the blessing of sanctification.

He now began to work to save souls, and Mr. Asbury sent him, in 1788, to a circuit. For four years he traveled circuits in Virginia, and considerable success attended his labors. He was closely associated with James O'Kelly, and sympathized with him in his opposition to an unrestrained episcopate; and when O'Kelly failed to secure the right of appeal for a dissatisfied preacher, and withdrew from the Church, McKendree went with him. After a very short time he became satisfied that he was wrong, and returned to the Connection. He was an older man than most of his compeers, and perhaps a more judicious one, and Asbury soon fixed upon him as an assistant Bishop, and he was made presiding elder of a very large district in Virginia. He was there when the mind of Francis Poythress gave way. Asbury, while on his way to Kentucky, heard Poythress was deranged. He said to McKendree: "William, I want you to take charge of the Western District." "When do you wish me to start?" "As soon as you can." "In an hour, sir, I will be with you." In less than an hour the bishop and the young elder were on their way to the far West.

The boundaries of the Western District in 1800 were immense. From the west of North Carolina they extended to the center of Ohio, and from the Blue Ridge Mountains in south-west Virginia to the Mississippi River. To make the

tour McKendree began his journey near Asheville, N. C., went eastward and northward, till he crossed the mountains into Tazewell, Virginia; then west, through Cumberland Gap; thence to Nashville and beyond; then up Salt River, through the blue-grass counties of Kentucky, to the Miami, in Ohio. The district was cut down every year, but the advance of the lines of settlement made it necessary to extend the lines still farther west; so that in 1807, when McKendree left the district, it included, in addition to Kentucky and Ohio, Illinois and Missouri. When it is remembered that much of this country was but twenty years old—that the settlements were remote from each other and separated by rugged mountains or trackless prairies—we can gather an idea of McKendree's heroic labors. He had also other difficulties of a very perplexing nature to encounter, coming from another direction.

The great awakening which began at a union meeting in the Barrens of Kentucky in 1799, out of which camp-meetings sprang, was just beginning when McKendree reached the West. It swept with wonderful power. There was a breaking away from all the old traditions. Presbyterians preached a present, full, and free salvation for all men; Baptists joined with Methodists; camp-meetings were every-where; all kinds of lay work was encouraged, and there was no restraint imposed. There was prodigious excitement. The jerks, the dancing exercise, the barking exercise, the trance, the heavenly vision —every thing that was wild and extravagant was found, and by many encouraged. Zion's ship was in dangerous seas, but McKendree was eminently fitted for the work of steering it safely. He did not, like the Old School Presbyterians, denounce all emotion and excitement; he did not, like many, give free rein to it. He quietly, calmly, firmly, controlled it, as far as he could safely do so; and while from the Presbyterian element the Cumberland Presbyterian Church was formed—while the disaffected Baptists went, after some years, to Alexander Campbell—while Quakers and Unitarians reaped their harvest—McKendree's counsels saved Methodism. The critical condition of things in the far West had kept him at the wheel, and two sessions of the General Conference, as the General Convention was called, had been held, and he had been at neither. He resolved now to go to Baltimore. At this Con-

ference, 1808, it was in design to provide for the assembling of a delegated General Conference, and to elect a bishop who should relieve Asbury of some part of his onerous labors.

McKendree was comparatively a stranger to the Conference, and had not been mentioned in connection with the office. On the Sunday before the election he was appointed to preach in old Light Street Church. The house was crowded. The preachers were many of them present. McKendree had liberty, and the result of that sermon was a determination of his hearers to elect him bishop. This the Conference did the next day. McKendree was one of the committee who suggested the restrictive rules, and his knowledge of what the General Convention intended when it provided for a General Conference of delegates stood him in good place in after time.

As soon as McKendree began to preside over the Conferences he made some very decided and important changes. He introduced the custom of consultation with the presiding elders in a body before the appointments were made. He introduced the plan of conducting Conferences by parliamentary usage. Asbury did not like these innovations. He could not see that Methodism wanted any thing but more holiness and more simplicity. It required some delicate tact on McKendree's part to reconcile Asbury to these changes.

McKendree did not desire to be bishop, but without voice of his own he had been called to the office in a most important and difficult time. Asbury was old and feeble. He had been virtually the sole superintendent. The work now reached from Maine to the Mississippi and beyond, and from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf. McKendree was over fifty years old, and, while a vigorous man, the immense labors of the years before had told upon him. Over all the area he was to travel on horseback or in a chaise. He did the work as faithfully as he could, and, giving up his life to labor for the Church, conscious that his eye was single, he looked with distrust upon that growing party of the Church who seemed anxious to limit episcopal power. This it proposed to do by the election of presiding elders. McKendree's great opposition, and that of Asbury, was overcome after George and Roberts, who had been elected bishops in 1816, favored the change; and in 1820 the General Conference decided on the long-sought provision. McKen-

dree and Soule and Roszell held that this was an act beyond its power; that it was expressly restricted from doing this and kindred things, and that until the Annual Conferences had spoken on this subject the law could not be operative. A conflict between the bishops and the General Conference seemed unavoidable, but the General Conference decided to defer the execution of the law for four years, and thus the issue was not made. At the General Conference of 1824 McKendree was given permission to travel at will, or rest, as he thought best, but he continued his untiring labors. In 1824 the General Conference left the act of four years before in a state of suspension, and in 1828 it was quietly repealed. Bishop McKendree was now quite feeble, and the remaining six years of his life were years of great suffering. In 1832 he made his last visit to the East. Young Robert Paine, afterward bishop in the Church, South, accompanied him, and with great difficulty the long weary tour over the mountains in a private carriage was made to Philadelphia, where the General Conference assembled. He could barely walk, but leaning on his staff he tottered into the Conference room. The preachers rose to receive him. He said with a voice faltering with emotion, "Let all things be done without strife or vainglory, and try to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace; my brethren and children, love one another." Then, spreading forth his trembling hands and raising his eyes to heaven, he pronounced in faltering and affectionate accents the apostolic benediction, and left the room to return to it no more.

For the remaining two years of his life the good old bishop labored as he was able. He was seventy-five years old when he bade farewell to the General Conference, and seventy-seven when he died.

He had never married. From the day he began his ministry he had never shrunk from a hardship nor shunned a danger. Perhaps no man in Methodism, for so long a time, ever had so many and such continuous privations. Until he was made a bishop he was always on a frontier; afterward he knew no repose. Asbury, sick and feeble, sometimes groaned under his burden, but McKendree bore his without a word.

He was a man of strong will, and could strike a hard blow, but he was never harsh or irritable. When sick and weary he

was simply taciturn. He was a man of remarkably fine presence. His features were regular and handsome, his brow as broad and smooth and white as marble. Dignity and gentleness were strikingly evident in his manner. He dressed with great neatness, in the old-time garb of a Methodist preacher.

He was a preacher of great power, but this arose from no one striking quality. He was earnest, scriptural, and full of unction. As a Church statesman, he stood high among his compeers. He was more conservative than his old Virginia associate, Jesse Lee, and more jealous of any interference with episcopal authority; but he was more moderate in his views of what that power should be than was Wesley, or Coke, or Asbury. He was eminently judicious in his administration. His piety was very fervent, but evidently in his later life it was very calm and quiet.

McKendree is, next to Asbury, the most important factor in early Methodist history, and as far as the government of the Church is concerned holds a more important place than even he. The rule which guided his life he gave to Bishop Andrew, who had just been elected bishop. "James," he said, "shrink from no responsibility which properly belongs to you; remember that he who shrinks from a responsibility properly his own, incurs the most fearful of responsibilities."

Art. VI.—THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

In the last sentence of the third verse of the sixteenth chapter of his gospel as recorded by Matthew, our Lord Jesus Christ couches one of the most wide-reaching and important thoughts that perhaps he ever uttered to man: "Ye can discern the face of the sky; but can ye not discern the signs of the times?"

The persons to whom these words were originally addressed were a very fair type of myriads upon myriads of the human family of to-day. They would accept very flimsy evidence upon which to base an assurance of results which they strongly desired to foresee, and which they wished should occur. Many wise and learned ones can weigh the planets and measure their distances from the glittering center of the vast solar system;

but to many of these learned ones the story of the "Star of Bethlehem," the "bright and morning star," is a mystery or a myth. They can trace the paths of the stars and indicate the changes of the weather from the hues of a few flitting clouds; but they cannot discern "the signs of the times." The theme that is couched under this short sentence from our blessed Saviour's lips, based, as it is, upon the greatest event connected with man's history since the fall, ought to be to every intelligent human being a most fruitful, highly elevating, instructive, and intensely interesting thought. As it refers directly to our Lord Jesus Christ in his relation of divine humanity, it is richly fraught with temporal and eternal interests for the human family from the fall to the general judgment. There certainly can be no theme of more real, deep, and abiding interest presented for man's contemplation than that which gives forth such statements as these: "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." "What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him? For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honor." Again: "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counselor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace." Once more from the Old Testament upon this point: "Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel." But how is this wonderful chain of relationship taken up in the New Testament? Let us see: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." Again: "And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord."

These are a few of the many passages from Holy Writ which set forth most clearly the divinely originated and very intimate relationship subsisting between God and man. This relationship is the basal rock upon which the theme presented by the title of this article was laid by its divine Author. This great fact of divine relationship the unbelieving Jews refused to

recognize in the person of the humble prophet of Nazareth. The very existence of this fact unbelievers of many nations are laboring to-day to disprove, and are practically blind to all the signs of the times that have been in the past, and that are to-day in all lands, calling alike the attention of the skeptic and the careless one; and though also challenging the attention and application of Christian thought and faith, are often passed by without awaking in his mind a single idea of their true import. We are led, therefore, to the apprehension that possibly some are even committing a fatal error by giving no thought or time to the careful study of this wonderful theme.

The implication that was to be drawn from the language of the Master on that occasion was, that the signs of the times were, that the promised Messiah of the patriarchs, of Moses and the prophets, was then already come, and that he who was at that moment in conversation with them was indeed that "anointed One;" and he even rebuked them for their unwonted ignorance. For multiplied ages the world had been looking for and expecting his coming. The hoary nations of the Orient were in some way conscious that the great and mysterious *I Am* had planned a visit and manifestation of himself to the human world, in some peculiar character of man that had not hitherto been witnessed. It is not for us to know to-day certainly by what means the magi on Iran's plateau, a thousand miles away from Bethlehem, were enabled to discern the sign presented to them, and know thereby that he was born who was to be King of the Jews. Nor by what means, about sixty years after, the followers of Confucius were so strongly impressed with the fact of his *having* come, as the "Great Saint in the West," that they "sent their envoys to hail the expected Redeemer."

But it *is* for us to know something, not only of the time and signs of his coming, but especially to discern the signs of the times in which we are living, setting forth the one supreme fact that we are living in the midst of the age of man's transforming period, in which the great "Prophet of Nazareth" is gradually gathering the nations of the earth under the banner of the cross. Let us therefore, in the further investigation of this subject, examine as we may some of these tokens, and apply them for our own information and profit.

There are some passages of Scripture that, to say the very least, *seem* wholly unexplainable when considered independently of the New Testament dispensation. For example, to begin with Psalm ii, 8, 9: "Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel." Possibly there has never been a period when this prophetic history has been in process of more rapid fulfillment than the present. We venture the suggestion, that it is highly probable that a vast deal of that which we are wont to look upon in the social and political world to-day as among the great evils—and even though in themselves considered, in an abstract sense, they *are* great evils—may nevertheless be more properly classed among the signs of the times pointing to the one great fact that there is a mysteriously divine Force, like a hidden leaven, operating through all the great political and social regime of the human world, and the ultimate meaning of which is as far from being properly construed by the masses of the people as were the life and works of our Lord Jesus Christ when he dwelt among men in the flesh. God is working through human agencies, and he uses them often as he finds them.

Another passage that seems clearly to present God's hand in history, even though men should be writing it in blood, may be quoted from Isaiah concerning Cyrus: "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; . . . I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me." In this connection we should bear in mind the fact that these words, uttered concerning a pagan monarch and soldier, were recorded probably two hundred years before the birth of Cyrus. The depravity of the human heart is so deep, and of such long standing in supremacy, that to bring about God's ends in man in any other way than by the slow processes of human revolutions would be to utterly destroy that freedom of the human will with which we were endowed when we were made free moral agents.

If, by a proper conception of the fact of God's agencies in man working through man as he finds him, we apply the teachings of Christ in the use of such language as the following, we may more readily understand him when he speaks thus:

"Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I am not come to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law."

With this view of the position and relation that God, who was manifest in the flesh, sustains to the plans and operation of them which man projects, we may proceed with some tolerable degree of intelligence to inquire, What are the signs of the times in which we live, and what do they indicate? We assume, from Matt. xvi, 1–4, that the signs of the times there referred to, and in which we are most profoundly interested, refer to the relations of Christ in his true character as the God-man; as that character, as laid down in the Old and New Testaments, sustains to the whole human race. If we study carefully such additional passages of Scripture as seem confirmatory of those already cited, our position is strengthened by such passages as Rom. xiii, 1–4 and 1 Tim. ii, 2, showing conclusively that these relations touch very definitely the political connections of the race. Then turning to Matt. v, 42 and vi, 1–5, 12, we find the fact very clearly demonstrated that this connection touches strongly upon our social and commercial relations. For its bearing upon our domestic relations see Matt. v, 27, 28, also 31, 32; chap. xix, 3–6; Rom. vii, 2; 1 Cor. vii, 3. Other passages might be adduced, but for the sake of space we forbear. Of course, it would be worse than a *waste* of these to attempt to illustrate the already admitted demonstration of this relation to man's spiritual well-being. With this broad platform, then, upon which to place ourselves, we may properly proceed with what we may justly pray may prove a profitable investigation. Of course the passages referred to above, upon each point, are not a tithe of what might be cited, but are considered sufficient for the purpose. With reference to the first point referred to, namely, the politics of the nations, we have no doubt that man's infidelity upon this subject has been a fruitful source of great national troubles that might often have been either wholly avoided or greatly minified. The legislation by which many vices and crimes against God and humanity have been legalized has, on more than one occasion, proved a Cleopatra's viper upon the sin-

darkened bosom of national governments, whose poison-pointed fangs have sent the chill of death coursing through the life-currents of the nations. The rifled tombs of the hoary empires of the East bear unequivocal testimony to this fact. Four millions of human beings suddenly released from a servile bondage, and turned loose upon the nation of their former masters, whose crime had caused the shedding of rivers of Anglo-Saxon blood, furnish a demonstration of the truth of the point under consideration that the American people will not soon forget. Well, indeed, would it be for the nations of the earth if, by the signs of the times constantly spreading out before them, they could discern the hand of God in history. The voice of oppressed humanity is calling upon God, and the ear that is open to "the young ravens when they cry," is never closed against the voice of the oppressed. "I tell you he will avenge them speedily." Man may boast of the wisdom of this or that plan, or the good or bad policy of this or that movement, but God, who sees not as man sees, will work out vengeance upon the oppressor sooner or later.

The granite foundations of the throne of the British empire, upon whose vast domain "the sun never sets," are trembling to-day, and it may be to a more speedy overthrow, notwithstanding the exalted character of its present noble occupant, than its most sanguine foes anticipate. Forcing at the point of her bayonets the accursed opium-trade upon a broad, populous nation of intelligent pagans—flooding the benighted and down-trodden tribes of Africa with fiery gin, because she needs the revenue of these channels of commerce and has the military power to enforce them—are classes of political crime that God Almighty will not always wink at. It is not *utterly improbable* that the wail of homeless mothers and the cries of outcast children echoing among the tenantless cabins of old Erin are heard at the Court of the Universe. The low, hoarse rumblings, that by British ears are perhaps but faintly heard along the horizon of the political sky of their wide domain, *may* be the sound of the marshaling of God's unseen host, hastening to avenge.

The fact that the religious faith of a people may be largely papal, or even pagan, furnishes no ground for civilized and refined oppression. Legalized oppression, either by state or

nation, God Almighty will avenge. Coffers of gold wrung out of human blood will sink the government that retains them. Again, there is a religious attachment to the political phase of this great question that we may not with propriety overlook. Jesus Christ was himself the mighty "Rock of Ages" upon which the old State Church system that had emanated from the older system of patriarchal family churches was destined to go to pieces.

That this position is the true one may be affirmed from Christ's own teachings, a few examples of which will be adduced as illustrations: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light." Again: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. . . . And whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it." Again: "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." One more: "In the last day, that great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst let him come unto me and drink."

These may serve as illustrations of the fact that the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ is to be a voluntary assembly. A purely voluntary following did he require as a condition of citizenship in his kingdom. Hence we find that through all the ages of the Church's history corruption of morals and deadness of spirituality have invariably followed in the wake of State-Churchism. The seeds of moral decay and spiritual death were thickly strewn even before the great Constantine had been carried to his tomb. From the throne of the Roman pontiffs flowed, for a thousand years, through the veins and arteries of the universal Church, a moral blood-poison that so tainted with moral and spiritual decline every part of the great system that the Lord of the whole earth found it necessary every now and then to raise up some such man as Wycliffe, Huss, Calvin, Knox, and Luther, to meet, and in some measure counteract, these poisonous and deadly influences. These were stern, heroic men of God, like the Elijahs, Elishas, Johns, and the apostolic Fathers of the olden time. They

aroused men to a sense of their own moral ruin, and, like those old men of God, they also brought upon themselves strong persecution. The very fact that in the midst of deadly persecution, God, with perhaps one exception, preserved the lives of these great reformers and devoted leaders of his cause, was a demonstration that his hand was with them, and a sign of the times in which they lived that their enemies, to their own hurt, failed to discern.

So, in later times, God found it necessary, in order to the preservation of his cause, from time to time to work purifications in the Church through the various agencies of what were termed dissenters; though these were often called to endure persecutions most severe, and, in turn, themselves sometimes persecuted others. New Testament Phariseeism and modern State-Churchism, when critically compared, seem to be very near of kin. Out of the influence of the former, largely grew the dreadful scenes and agonies of Pilate's court and Calvary's brow; out of the influence and exertions of the latter have emanated many of the destructive wars that have from time to time deluged much of our world with human blood. Some further illustrations of these two points are found in the final overthrow of the Jewish nation and capital, followed by the Crusades, the Thirty Years' War, and the Huguenot wars of France. The surging billows of to-day, moral and political, not to say religious, are stirring, and will continue to stir, the nations of the earth to their core. The commotions that in this jubilee year are shaking the very throne of the "Empress of the Indies;" the deep volcanic rumblings that are sullenly muttering beneath the very footsteps of the arrogant "Autocrat of all the Russias;" the dark war-clouds that are constantly hovering along the banks of the majestic Rhine and its beautiful tributaries, are signs of the times that are not to be lightly passed unheeded. The blood of "righteous Abel" from his gory couch never appealed to God for vengeance in more audible accents than do the deep-toned wailings of the deeply wronged and oppressed millions of that "Old World," writhing under the iron heel of financial, social, political, and in many cases religious, tyranny. God is always upon the side of right, no matter where might may seem to be arrayed for the time being. Our own dear country had a sad

realization of that fact a few years ago, when he arrayed the mighty Anglo-Saxons against each other that the oppressed African might go free.

When, in March, 1861, Victor Emmanuel planted the throne and standard of united Italy within the palaces of the "eternal city," the power of popery received a blow from which it will never recover. From that date the "States of the Church" were only a fact of past history. When, in January, 1871, the capitulation papers to a foreign and intensely hated foe were signed at Paris, the people of France were henceforth enabled to breathe a freer air than had before surrounded them for the past three hundred years. The mace of the "man of blood and iron" may to-day mark out the course of German suffragists, but great William's successor will probably have less faith in the doctrine of the "divine right of kings" than is at present required to fill the standard of that venerable monarch's measure. If God ever designed the plan of monarchical government, he has certainly, under the Christian dispensation, permitted the demonstration to be made that the plan was not absolutely the only one under which the most sacred rights of mankind are always most carefully cherished.

So, also, David Livingstone and Henry M. Stanley have demonstrated in this nineteenth century, as did William Penn two hundred years ago, that it is wiser, cheaper, and infinitely better to arrange and conduct plans of national commerce upon the basis of Christian civilization and Christian equity than at the mouth of cannon or the bayonet's point. The voice of the Christian world inquiring in vain for the hidden grave of "Chinese Gordon" is a sign of the times in which we live, declaring that the cross may not to-day more successfully overthrow the power of the crescent by the power of the sword than in the days of the old crusades.

The world-wide success of Protestant Christianity as demonstrated by the international Christian institutions, such as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Evangelical Alliance, the Sunday-school lesson system, and, in some sense, the great Bible societies of England and America, presents a sign of the times which demonstrates beyond possible contradiction the great fact that the Bible is the real *magna charta* of international commerce for the world. Upon its broad principles

of equity are based the only safeguards of continued success. If we are told that Great Britain realizes far larger commercial profits from the East as the result of her great political and military prowess than she would otherwise be likely to do, we answer that statement with this one unanswerable question; namely, At what value of blood and treasure, invested as her capital in that far-off land? As we come to the domestic relations of life, we hear, or seem to hear, the voice of an unseen one crying out, "Watchman, what of the night?" we cast our eye alone the horizon of Christian civilization, and with bated breath we listen for the answer. It comes. Hear it, ye scoffers at God's eternal truth! "The morning cometh, and also the night." The morning light of God's divine grace is shining into the domestic circles of the human world, widening its home blessings daily more and more, and settling the eternal night of banishment upon the old tyranny of that barbarism which unequalized husband and wife, mother and son, brother and sister, in all the social and domestic relations of life. It has burst the shackles of heathen child-widowhood, which for long cycles of ages in heathen lands bound the female child who, without her own consent, had been wedded to a male child who subsequently might die even in childhood, to a perpetual widowhood. Through this influence in its touches of the domestic relations, the sight of the writhing, blistering flesh of a living woman chained to the body of her dead husband, that had been stretched upon the funeral pyre to be consumed in the cremating flame, has become a fact only of past history. Such revolting scenes no more greet the gaze of humanity. The power of the cross and the restfulness of the tomb, through our Lord Jesus Christ, are opening up to these benighted minds a far better way. Baby widows, destined because of their widowhood to spend a life-time in seclusion from the human world, will shortly be a fact known only to the annals of the past. The shrieks of innocent babes cast into the fiery arms of brazen gods or the reeking jaws of the death-dealing crocodile by superstitious pagan mothers no longer pierce the air of India's sunny land. The advancing principles of our holy Christianity are rapidly dissolving the shackles that have bound womanhood, more or less, in all ages and in all lands. Through these blessed influences is she now rapidly

advancing to the place by the side of man that she seems to have occupied before the fall.

Here again, then, are signs of the times speaking in tones of admonition to all who would oppose the elevation of womanhood to a higher and nobler plane than, outside of Christianity, she has ever occupied since the fall.

Thus have we seen that the signs of the times are, and have been, illustrating the intimate relations that subsist through our Lord Jesus Christ between God and man, along the various lines of political, commercial, social, and domestic relations of life. Let us now take a brief view along the directly religious horizon.

We turn to the eloquent lines of grand old Isaiah, and read: "For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater: so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it." Is this blessed truth in its broadest possible application being fulfilled? Are the nations of the earth being brought under its influence?

This second question only needs to be presented to an intelligent public to set forth its own answer in a most emphatic affirmative. Every continent on the globe echoes a broad affirmative. Christ, by Matthew's pen, declares, "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled." These words, too, are of broad signification. Even though the term law might be narrowed down, the care for the jots and tittles demonstrates the fact that the entire Scriptures are to be included as the necessary exponents of the law.

The vast archæological investigations that are being constantly pushed in our own day, amid the tombs of the buried nations of the long, long ago, are continually producing fresh confirmations of the earliest facts of Bible history, and the later fulfillments of biblical prophecy, as they were recorded of old by "holy men of God who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." The long-hidden, and possibly by many nations, long-forgotten graves of old Chaldea and far-away

Assyria, that are, in this evening of the nineteenth century, being, with many others of lesser note, thoroughly ransacked and plundered of their long-hidden treasures of historical records of the past of long ago, are producing evidence from the oldest pagan stand-points of the entire correctness of what we call biblical history. We will not here consume time and space in illustrating this point. Any of the late works (and their name is legion) of the multitude of archæological writers will fully demonstrate what has just been said upon this point.

Let us now note a passage or two from the New Testament, with their bearings upon this question, and then we shall have done. The angelic messenger sent to Bethlehem's shepherds said, "Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people." We ask, Wherefore the joy to *all* people? Hear the answer of the angelic choir, "Peace on earth, and good-will toward men." But are these predictions being fulfilled? Will the facts of political and religious history justify the assumption that they are? "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." Surely William Taylor and his heroic followers, in conjunction with other missionary workers who are pushing without military escort into the very heart of the "dark continent," bearing only the white banner of Calvary, and without opposition are planting missions from one coast to the other of that benighted land, are a demonstration of the above stated fact.

What mean the actions of the nations of the earth toward each other to-day? See the vast military hosts of Europe, better drilled, better equipped, and larger in numbers perhaps than at any period of the past. See how, in many instances, they have been scowling upon each other for months, and yet, by some unseen force, have been restrained. All those nations seem willing, and even anxious, to settle all differences by arbitration of a different sort from that of the sword. Are those vast armies great hosts of physical cowards, or are their leaders and rulers slaves to fear? Nay, verily! The Gospel's "Peace on earth, and good-will toward men" is working like a hidden leaven among the nations, and answers the question. The international postal and telegraphic systems of the world, that are to-day in active existence among

the nations of the earth, are ominous signs of the times, pointing the nearing of that day when the nations of the earth shall flow unto the mountain of the Lord's house. "Doomed" is written upon the false religions of the earth. Science and philosophy are no longer arrayed, as they were once supposed to be, against God's revealed truth. Slowly, but surely, are the deserts being made to blossom as the rose. Swords are being displaced by plowshares, and spears are being superseded by pruning-hooks.

ART. VII.—GEOLOGY AND REVELATION.*

"PRINCIPAL DAWSON," as he is best known, is now sixty-seven years old. When only twenty-one he distinguished himself by his masterly geological survey of Nova Scotia, under the direction of Sir Charles Lyell. When only thirty-five he was made principal of McGill College, which, under his administration, has grown to be an influential university. During those thirty-two years (a very long presidency!) Dr. Dawson has become known throughout the learned world as a most able scientist, and throughout the world of Christian learning as one of the very ablest of the scientific defenders of orthodox biblical views at to the supernatural origin of man and nature. The demand for this new and enlarged "ninth edition" of his *Earth and Man* (which first appeared in 1873), attests the enduring value of this work. It has now grown to over four hundred pages, and an abler, yet more popularly intelligible and useful work, in its field, probably does not exist.

One of the landmarks of the intellectual progress of the modern Christian world is the change of view in regard to the science of geology. Eyed askance by many, fifty years ago, as an enemy and a delusion, it now stands recognized as one of the noblest triumphs of the human mind, one of the most valuable side-lights upon the history of man and of the world, and

* *The Story of the Earth and Man.* By Sir J. W. DAWSON, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University, Montreal; Author of *Origin of the World*, etc. New Edition, with Corrections and Additions. 12mo, pp. xi, 411. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1887.

on the interpretation of revelation. Geology is, indeed, the sum of all natural sciences. It must be founded on mineralogy and chemistry: but it must also call in botany and microscopy to explain fossil plants, and of zoology and anatomy to expound fossil animals. It must even call on mathematics to compute its cosmic forces, and on astronomy to unfold the secular changes in climates by changes in the polarity of the earth and by its orbital conjunctions with its planetary neighbors. In its vast march of dateless eras it does for the student's conception of *time* just what astronomy does for his conception of *space;* that is, it practically infinitizes it. The value of geology, therefore, as an instrument of mental discipline, can hardly be overestimated.

But it is not as a school text-book, nor as a work of original investigation for the learned specialist, that this book was written and still has its mission. Its design is, in part, to popularize the science of geology, and in part to confute that "materialistic infidelity" (p. 7) and those "scientific banditti" (p. 312) who have attempted to acquire notoriety by turning a noble and truthful science into a field for rash and unscientific anti-Christian speculation.

In the treatment of the earth's origin the author leans to a modified acceptance of the nebular hypothesis of La Place, a vortex of fire-mist gases, then a spherical, revolving molten ocean, then a cooling and crumpling crust, volcanoes, water, scalding chemical rains, disintegration and stratification, marine life, decarbonization of the atmosphere by the vast carboniferous vegetation, then mighty air-breathing amphibian saurians, then mighty mammals on land, then the glacial epochs to sweep away these monsters, pulverize the old continents into soil, bury the colossal vegetation in vast coal-pits, and so prepare the world for its coming monarch—man. All these geologic stages, so often treated, are well illustrated by geological "sections" and diagrams, and by cuts exhibiting the life of the ancient seas and continents, and coming down to the times of the great hairy mammoth of Siberia (another entire specimen of which, by the way, the last Russian exploring expedition has just found in the ice of the New Siberian Islands, where the Yakouts were feeding their dogs on its flesh, and whence they have sent the entire hide and skeleton to St. Petersburg), the mastodon, the

wholly rhinoceros, the cave-bear, the great Irish elk, the terrible machairodus, or saber-tusked tiger, and other recently extinct or still living species, among whose remains the first remains of man are found. There is room for all this in the first twenty-five verses of Genesis, as no modern scholar now doubts or denies.

And then comes the real pith of the book, the real bone of contention in all modern cosmic science; the *time and method of the advent of man on the earth.* There is a current story, of a somewhat apocryphal air, that when the manuscript of Dr. Alexander Winchell's very able and valuable, though very radical, *Pre-Adamites* was seeking its birth in print, one eminent publisher replied that he did not want the book because "the scientific people don't care any thing about Adam, and the Bible people don't care any thing about the pre-Adamites." The story is pat, though the result proved the conclusion false, as the book made a stir, and does yet. The fact is, that this is one of the most vital questions in all anthropology, and is going to stay such for some time to come.

As is well known, Mr. Dawson is one of the ablest champions of Creationism, especially as opposed to the Derivationism of Darwin, the Evolutionism of Spencer, and every other speculative and skeptical theory of man's origin. He shows the fallacy of imagining "miocene apes scourged into reason and humanity by the struggle for existence in the glacial period" (p. 281), and shows that even paleolithic man—the man of the oldest and rudest stone age—was substantially the man of to-day, with a cranial capacity and conquering energy utterly out of all comparison with the most powerful living or fossil gorillas or orangs.

As to the *time* of man's advent on the earth, it was in the post-glacial period, when nearly a hundred species of pleistocene mammals, several of them colossal, were his neighbors in Europe, many of them appearing at his own epoch, nearly sixty of which still survive. The distance of this post-glacial epoch from the present time is provable as not greater than from 6,000 to 10,000 years, most probably 7,000 to 8,000, which roughly harmonizes with Genesis, especially with the probable corrections to be made in biblical chronology. Nay, more, the ground for the biblical deluge appears in the great

geological subsidence by which Europe and western Asia were submerged for a brief period, and in which many species of colossal mammals, and also paleocosmic man (ancient-world man) among them, were swept away, in some instances vast collections of their remains being found buried in their common diluvial sepulchers. The man who followed this cataclysm became, in Europe, Africa, and America, the non-Aryan, but early-civilized Etruscan, the Iberian, Basque, Ugrian, Lapp, Berber, and Carib, and perhaps other races, the neolithic man (new-stone-age man), and bronze-age man, who was nearly but not quite exterminated from Europe by the first Aryan migration, the conquering Celt, and lingers in Europe now only in the Basque and Lapp, but abounds in the African Berber and Taurick.

This creature, man, appears suddenly on the earth, with no intermediate links connecting him with any other order of terrestrial creatures. He is a tool-maker and tool-user from the start. He has ideas, he domesticates animals, especially the dog. He makes pictures (as of the mammoth engraved on bone); he makes marks that seem to be language characters; and he has the idea of a Superior Being and of life after death, as a stone-age burial vault at the foot of the Pyrenees shows in its remains of funeral rites and tools and weapons for the dead. We may well ask, Has any body ever found a cemetery and the funeral rites of a community of apes, and food and implements for ape-souls to use in the spirit-land after death?

And, further, geology joins with ethnology, linguistics, and ethnic tradition in interpreting the biblical Eden as lying at the head of the Persian Gulf, where the Shat-el-Arab now receives the two great rivers of Mesopotamia, and once received several more from the Persian plateau that are now absorbed in the sands before they reach the outlet. And here, for a thousand miles, the whole earth is a sepulcher of man and his cities and works, and was such before the annals of historic nations began.

The demand for new editions of this work is a healthful sign of reaction from the wild and frantic anti-Christian "science, falsely so-called," of the past twenty years. We confidently anticipate that the hammer of the geologist and the spade of the archæologist will yet meet in peace at the prehistoric dawn of man's story on earth.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

FACTS AND TENDENCIES IN EUROPE.

If the saying that "coming events cast their shadows before," be as true as it is trite, then the nations of Europe must be on the eve of great movements, which in their results will affect, for weal or woe, the liberty, the civilization, and the religious progress not of European nations only, but of the human race; for such is the intercommunication of the empires of the earth, the network of commercial interests which bind the races of men together, and such the ambitions of strong powers to control weak ones, that mankind as never before is practically one body. A hurt or benefit to one member must injure or benefit the whole.

What the foreshadowed events will be—which nation Providence is about to pull down, and which to set up—are questions not certainly within the range of human foresight. But their shadow is as visible to the eye of every intelligent observer as that of the earth on the face of an eclipsed moon. That shadow is a palpable fact, which Sir Charles W. Dilke, in a series of remarkable papers which first appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*, on "The Present Position of European Politics," takes as the keynote of his uncommonly lucid and able articles. This fact, as portentous as it is palpable, is, "that the present position of the European world is one in which sheer force holds a larger place than it has held in modern times since the fall of Napoleon." As minor signs of this predominance of force, he points to recent events in Bulgaria, and to the colonizing mania which has lately possessed several great powers, notably Germany, France, and Italy; and which, with unblushing frankness, similar to that of Russia with respect to Central Asia, openly declares a desire and purpose to grab the lands of weaker races without regard to any higher principle than the false assertion that might makes right. But far more significant of this reign of force is the zeal of military preparation. In Germany, France, Italy, Austria, and Russia, armies, navies, and munitions of war as vast as the resources of each nation will permit are kept in readiness for service in the field. Evidently the war spirit is abroad throughout Europe, and nations are kept standing on the tiptoe of expectation, wondering, with more or less of dread, over which people the angel of war will be commissioned to first spread his black wings and begin the deadly conflict. As after the fall of Napoleon, when force, represented in the "Holy Alliance," held Continental Europe in a grip of iron, so now, as never since, force holds her nationalities like hounds in leash ready to leap, but so uncertain of each other's intentions and real aims as to prevent either from taking the dreaded initiative. But that all this fore-

cast of impending war is a sign of "the coming of the Son of man" to judge those nations, and to prepare the peoples for the further development of his kingdom, few Christian students of history will seriously question. Are not the hearts of kings "in the hand of the Lord as the rivers of water?" Doth he not turn them "whithersoever he will?"

The greatest fact in Europe to-day is the German Empire. And its most impressive, if not its greatest, personality, is Prince Bismarck. After the revolutions of 1848, which exploded the Holy Alliance, an astute observer said: "I sum up the last decade in the name of Metternich." Looking on the surface of the stirring events which have marked the creation and growth of the German Empire, one might with seeming propriety now say — I sum up the last decade in the name of Bismarck. Not that Metternich and Bismarck can be justly ranked as equals either in character or statesmanship, since, unlike the former, the latter never mistook "intrigue for statesmanship." Nor has he gained his ends, as Metternich did, by a policy of inaction, but by one of bold action, which, but for his success, would be regarded as rashness. Yet as Metternich was the ruling spirit of that Alliance by which the kings sought to repress every aspiration of their peoples for constitutional liberty, so Bismarck stands before the world as the leader of the more stirring and violent movements by which Prussia, after first wresting from Austria her supremacy among the German States, succeeded in making herself first of the twenty-five German States by the union of which the present German Empire is constituted.

If statesmanship consists simply of clear perceptions of what one wishes to achieve, a practical judgment in the adaptation of means to a proposed end, and skill to direct the human instrumentalities necessary to its accomplishment, then Bismarck is no common statesman. The supremacy of Prussia, in such a confederation or league of numerous sovereign States as might fill the German idea of the Fatherland, was the conception which from almost the beginning of his public life he aimed to realize. To achieve his purpose he had to break the ancient prestige of Austria, to enlarge the territorial possessions of Prussia, to conquer the long-cherished prejudices of the minor German States against Prussia, and to create a constitution for his proposed empire which would appear to meet the growing demands of the German people for self-government, and yet concede such a measure of control to the little army of hereditary kings and princes, whose ancestors had been rooted for ages in the soil, as would win their consent to exchange their independent crowns and rights of royalty for such power, honor, and emolument as a great empire might secure to them. This great ideal Bismarck achieved in less than two decades. The empire of his creation holds its place to-day in the van of European nations. If such amazing success is proof of statesmanship, one cannot deny Bismarck's claim to a high rank among the foremost statesmen of the age.

But if justice be the fundamental principle of real, that is, of Christian statesmanship, the glory of Bismarck's achievement is exceeding dim. To make Prussia great, and to create a new Germany by none but righteous

measures, was not in his original purpose. He did not even profess respect for the rights of the princes or people whose territories he meant to annex to Prussia. Hence, with brutal frankness, he told the Duke of Grammont, Napoleon's minister, that, "*by fair means or foul*, Prussia was resolved to acquire the duchies (of Schleswig-Holstein), and the first place in Germany." Force, or, as he coarsely defined it, "blood and iron," directed by treacherous diplomacy, was avowedly his chosen weapon, which he wielded with ruthless disregard of national obligations and of honorable diplomacy. Trampling on the rights of Denmark as their suzerain, and on the legitimate heirs to the dukedoms, he with the aid of Austria annexed the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia. By cunning duplicity, after using Austria as his tool in conquering those duchies, he first designedly alienated that power, and then inveigled her into a war which proved fatal to her supremacy in Germany on the bloody field of Sadowa. By still pursuing his chosen end, and still combining force with duplicity which scrupled at nothing that he believed necessary to success, this imperious man succeeded in annexing several German States to Prussia, and in organizing a North-German Confederation, in which Austria could have no place and Prussia was the chief power. When France, instigated by Grammont's folly, Napoleon's vain self-confidence, and Eugenie's jesuitically inspired desire to see her fling her strength upon the Protestants of Germany, forced the new Confederation into a great war, she found that the wary chancellor had not neglected to bring that Confederation into a high state of military preparation. And when the genius of Moltke had led his victorious legions from the Rhine to the Seine, Bismarck brought together the representatives of twenty-five German States in the palace of Versailles, where, on the 18th of January, 1871, the new German Empire was proclaimed. Bismarck's strong arm, invincible will, and unscrupulous measures had triumphed. And on that proud day his imperial master raised him to the rank of prince. By that grand assemblage of princes and dignitaries Bismarck was honored as the man to whose genius the fact of the Empire was chiefly due.

But if there be any who fancy that Bismarck created this new empire without the essential co-operation and inspiration of his royal master, they have greatly misjudged both the character and genius of the Emperor William. The public has heard Bismarck's voice so often, has seen Bismarck's iron hand strike so effectually and frequently, has read so much of Bismarck's personal influence both in the Reichstag and in diplomatic conferences, that it has come to regard him as the Emperor's brain. Even some of the Emperor's admirers have designated him a "crowned sergeant-major." With broader knowledge of facts and sounder judgment of his real character, a writer in the *Spectator* (London), while justly denying him the "wonderful intelligence, various mental powers, and deep insight of the great Charlemagne, to whom many have unwisely compared him," yet claims that "in strength of character, as a whole, he is no unworthy rival to the great monarch of the middle ages." His greatness is seen less in his actions than in his self-suppression—in his unerring judgment of

the men he needed for the execution of the purpose which he had formed at the beginning of his reign—namely, to exalt Prussia and unite the Fatherland—and in his firm, unwavering support of Bismarck, Von Moltke, and Von Roon, in spite of the bitter hatred begotten in many by the first, and the military jealousies which the other two had to overcome in his armies. Moreover, Bismarck's great personality and executive prominence eclipsed the king, whose sayings, if he ever uttered any worth recording, never reached the public, who seldom made speeches, and who kept himself shrouded in the etiquette of his court. Throughout his career William has been content to appear not as the real leader of its startling events, but as a monarch indebted for his good fortune to men immeasurably greater than himself.

The writer in the *Spectator* corrects this false impression. He shows that though the reins of his government and the direction of his armies have been visibly in the hands of his subordinates, yet William has never ceased from the day of his accession to be the master of all around him. . . . There has never been a time when he has not been the ultimate political force—when he could not have dismissed any one, or when a policy directly contrary to his will could have been carried out." Even Bismarck could never bend him to his will by the force of his personality, but could only bring him to a decision by convincing his judgment. Hence this writer very justly concludes that a man who could govern such agents as he selected, who could keep quietly but persistently above such men as Prince Bismarck, Marshal Von Moltke, and General Von Roon, must have had in him much of the true kingly faculty—"rare force of will, rare fortitude of mind, and above all a most rare temperance of judgment."

One consequence of these flattering and probably correct views of William's strength of character is to make him morally responsible for the injustice, the duplicity, the tyranny, the occasional contempt of law, and the despotic spirit of Bismarck's administration. While it demonstrates his right to a large, if not to the principal share of the glory which glistens round the newborn German Empire, it also shadows his reputation with the blame of those immoral measures by which it was brought into existence, and which the honest historians of his reign will feel obliged to regard as the bar sinister in the imperial coat of arms.

Stability is the test of true statesmanship. It is the work which endures that demonstrates the wisdom, if not the greatness, of the designing mind. Napoleon constructed a vast empire which, not being founded on cohesive principles, but only on force directed by military genius, proved to be an Aladdin's palace. Will the German Empire, built so largely on force, share the fate of the Napoleonic Empire? is, therefore, an inquiry which, if not on the lips, is yet in the thoughts of many. The three men who created it must soon be numbered with the dead. Is their work likely to survive them?

When the new Empire annexed Alsace-Lorraine in presence of the known preference of their inhabitants for the continued rule of France, and of the obvious fact that France would certainly seize the first

favorable opportunity to recover her dominion over those provinces, it, as Von Moltke observed, "created the necessity to stand in arms for fifty years to defend the provinces which it had taken so short a time to win." This arming naturally led surrounding States to increase their military forces, and thus produced that reign of force in Europe already noted. Whether, therefore, the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, however defensible it may have been under the law of conquest, was really good statesmanship looking to the future, or whether it introduced into the new Empire a peril to its permanence, are questions time only can positively determine. It certainly imposed a heavy pecuniary burden, not only on the people of the Empire, but also on those of the other States compelled by its example to increase their armies. It thereby made itself the instrument of that popular discontent which is the invariable result of impoverishing taxation, and it placed all Continental Europe in a condition of uncertainty with respect to the question of peace or war, so that to-day all its great powers "stand like gigantic gladiators" armed to the teeth, waiting, yet dreading, the hour of coming conflict.

The situation of the new Empire—in the heart of Europe, with no natural boundaries, and lying between three great powers, two of which are at least its military equals and the third far too strong to be despised—is such as to keep its leaders and people in a condition of anxious unrest. France is at open enmity with it. Russia scarcely conceals her disaffection. The Czar, alienated in feeling by its unfriendly attitude in the Berlin Conference and by its unwillingness to approve his more recent measures in Bulgaria, finds his irritation sustained by the increasing bitterness now common to the people of both nations. It is said to be an open secret that he proposed an alliance of some sort with France, which was only declined by the latter because her most conservative leaders did not feel that she was quite ready for the war which such an alliance would be sure to provoke. It is thought by many that the Czar is restrained from pressing such an offensive alliance, partly by his strong personal friendship for Emperor William and partly by his apprehension lest in that emergency Austria, Italy, and England might be induced to enter the arena in support of Germany. "Russia," says Mr. Dilke, "is very timid about facing a European agreement. . . . She very greatly fears an even less militant demonstration by the four powers." From such a stupendous war even the great Colossus of the North shrinks with more or less of dismay, as it well may, seeing that it is badly straitened in its finances and honeycombed with secret seditious societies seeking the life of its Czar and the overthrow of its despotic institutions. Nevertheless, the possibility of such a terrible conflict hangs like a mysterious and ill-omened cloud over the new Empire. And seeing that this overshadowing cloud is composed of the vapors exhaled from the forcible annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, but for which the Empire might have peacefully set itself to the development of its economic resources and to the cultivation of that national spirit which is essential to the consolidation and perpetuity of governments, especially of representative ones, one is

still inclined to ask, "Was the annexation of those territories a really statesmanlike measure?"

That Bismarck fears a possible alliance between France and Russia, and fully estimates the uncertainty of securing offensive alliances with Austria, Italy, and England, was apparent in his recent struggle with the Reichstag in behalf of the Septennate Bill. Knowing that the Empire might at any time need its full military strength in order to preserve its life, and confident that the mass of its people, aware of its external dangers, would endure a very heavy strain upon their civil rights without openly revolting, he not only brow-beat the Reichstag, but did the more daring and questionable deed of soliciting the pope to persuade the Catholic party in that body to give its support to his military bill. In doing this he necessarily gave great offense to the Protestant portion of the German people. But having faith that their loyalty would, under the pressure of external possibilities, bear even this heavy and humiliating strain, he went far enough in the road to Canossa to gain the Catholic vote in the Reichstag, and thereby secured the passage of the Septennate Bill.

In seeking the intervention of the pope, Bismarck was only following his established policy of resorting to any means, "fair or foul," which he deems necessary to the attainment of his ends. When, as in 1873, the pope was avowedly hostile to the unity of Germany, and sought to strike with an iron hand the bishops who refused to accept the dogma of papal infallibility, the resolute chancellor put strong restraints upon his authority over the German Catholic clergy by his famous "May Laws." When the exigencies of his home policy required the political support of the Center or Catholic party in the Reichstag, he solicited the aid of the pope, who now accepts the unity of Germany as an accomplished fact. For this assistance Bismarck, no doubt, bargained by promising important relaxations of the offensive May Laws in favor of papal authority. Herr Windhorst, the leader of the Center, with his adherents, obeyed the pope and voted for the Septennate Bill. That they did so in opposition to their political judgment seems evident from Windhorst's speech, in which, with biting irony, he said, "The pope is infallible, no doubt, but when he knows what we have to say he will see that he has made a mistake!"

Some phrases in the letters of Cardinal Jacobini, touching this affair, awakened suspicion in the minds of Italian statesmen that Bismarck had procured the pope's intervention by promising to do something looking to the restoration of the temporal power to the "Holy See." Italy, therefore, demanded an explanation, which Bismarck gave at once. The offensive phrases were explained away. They meant nothing. They were written, it was said, "during the illness of the pontifical secretary by an inexperienced hand." Italy was assured in the strongest terms that neither Germany nor Austria, under any circumstances, would regard "the position of the supreme pontiff as a matter calling for their interference." Doubtless Bismarck and European statesmen generally look upon "the temporal power as gone forever, without the slightest hope of its restoration by any means, and that King Humbert was justified in calling the Roman

settlement 'a conquest that cannot be touched.'" If the pope would accept this conclusion, Bismarck might indeed do him a valuable service by proposing some means by which the Vatican and the Quirinal might be at peace with each other. But Leo XIII. prefers posing as a sovereign prince unjustly deprived of his territorial rights to a quiet acceptance of the inevitable, and the peaceful exercise of the spiritual authority secured to him by the people of Italy.

It is difficult to comprehend by what process of thought Pope Leo can persuade himself that the temporal power of the Church can ever be recovered. He is said to be a well informed statesman and an industrious administrator. He is in constant communication with the corps of polished diplomats and astute statesmen who are in the thoroughly organized offices of the Vatican. These gentlemen are conversant with courts; they read the leading journals, not of Italy only, but of the world. They must therefore be well aware that no European power is at all likely to wage war upon united Italy for the purpose of restoring the States of the Church to the sway of the pope. They know, too, that most if not all the cardinals have no belief in the restoration of that power; that the kingdom of Italy has not the slightest intention to admit the sovereignty of the pope to any portion of the city of Rome; and that if it had, the people of Rome, including even the devout Catholic portion of its inhabitants, would strenuously resist it. Living, as the pope does, with such minds to inform him, and with these stubborn facts constantly forced upon his attention, it seems impossible that he can believe that he or any succeeding pope can ever recover the scepter which the popes of other days wielded with no credit to themselves, but with much evil to their immediate subjects, to the Italian States, and through them to other European nationalities. The well informed Mr. Dilke is of the opinion that Leo has no such belief. "Undoubtedly," he says, "the Vatican does not expect either from Italy or from abroad any concession of territory or of temporal power."

Why, then, does Leo still agitate this really dead claim? Probably for the same reason that he pretends to be a prisoner within the walls of the Vatican, when in fact he is as free to pass through the streets of Rome or to travel throughout Italy as he is to ramble in the gardens of his palace. To appear as a wrongly deposed sovereign prince, kept in captivity by the Italian government, invests him with an aspect of romantic mystery which impresses the imagination and moves the sympathies of the Catholic world. Of course, it is a deception. Yet it is kept up with jesuitical pertinacity, because it adds, at least for the present, to his influence, not in Rome nor in Italy, where the deception is too transparent to deceive, but in other nations. In Rome itself it is thought, at least by Protestant observers, to do him injury. In that city the mass of the people who are not free-thinkers, as most of the educated classes are, "can be moved as no other people is moved by gorgeous pageantry. . . . The pope inclosed within the Vatican walls to them is nothing; but a pope making a progress through the streets of Rome in his chariot of state, and attended by the noble guards,

is an embodiment of all they admire and revere. . . . It cannot be doubted that if the holy father had been permitted to make himself visible, each drive he took through the city would have been a triumphal progress. The king and queen would have been the first to pay him marks of reverence, and the spectacle of the popular rulers of united Italy yielding public homage to the successor of St. Peter would have had a result difficult to overestimate." This picture is probably overdrawn. Leo's priestly adherents would most likely be so imprudently demonstrative of their loyalty, so insultingly arrogant in their behavior, as to give offense to that considerable portion of the Roman people who hate the papacy with a perfect hatred, and counter demonstrations might have caused open strifes and have marred the effect sought. It may, therefore, be practical wisdom to forego the uncertain results of such public appearances in Rome for the sake of the influence gained abroad by the imaginary captivity of the supreme pontiff.

Mr. Dilke affirms that "the political influence of the Vatican has risen higher lately than the highest point at which it had stood since the Reformation." One may well hesitate to accept this statement, notwithstanding the breadth and general correctness of its author's information. The political situation in France, Belgium, and Italy is assuredly not such as the pope desires to see it. In Austria his influence is no more noticeable now than in past times. And when Sir Charles, in another place, says that "*the first great interference of the pope in modern times*" was his recent co-operation with the German Chancellor in favor of the Septennate Bill, he concedes that prior to this event the political influence of his holiness had not been a very weighty and recognized factor in European affairs. In truth, he relies mainly on this one fact to prove his assertion. Perhaps he regards it as foreshadowing the purpose of the Vatican to meddle henceforth in the politics of modern nations, by the vigorous exercise of its authority over its adherents whenever and wherever their numerical relations to existing political parties are such as to place the balance of power in their hands, provided they can be made to act as a unit under priestly dictation. But this is only discounting a very uncertain future. It fails to take account of the growth of the spirit of political independence in the people. Recent events in this country have revealed a disposition among Romanists to resent the interference of the pope in their political affairs. And it is unlikely that the voting Catholics of Europe, with their constantly increasing intelligence and sense of right to an independent use of the ballot, will yield with the submissiveness of mediæval ignorance to papal dictation.

The significance of the pope's successful interference in German politics diminishes when it is viewed in the light of all the circumstances by which it was surrounded. In soliciting it, Bismarck, with his habitual disregard of principle, viewed the pope as a convenient tool through whom he might accomplish his end. Knowing that the pressure of the so-called "May Laws" on the Catholic clergy, and through them on their people, was so severely felt as to make their modification desirable to the

Catholic party in the Reichstag, and fearing, possibly, that he might be forced to yield the ecclesiastical claims set up by the State, he was willing to promise their relaxation as the price of its vote for his military bill. But that party was jealously hostile to his measure. As citizens, they felt the seven years' control of the military it gave to the Emperor might be made dangerous to the liberties of the people. Bismarck could neither persuade nor dragoon them to vote for it. Then the chancellor turned to the pope, offering as the price of his influence with the Romanists of the Reichstag to modify the laws with which, in the past, he had restrained his holiness from the free exercise of his ecclesiastical authority over the Catholic clergy. Regardless of the fact that the measure was not in the interests of the people but of imperial power, and of the honest convictions of the Catholics in the Reichstag that it ought not to pass—refusing to see any thing but the recovery, at least in part, of his suspended authority—the pope put forth the required persuasion, perhaps gave his command. His adherents reluctantly submitted, laying their sense of duty to the State at his feet. The hated bill was passed. The May Laws were modified. The pope published a jubilant allocution. Bismarck, by his help, had strengthened imperialism, albeit in so doing he had inflicted a wound on the feelings of the Protestant subjects of his imperial master which, perchance, will be remembered when the Nemesis which treads on the heels of despotism arises to assist the friends of popular liberty in their contest for a government which shall be free, not in form only, but in both form and fact.

The despotic principle incorporated into the administration of the Empire by Bismarck, and openly avowed by the emperor in a royal rescript of January, 1882, can scarcely be regarded as good statesmanship, or as boding permanency to the Empire in view of the demands of the German people for a really constitutional government administered in harmony with its declared principles. In that rescript the Emperor said: "It is my will that both in Prussia and in the legislative bodies of the Empire there may be no doubt left as to my own constitutional right, and that of my successors, to personally conduct the policy of my government." If these words have any meaning, they set up a monarchical theory which, logically applied, is subversive of the right of the people to determine the policy of its government through its legally elected representatives. That Bismarck and the kaiser so understood it was shown by their practical suppression of the freedom of the press by means of numerous prosecutions of editors who criticised the measures of the government for "libels of the sovereign or his ministers." Should the Emperor's successor insist on this view of his imperial right to personal government, is it not probable that some German Cromwell may sooner or later appear who will transform the Empire into a Republic? In nothing, perhaps, have both the kaiser and his chancellor shown their lack of wisdom and foresight so much as in their failure to recognize in the progressive spirit of the times that despotism in the government of intelligent people must be reckoned among the impossibilities of the future.

There are wide differences of opinion among thoughtful European observers respecting the permanency of the German Empire. Mr. Dilke predicts confidently that its existence will be prolonged indefinitely. He thinks there will be no war with surrounding nations to imperil its existence at present, notwithstanding the warlike attitude of them all. "France," he says, "is not going to attack Germany in a single-handed struggle. Germany is not going to attack France." Russia, as already stated, is held back by her apprehension of combinations too strong even for her colossal proportions. With respect to the consequences likely to follow the deaths of the emperor and the chancellor, which in the nature of things cannot be far-off events, he thinks that, as it was in Russia after the death of the second Alexander so it will be in Germany; things will go on after their death as they do now. He looks favorably on the capacity of the crown prince to govern, and sees in Count Herbert Bismarck, the son of the great chancellor, a man very much like his father. He describes him as "a strong and very decided person, knowing exactly what he means to do and exactly how he means to do it." Hence, as the policy of the crown prince must be to preserve the Empire he expects to inherit, and as he will probably find in Herbert Bismarck a man with much of the present chancellor's executive force, Mr. Dilke supposes that there will be little change in the policy and life of the Empire. How long it will continue thus he wisely forbears to predict.

These anticipations, viewed in the light of Mr. Dilke's presentation of existing facts, are assuredly very optimistic, if not somewhat contradictory. With respect to the probabilities of speedy war, they appear to sweep aside two important factors mentioned in his own papers; namely, the caprices of the Czar of Russia and of the French people; either of whom may at any time, and without the introduction of any really new factors into the question, suddenly light the dreaded torch of war. A fit of irritation, a sudden impression that Nihilism may be swept out of existence by the rushing tides of national feeling always begotten by a great foreign war, or an uncontrollable impulse of unreasoning passion, may determine the former at any moment to "let slip the dogs of war." As to the French people, no man can reckon on the direction their spirit of revenge, their desire to recover their former military prestige and their lost provinces, may take. As the inflammatory speeches of Grammont moved them to clamor for the opening of their unfortunate attack on Germany in 1870, so in spite of the counsels of their conservative men who, like Freycinet, fear "that even a successful war would upset the Republic," their present military idol, Boulanger, may so inflate their imaginations with visions of victory as to lead them either to compel their present ministry to obey their will or secure the creation of another. In its present state of mind the French nation is a powder magazine which may be exploded by even a chance spark. Seeing, therefore, that the action of Russia is dependent on the caprice of its sovereign, and of France on that of a proverbially capricious people, it is obviously impossible to reason with any confidence from the tendencies

of passing events to their conclusion. Humanly speaking, caprice is king of the situation; but then, in spite of caprice, "the Lord reigneth," and he can compel even the caprices of kings and peoples to bend to the accomplishment of his purposes.

With respect to the permanence of the German Empire a very different view from that of Mr. Dilke is taken by other well-informed observers. The foreign correspondent of a leading New York journal, for example, says: "The unification of Germany is not complete if its political unity exists. There are wide differences of opinion between the States of North and South Germany, which are bound together only by past success. Bismarck's work is not so solid as it looks to be, and failure in the next great military enterprise will be its ruin."

M. Taine, speaking of Bismarck's, and he might in this have included the Emperor William's passion for the supremacy of Prussia, says: "He underestimates the energy of the national spirit among the conquered, while he overestimates his own prestige at home and in his annexations, where he exaggerates the zeal and confidences of his new subjects." In this M. Taine is sustained by Professor Muller, in his *Political History of Recent Times*, who, writing of the vote both in the Bundesrath and Reichstag, in 1876, which located the imperial supreme court at Leipzig instead of Berlin, as desired by both Bismarck and the Emperor, says, "That the vote clearly showed that jealousy of Prussia was not confined to the governments of the individual States, but also shared by the people at large, and that it was an unfavorable omen for the speedy consolidation of the Empire just in so far as such consolidation signified an increase of Prussian ascendency."

But it must be recollected that the supremacy of Prussia was and still is the cardinal point with both Bismarck and the emperor. With them it is not the Empire, but Prussia, that is first. They love the Empire chiefly because it adds to the glory of what Bismarck calls "My Prussia." That it is bad statesmanship, the offspring of narrowness of feeling in two otherwise great minds, to plant such a jealousy in a newly-created Empire needs no proof. That this jealousy will hereafter put the strength of German unity to the test cannot be doubted by any one who knows the strength and vitality of that bad passion. But whether it will, as many suppose, be the cause of contests amid which this modern Empire "will crumble to ruin," only "God, who sitteth on the circle of the heavens," can foresee.

D. W.

WHAT DOES HENRY GEORGE MEAN? WHAT IS SAID ON BOTH SIDES.

Any movement which involves a change in existing institutions, or which touches vested interests, is sure to meet with opposition. There is much misunderstanding of Henry George's notions, resulting partly from ignorance, but more largely from deliberate misrepresentation. Macaulay said that the doctrine of gravitation would not yet be received if it interfered with vested rights. Mr. George purposes to interfere, through the ballot, with a certain class of vested rights, and for this reason it is difficult to get a fair statement of what he means. We are of the opinion that many of his notions are visionary, and that his expectations of a millennium through land reform are in a degree utopian, and yet we would understand him. The George Party, as the new Labor Party is sometimes called, is an acknowledged power in politics. And that there are grounds for the unrest of the middle and lower classes in all Christian lands there can be no doubt. Mr. George at least proposes a remedy. Others say, "Let us go on as we are, only drink less whisky," which is excellent advice, but old and impotent. Let us then find out what this John the Baptist means.

It is common to hear Mr. George denounced as a Socialist or a Communist—one of those fire-brands who would divide up the wealth of the world, and destroy the property of the rich by giving it to the poor. The opinion of many even well-educated persons is, that he would destroy private ownership and control of land by a general act of confiscation, whereby all titles would be transferred to the government, and land would be held under the old system of tribal ownership. All these opinions are wrong. Mr. George is not a Socialist, and he declines to be classed with them or to co-operate with them. So far from dividing up and distributing property to the poor, he boasts that his system alone recognizes the sacred rights of property. From the doctrine that "property is a crime" he is separated *toto cælo*. He would not even tax legitimate private property, much less confiscate it. Rightful ownership, he says, originates in personal toil. "The right of property springs from the manifest natural right of every individual to himself and to the benefit of his own exertions. This is the moral basis of property."—(*Property in Land*, p. 49.) A man has a right to himself, and to the products of his activity; and whatever property he accumulates by his toil is his by the best and only inalienable title. With such property a man may do what he pleases; and governments have a right to tax it only after having taxed to full rental value that form of property which was the gift of the Creator and not the result of human toil—namely, the land. Mr. George believes that tax on land should equal, or nearly equal, its rental value, always, however, excepting improvements (the improvements, being the product of labor, should never be taxed), and that all such tax income belongs of

right to the public, inasmuch as it is a value which was not produced by the owner, but by the progress of society.

A piece of unimproved land has a rental value only when two or more persons want it; and its value is the highest sum that the demand will enable its owner to get. It is a value, therefore, that has its origin in social needs and progress, and is what John Stuart Mill calls "the unearned increment." But all improvements, of what sort soever, as houses, fences, drainage, etc., being the product of labor, are sacred to him who produced them. The unimproved land, or, as we say, the naked earth, is the gift of God to mankind and belongs to all. In the House of Commons Mr. W. Saunders, when moving a resolution in favor of the direct taxation of ground rents, said that Herne Hill, an estate of 100 acres in London, had risen in value in twenty-five years by $375,000. This increment was the result of the growth of London, and not of the labor of the owner. The land reformers ask us why a large part of that increment should not go, as a matter of pure equity, to the public? On the north end of Manhattan Island there is a point of land projecting into the Hudson. Although still as barren as when the Indians sold it for beads, it is of immense value, and its owners refuse to part with it. Being unimproved property, the taxes are relatively light. Mr. George asks his critics who gave the value to that rocky peninsula? Not the owners, for they have done nothing for it. It is not the product of labor, but the gift of God. The adjoining property has been improved and put to use, and as a consequence has been heavily taxed; but this unimproved peninsula, like the fabled dog in the manger, has done nothing for society, and has shifted its fair burden of taxation on to its neighbors. Where are we to look for the origin of the immense value which attaches to the peninsula? Evidently not to its owners, who have done nothing for it, but to the progress of society. It belongs to those who created it; namely, to society. Such is the theory and reasoning of Mr. George.

It is equally a misapprehension of Mr. George's scheme to suppose that he favors the old system of tribal ownership of land, or that all titles are to be vested in the State. He would not disturb titles. These are to remain as they are, and land would be bought and sold and leased under his system as at present. "We do not hold," he says, "that nations, any more than individuals, can get absolute ownership in land." Alfred Russell Wallace, the eminent scientist, is the president of the Land Nationalization Society of Great Britain, and the objects of that society are "to affirm that the State holds the land *in trust for each generation;* to restore to all their natural right to use and enjoy their native land; and to obtain for the nation the revenue derived from its land."

In his reply to the Duke of Argyle Mr. George said (*Property in Land*, p. 51): "I hold with Thomas Jefferson that 'the earth belongs in usufruct to the living, and that the dead have no power or right over it.' I hold that the land was not created for one generation to dispose of, but as a dwelling-place for all generations; that the men of the present are not

bound by any grants of land the men of the past may have made, and cannot grant away the rights of the men of the future."

The highest title in law to land in the United States is *tenancy* in fee simple. That title is subject to such taxation as the government shall deem right and necessary. The taxation may be increased to a point which would produce a revenue that would exempt all other property from tax. It may be made equal to the full rental value of the ground, and if the owner cries out against the injustice of so great a tax upon the land, the government may answer: "Your deed does not and cannot fix the amount of your tax—that is a matter in the discretion of the State; besides, the values which we collect in taxes on the land, irrespective of its improvements (which are not taxed), were not produced by your toil, but by the general industry and enterprise of the whole community. As matter of natural justice, and also of law, it belongs to the public."

In the *Standard* of July 2, 1887, Mr. George writes:

> We propose to exempt from all taxation that species of property which is the result of human toil, and to put our taxes upon land values, irrespective of improvements. Were that done, the people who are now holding vacant land without using it would either have to use it or part with it to somebody who would.

All this is new to most people, but it is by no means new to those who have made a study of the social problems of mankind. In substance, it has been urged in various forms in all the great civilizations. The basis on which it is now urged is a Christian one; namely, that of natural justice and the brotherhood of man. The argument is simple. If man has a right to life, he has a right to the soil. As fish must have water so men must have land. Separate men from land and they die. Give all the land to a class, and the rest must become their dependents. The evils that lie in monopoly increase to the proportions of a crime when monopoly seizes land. Rack-rent and serfdom are, sooner or later, the consequences of monopoly in land. In a new country the evils are hid, but look at Ireland. Private ownership of land is monopoly of land, and is therefore contrary to natural justice and the brotherhood of man. Thirteen men are said to own half of Scotland. Suppose one of the thirteen should buy out the other twelve, then one man would, under the present system, have absolute control of half the kingdom, and could appropriate its lands to shooting preserves for himself and friends, while the poor were starving for bread. In former centuries the people of Scotland had access to the soil, but now the glens that once sent forth their thousand fighting men are tenanted by a couple of game-keepers. It is claimed by Mr. Arthur Arnold that nearly four fifths of the lands of Great Britain and Ireland, or 60,000,000 acres, are in the hands of about 7,000 persons. In the United States there are single farms of 100,000 acres.

But in point of fact, no civilization ever recognized absolute private ownership in land, and Mr. George does not propose a revolution, but rather a reform along recognized and established lines of progress. The

right of eminent domain, whereby the State appropriates with compensation lands for public uses, such as forts, parks, and roads, is the denial of absolute ownership. The law of the jubilee in the Mosaic legislation only permitted leases of land. All lands alienated from the family were returned at the end of fifty years. "And the land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for the land is mine." Lev. xxv, 23. The Land Acts recently passed by the English Parliament regulating the rents of the tenant farmers of certain parts of the empire are incompatible with the doctrine of private land ownership. The lands of Irish landlords have been practically seized by the British government in the interests of the tenants, and the entire American press, including the opponents of Mr. George, has applauded the seizure.

In 1870 a bill was passed by Parliament securing to Irish tenants all improvements they make on their farms. In 1881 a system of land courts was instituted to fix fair rents and secure fixity of tenure, and the owners are bound to put up with what the courts allot them or get nothing. A few days ago the present Tory government passed a bill still further reducing the rents and increasing the authority of the tenants. A Parnellite member of Parliament has said that this last land bill will bankrupt more than half the landlords of Ireland. It is hardly possible to-day for landowners to raise money on their landed property in Ireland. This may be all wrong, but there is an increasing number of people who sympathize with the saying of the Indian chief Black Hawk, "The Great Spirit has told me that land is not to be made property like other property. The earth is our mother."

Mr. George is by no means a pioneer on this question. John Stuart Mill (in his *Principles of Political Economy*, vol. i., page 295), writes: "When the sacredness of property is talked of, it should always be remembered that any such sacredness does not belong in the same degree to landed property. No man made the land. It is the original inheritance of the whole species. Its appropriation is wholly a question of general expediency. When private property in land is not expedient it is unjust. . . . It is a hardship to be born into the world and to find all nature's gifts previously engrossed and no place left for the new-comer."

Herbert Spencer holds similar views. "Equity does not permit," he says, "private property in land. For if one portion of the earth may justly become the property of an individual, then all the earth's surface may be so held. The world is God's bequest to mankind. All men are joint heirs to it."

Before offering some criticisms of certain weak places in Mr. George's scheme, let us ascertain what benefits he expects to flow from it for the average man. One of the smaller of these benefits would be, that the large class of persons known as landlords, who now live from the toil of others, and are themselves non-producers, would be *liberated* to join the ranks of the world's workers. By this change the parasites would become producers. A more signal advantage would be the cheapening of land and of mining privileges. If unused lands and mines which are

now held for speculative purposes were taxed to their rental value they would be forced into the market. Speculation and "corners" in land would cease. Speculators could no longer hold them, at so high a rate of taxation, and it would be no longer difficult for a poor man to secure a lot for a house, or a piece of ground for a farm. No person could hold more land than he would put to profitable use. The vast areas of land in the West now held by corporations and syndicates for speculative purposes would be released. It is affirmed that more than 20,000,000 acres of Western and Southern lands are held by foreign capitalists. All such land-grabbers, whether citizens or foreigners, would have to relax their grip upon mother earth. Coal and the useful ores, which the Creator has stored away in the bowels of the earth in so great abundance for the service of man, would be released from the syndicates who now control them, and the price would be regulated by their quantity, and not by greed and selfishness. The coal combinations in Pennsylvania could no longer fix the amount of coal that should be put upon the market.

Another gain would be found in releasing toil from taxation. It is claimed by Mr. George that the land tax would be sufficient for all the needs of government, and as a consequence every toiler would be secured all the product of his labor. Industry would be liberated and production increased. The present system depresses industry by heavy taxes, as shipbuilding has been taxed out of existence in the United States; but a tax on land would not decrease the amount of land cultivated, so long as the tax did not exceed the rental value. When Mohammed Ali taxed date trees in Egypt the fellahs cut down the trees, but a heavier tax on land produced no such result. Unused land has at present an insignificant tax upon it, while an adjoining farm, on account of its improvements, is taxed heavily. This is putting a premium on non-production and taxing industry.

Another advantage would be, that the institution of land "booming" would come to an end, and all fictitious and inflated valuations would cease. When land values are crowded up to a point which will leave for capital and labor less than their accustomed returns, a disturbed and congested industrial condition will result; and just here Mr. George finds the primary cause of the recurring paroxysms of business depression.

On the moral aspects of this question we must not enlarge. Christianity has never yet succeeded in reaching the abject poor. Her stronghold has always been the independent middle classes. To reach the poor with the Gospel they must first be made accessible by social well-being. Free industry from its burdens, restore the earth to the people, and poverty would become as rare as excessive wealth is to-day. There is land enough to feed ten worlds like ours. The Mississippi Valley could clothe and feed all the nations of the earth.

Malthusianism, that pessimistic bugbear which arraigns Providence and destroys faith, finds a stalwart opponent in the author of *Poverty and Progress*. Mr. George condemns the doctrines of Malthus, not only on

religious grounds, but from considerations drawn from history and a sound political economy, and one of his best services to sociology is his masterly discussion of this subject. He proves conclusively that there is no cause to dread either an over-crowded world or a starving world.

There is one other point of importance urged by our land reformers; namely, that a land tax can be collected with less machinery and fraud than any other style of revenue. The present system engenders fraud, perjury, and theft. It corrupts the officers of the revenue and the public conscience. The customs revenue leads to fraudulent invoices and smuggling, and the tax on personal property creates perjury and falsehood. But land lies out-doors. It cannot be hid, and its rental value is easily ascertained. The machinery of collection would be simplified, and the temptations to fraud would be reduced to a minimum.

So far on the credit side of this question. Let us now inquire for the debit account. Civilized society rests on the security of life and property. Absolute security for property earned may be said to be the foundation of modern civilization. No community can be industrious if its earnings are not safe. Mr. George proposes to confiscate all landed property (barring improvements) to the State. He has told us that he does not like the word *confiscate;* but that is precisely the word which defines his plan (*con* and *fiscus*, the common treasury), and it is no defense to say that titles of land are to remain with present holders so long as he would tax the land up to its full rental value. There is no advantage in owning a piece of land if the government seizes its entire revenue. This seizure of ground rents does not disturb the security or revenue of other property, but it is the mal-appropriation of a vast amount of property for which, in most cases, the owners paid honest money. It is a bad example in morals for the sovereign State to put before the citizens, and it would not fail to corrupt the public conscience.

For these reasons many eminent publicists, including Herbert Spencer and Mr. Mill, insist that the government shall make compensation for rents thus appropriated. In his *Political Economy*, vol. i, p. 296, Mr. Mill writes: "It is due to land-owners and to owners of any property whatever, recognized as such by the State, that they shall not be dispossessed of it without receiving its pecuniary value. This is due on the general principles on which property rests."

So long as Mr. George refuses to recognize this right of compensation his reform will have uphill work, for he challenges the resistance of the land-owning classes on the ground of self-interest, and of all classes on the ground of fair play. It is to be conceded, however, that *the mode* of land resumption by the State is an incidental issue, and does not involve the question of the justice and expediency of private ownership in land.

In the *Forum* for July, 1887, Prof. W. T. Harris has an article with the caption, "Henry George's Mistake about Land." The first mistake which this critic points out is Mr. George's overestimate of the income from ground rents. By using United States census returns, he figures

"the actual value of all land in the United States, owned as private property, at somewhat less than $10,000,000,000 for 1880. Counting the rent on this land at four per cent., we have less than $400,000,000 per annum, making an average of nearly $8 for each inhabitant, or a little more than two cents per day." This small sum, the Professor tells us, would not bring ease and luxury to those who are struggling with poverty. The annual expenses of the government are about $800,000,000. But Professor Harris seems to overlook the vast increase of production which would result from releasing the lands and mines that are now tied up by private ownership. By the present system, land industries are administered only so as to enrich the owners. Under the proposed system they would be administered by the entire population, in the interest of the entire population; or, to use Mr. Lincoln's phrase at Gettysburg, they would be administered "by the people, of the people, for the people."

Mr. George follows Karl Marx in the pessimistic notion that the rich are growing richer and the poor are growing poorer. Professor Harris shows that this is not true. The middle classes, whose incomes are from $750 to $5,000, have increased since 1850 threefold; the wealthy classes, whose incomes are from $5,000 to $15,000, have increased twofold; while the number of persons whose incomes have been below $750 per annum has relatively decreased, and the average income risen from $265 to $415 since 1850. J. P.

MEDICINE AND SURGERY AS RELATED TO MISSIONS.

"The physician who can minister to a soul diseased can do much good; but one who can minister both to soul and body at the same time is bound to accomplish a more noble work," is an aphorism credited to the *New York Tribune*. It is particularly true in relation to the extension of Christ's kingdom throughout heathen lands by means of educated medical missionaries. It is in perfect concord with the practical teaching of the Lord Jesus, who "went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people." (Matt. ix, 35.) Then, as now, the harvest was "truly plenteous, but the laborers few." In sending out the seventy evangelists, he commanded them to "heal the sick" in whatsoever city they entered, and to "say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you." (Luke x, 9.) Prior to his ascension the apostles received a renewal of their preaching and healing commission. Similar therapeutic endowments were at the same epoch promised to "them that believe"—"they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover." Results were in harmony with obedience and promise: "They went forth and preached every-where, the Lord working with them and confirming the word with signs following." (Mark xvi, 15–20.)

This authoritatively prescribed method of spreading Christianity throughout all lands evinces thorough knowledge of the needs of humanity in the Orient, and in every part of the habitable globe, and indicates the swiftest and surest measures for bringing people of every tongue into the faith, practice, and privileges of true discipleship. Therefore, the greater the progress of medicine and surgery—the more judiciously both branches of the healing art are utilized by missionaries, and the more speedy, always supposing orthodox faith, love, and zeal in spiritual doctrine—will be the approach of the time when Christianity shall be the religion of the race, and the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount the acknowledged guide of all individual and social activities.

Two thousand young men and women in this country, and probably an equal, if not larger, number in other lands, are reported to have accepted the call of the Holy Spirit to missionary labor in foreign fields. Many of them intend to obtain a medical education. Some are in course of training, and others will doubtless feel it to be their duty to seek high medical and surgical qualifications. Preaching and teaching practitioners, overburdened by work, are earnestly appealing for re-enforcements. The door of opportunity opens wide, and that of its own accord. Bright as the promises of God are the prospects of his Church. Earnest toilers in every department of science and art are consciously or unconsciously aiding in the great enterprise. Wonderful as the developments of national life have been within the last century, those of the Christian life are still more marvelous. We expect much greater things in the years to come.

In giving reasons for the hope that is in us of the world's complete evangelization within the near future, one of them is founded in the progress of medicine and surgery during the past fifty years. Dr. R. Burdenell Carter, a recent and able writer, asks: "From what pains which our ancestors were compelled to suffer, have we obtained exemption, and from what maladies, which proved fatal to them, have we the means of protecting ourselves?" The answers to these queries crowd together from many quarters, and are of most interesting and instructive character. The recorded death-rate of large cities is only a partial reply, but one, so far as it goes, that is very satisfactory. Macaulay states that in 1685, which was not a sickly year, more than one in twenty-three of the inhabitants of London died; in 1885 the mortality was about one in fifty. The disciples of Galen and Hippocrates claim that their practice has saved more than half a million lives in England and Wales in excess of the number preserved between 1838 and 1847. In the United States of America the effects of preventive and curative medicine have been not less gratifying. Sanitary legislation has had much to do with these beneficent facts. Improved drainage, improved water supply, better paving and scavenging, the larger removal of refuse, and the comparative prevention of overcrowding, suggested and guided for the most part by Christian physicians and philanthropists, are entitled to great credit. All have been introduced, to some extent, into countries dominated or in-

fluenced by modern Christian civilization. India, particularly, has been benefited by them.

The epidemics and plagues which in former centuries so dreadfully devastated European countries, and which still commit such terrible ravages in heathen lands, have lately been stripped of half their morbid power. Less than fifty years ago scientific pathologists saw that "contagious emanations proceeding from the sick must consist of definite particles, since they obeyed the laws of definite particles and no others; and that these particles must differ among themselves, being in every case peculiar to the disease which alone produced them, and which alone they could reproduce." Local epidemics of cholera were clearly traced back to the use of polluted water; and cases of typhoid fever through contaminated water supply to sewers, middens, and cesspools, and through them to the excretions of infected persons that had been deposited therein. The passage of typhoid poison into cesspools, thence by percolation into wells, and thence, by rinsing milk-cans with the water, to the consumers of the milk, has been clearly established in every case investigated. Protective measures against the contagion of one disease are found to be useless against those of a different nature. Security against any specific disease can only be attained, if at all, through knowledge of its essential phenomena and life-history. M. Pasteur's demonstration of the growth of bacteria in the tissues of the lower animals has enabled scientists to trace some diseases to these minute living organisms, and to conjecture that others originate in similar causes, although attempts to prove it have thus far ended in failure. Much remains to be discovered. Those best qualified to judge believe that the best antidotes to injurious bacteria may be the operation of others of different character. Whatever further researches may elicit, it is safe to predict that they will promote that cautious, reverent, and yet inquiring spirit which is of the very essence of the religion of Christ.

Self-poisoning is shown to be originable in the failure to burn off, by means of the oxygen which enters the blood in respiration, the poisonous substances formed in the body by the expenditure of force in living, and that this poison may afterward spread by contagion, and especially in overcrowded and underfed communities. Typhus, the jail-fever of the Middle Ages, and the sickness of which multitudes of the Irish died after the failure of the potato crop, is one form of this poisoning. The interdependence of all classes in any commonwealth is a lesson taught by experience, as well as by the gospel of grace. The isolation of the sick, the chemical disinfection of their discharges before removal from the room, and the condition and quality of all kinds of food, are directly related to the recovery of the diseased, and to the safety of those who are still well. Diphtheria has repeatedly been produced by drinking the milk of cows suffering from pneumonia or related diseases, and scarlet fever by drinking that of cows with ulcerated udders, the secretion from which has fallen into the pails.

Homely and unpretentious as such knowledge may be, it is of inesti-

mable service to medical missionaries, and greatly augments their power of usefulness. Small-pox, the dreaded scourge of past centuries, has lost its terrors through the application of vaccine. According to Dr. Buchanan, where one vaccinated child dies of small-pox, two hundred of the unvaccinated perish from the same disease. Vaccine thus becomes an instrument of evangelical power. The ability to prevent maladies due to industrial conditions—such as lung diseases occasioned by inhalation of dust, etc., etc.—by adequate methods of protection is another. Knowledge of the alterations produced by or which constitute disease is still another. The invention and use of the stethoscope to ascertain the condition of the heart and lungs, of the clinical thermometer to find the temperature of the blood, of specula for the dilatation, inspection, and treatment of natural orifices, of the various kinds of mirrors for exploring the cavities of the body, of the needle syringe for hypodermic injections, are yet other instruments of missionary usefulness and success.

The confidence of heathen or Moslem patients when once gained seems to be implicit. The use of anæsthetics, which has changed the whole aspect of surgery, only confirms that confidence. In comparison with the rough, unscientific cruelty of old chirurgeons, the present practice is mildness itself. "Death from shock" is comparatively rare. Conservative surgery is leisurely in its movements, and carefully cuts out diseased portions of joints or limbs, that it may leave members possessed of some degree of strength and usefulness. Difficulties from bleeding are prevented by proper appliances, extensive wounds frequently healed by "first intention," and the horrors of hospitalism greatly mitigated. Animal poison, deadly as that of the rattlesnake, may be cultivated in successive patients, and the very air of the wards be charged with the products of decomposition so that they will inoculate fresh wounds, and produce forms of blood-poisoning that frequently end in death: that such is not extensively the case at present is one triumph of preventive medicine. Accurate coaptation, drainage of wounds, soluble ligatures, exclusion of germ-charged air, and the absolute and chemically completed cleanliness of hands and instruments employed, have enormously decreased hospital and domestic mortality. The importance of instrumental purity can scarcely be exaggerated; for "the shoulder of a knife, the eye of a needle, the fiber of a ligature, the finger-nails of the surgeon, or of an assistant, are all places" in which decomposing albuminous matter, which usually swarms with bacteria, may find a lodgment, and from which it may be transferred to wounds. The application of such knowledge in non-Christian lands will not only save innumerable valued lives, but will induce favorable leaning, to say the least, to that science of salvation from spiritual evils which has given birth thereto.

Hidden diseases—such as ovarian tumors—which have made the lives of countless feminine sufferers but long successions of pains and weaknesses, are no longer the despair of operative surgery. Dr. Ephraim McDowell, of Kentucky, in 1809, was the first to reduce the suggestion of his pre-

ceptor, John Bell, of Glasgow, to practice. Lord Selborne calculates that each successful operation adds twenty-nine years on the average to the life of the patient, and that, too, at the age when such life is of most importance to the family and the commonwealth. The faculty of rendering such service commends female medical missionaries to such acceptance in polygamic communities as they could not otherwise obtain. Epilepsy and paralysis, as caused by injuries to or diseases of the brain, are much better understood than in any previous era; and operations involving trephining of the skull and removal of tumor are attended by an unusual degree of success. The ophthalmoscope, bringing living nerves and their blood-vessels into view, and assisted by cocaine, which temporarily destroys the sensibility to pain of the part to which it is applied, is one of the great inventions of the past forty years, and one of the most useful aids to oculists in the treatment of diseased or abnormally constructed eyes.

John Wesley is commonly credited with the saying that "cleanliness is next to godliness." Modern medical science asserts that as prophylactic and curative it is "next" to nothing, but equal, if not superior, to medicine itself. England claims the credit of its application to surgery, and also claims the honor of discovering the circulation of the blood, the functions of the spinal cord, and the reflex action of the nervous centers. The employment of anæsthetics and ovariotomy she concedes to the United States; auscultation and the stethoscope to France, and the ophthalmoscope to Germany. These are the great missionary nations of the world, and by them will all the discoveries and appliances of the Esculapian art be utilized for the subjugation of the world to Christ. Not by the crosier and the sword, but by the teacher and the healer, are the coming triumphs of the sacramental host to be won.

Singularly, and yet necessarily, prominent in the vanguard of the evangelical army are our female medical missionaries. Yet it is but a little while since they were admitted to a practice peculiarly suited to their nature and to the most pressing demands of society, in and out of Christendom. America is acknowledged to be the first of civilized countries to receive women into the ranks of authorized medical practitioners. Miss Blackwell was among the foremost, if not the first, to graduate in this country, and was permitted, after the passage of the English Medical Act in 1858, to register in England. Miss Garrett, better known as Mrs. Garrett-Anderson, was the first English lady-doctor, but did not obtain her license from the London Society of Apothecaries until 1865. Since then fifty-five women have received the requisite qualification for practice in the special medical school attached to the Royal Free Hospital. Sixty-one students are now at that school, preparing for usefulness in Great Britain, Ireland, and India, but more particularly in India.

The facts as to the immense value of medical missionaries are forcibly set forth by those whose acquirements and experience entitle them to speak with authority on this subject. Dr. W. H. Thomson, son of the celebrated author of *The Land and the Book*, and President of the Inter-

national Medical Missionary Society in New York, believes that it is through medical missionary agency that the Church will solve the problem of how to reach the people in the East. The professional healer is an irresistible attraction to them. They gladly press around him. If the physician be a female, the doors of the seraglio or zenana readily unclose to her entrance, and woman by woman is introduced to the Saviour of all. Preliminary labor among the masses of the poor and godless in this and other Christian lands is excellent practical training for future labor in heathen fields. Dr. Summers, one of Bishop Taylor's pioneers in Africa, is a graduate of this institution, under its former title of the New York Medical Missionary Society. At Malange, where he stayed a year, he so won the hearts of the people that they supplied him with thirty-six loaded carriers for his eventful journey to the banks of the Congo, where he arrived on the 22d of December, 1886.

Forty years ago, when Dr. Bradley went to Siam, a great priest said to him: "Have you come with your little chisel to undermine our great mountain of Buddhism?" When eight hundred people were dying of cholera every day at Bangkok the doctor stayed with and ministered to them and their friends. Now all Siam welcomes missionaries, but especially medical missionaries. Royalty and commonalty are alike eager to aid their operations. In Teheran, Persia, the medical missionary, Dr. Torrence, was sent for by the prime minister, whom several native physicians had failed to cure, and succeeded in restoring him to health. Three pieces of land, on which to build a hospital, constituted his immediate reward; but infinitely more than that, in his estimation, is the effect his success will have upon the kingdom of Christ. In China an ill-natured crowd was about to drive a party of missionaries back to the river from which they had landed, but were prevented by a gray-headed man, who said: "Let these people alone, they are good people. Thirty years ago I was sick in Canton and these men's friends took care of me and cured me." In Turkey, Mrs. Isabella Davis, who labored there with her late husband, a medical missionary, says that "she met the women alone, and then she saw their sad faces, for they could not show themselves before men. They came to the hospital, but would never have gone to the church. When they heard the story of Jesus and his love, and that there was pardon for their sins and healing for their bodies, they were quite overcome and said: 'Is it true that he died for women?' Two men came three days' journey to Dr. Davis to get their sight. One was made able to see out of one eye, and followed the doctor every-where, almost worshiping him, and intently listening to the Gospel." R. W.

DR. EDWARD McGLYNN AND THE EXCOMMUNICATION.

Dr. McGlynn has been excommunicated and still lives. He has been "liberated," he tells us, and a vigorous use he makes of his freedom. Before the Anti-Poverty Societies, and on the platforms of the large cities, east and west, he is the popular orator of "The New Crusade," and the champion of the rights of independent American Catholics. His followers cleave to him with a devotion which braves all ecclesiastical penalties.

In 1555 Archbishop Cranmer was excommunicated for refusing to obey a summons to Rome. Father McGlynn has precedents in claiming that he is entitled to trial in his own country, and not at Rome. Luther also was summoned to Rome, and for his refusal the faithful were admonished "to arrest and confine him and his confederates." But the bolt against Luther was launched about a century too late. The people of Germany burned the bull, and protected the Reformer. The revolt at that time gave birth to Protestant civilization, and reformed the Catholic Church. It remains to be seen what benefits are in store for mankind from the revolt of to-day. Dr. McGlynn is a man who seems to unite imperiousness of nature with genuine Christian feeling; a man passionate and obstinate, perhaps, but thoroughly honest and thoroughly unselfish.

Upon him the excommunication will have no other effect than to confirm him in his opinions and conduct, but its effect upon his Catholic sympathizers is more doubtful. The most penetrating conviction in the Catholic mind, even in America, is that immeasurable calamity lies in estrangement from the Church. It is to be expected that the more bigoted, not to say devout, Catholics will drop away from him, and if he succeeds in holding any considerable numbers of his fellow-religionists it will only be because our American civilization has honeycombed the Roman system. One extraordinary and unique feature of this McGlynn revolt is the part which women take in it. His most enthusiastic supporters are women; and it would seem that almost the entire female sex of his large parish are with him in his rebellion against the authorities of the Church. That there will result an organized secession from the Church is in no way probable; but that a leaven of individualism and self-assertion has been introduced among American Catholics, which will go far toward making the American Catholic Church as free as the Gallican Church was in the days of Bossuet, is almost sure. For centuries it was the contention of the Church in France that, while primacy over the universal Church is with the Roman pontiff, yet there resides in the national Churches an independence in many details of self-government and of local discipline; papal prerogatives are limited by canons and decrees of general councils, and by the laws of the universal Church. The great Bossuet and the entire clergy of France proclaimed the principles of Gallicanism in "The Declaration of the French Clergy" in 1682, according to which there was practical independence for

the French Church. Among those principles was one that neither the pontiff nor his legates can hear French causes "in the first instance," and that even in cases of appeal he is bound to assign native judges to hear the appeal. It is claimed by Dr. McGlynn and his friends that by canon law he is entitled to trial in New York in a canonically constituted court, and that only after disobedience to the decree of such a court is he amenable to the powers at Rome. Such a trial has been denied him. The mandate from Rome forbidding his participation in social and political controversies he claims is without authority in Catholic law, and an exercise of arbitrary power. In Ireland bishops and priests are leaders in the political movement for "home rule;" and in Germany the Pope himself has ordered his followers to side with Bismarck in his struggle with the Socialists. But if he has transgressed against the order of the Church, he asks for trial at home, and not at Rome. "You have degraded me from my ministry without a hearing," he says; "you have ordered me to retract my opinions on a social question, and then to go to Rome. Lift your suspension; restore me to my parish and ministry, and I will then consider your invitation to Rome."

The effect of the excommunication of Dr. McGlynn on the new Labor Party, which held its convention in Syracuse on the 17th of August, is a question which deeply concerns the politicians. All loyal Catholics must of necessity keep away from any organization which indorses the land theories of Henry George, for it is those land theories which have brought Dr. McGlynn to all his troubles. For the present, the George party must be confined to Protestants and rebellious Catholics. But the chief significance of the McGlynn revolt is as a religious movement. On the Sunday evening following the excommunication thousands of Catholics and sympathizing Protestants gathered in the vicinity of the Academy of Music in New York to give a welcome to the deposed priest. Dr. McGlynn's speech was remarkable in boldness and power. He was as defiant as Hugh Latimer, and as impassioned as Savonarola. If he echoed to any considerable extent the sentiments of Catholics in this country it would seem that the papacy is doomed in America. He began by an appeal to the authority of conscience. The following extracts we take from the speech, as reported in *The Standard* of July 16:

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is a signal evidence of the wisdom and goodness of the God whom we adore that amid the perplexities of life, the doubts as to the truth, the anxieties as to duty, the fears for the past and the future, the ruthless tearing of the heart-strings as by a malignant fate, there is yet a clear and simple guide given to every rational being that shall lead him safely through the labyrinth to a perfect deliverance. (Great applause.)

That guide is the voice of conscience, teaching men to apply to themselves a universal law that is written equally upon the hearts of all God's children. This is a natural law that necessarily precedes all revealed law. If this natural monitor did not exist within the breast of each of us, then would revelation appeal to us in vain. (Applause). Our God is a wondrously merciful as well as a wise and loving God, and he will never condemn any one who has followed that guide, even though sometimes he may have mistaken the light.

It is the teaching of Christian philosophy, it is the teaching of Catholic moral theology, that he who follows his conscience, even though it be to error, is ever

obeying the holy will of God. (Applause.) And it is the teaching of right reason, of natural religion, of Christian philosophy, and of the theology of the Catholic schools, which I have learned under the very shadow of the Vatican, that the man who sins against his conscience sins against the Holy Ghost (great applause); and that if any power on earth, even though it be he who sits enthroned in the Vatican (applause), commands a man to do or say aught against his conscience, to obey even that man were to sin against the Holy Ghost. (Uproarious applause.)

In the following noble passage he distinguishes between the false and the true Church, and defines the mission of the latter:

It has become necessary to teach you to distinguish between the blunders, the stupidity, the cupidity, and the actual crimes of a mere ecclesiastical machine (shouts of applause) and that ideal Church of Christ without spot, without wrinkle, the spouse of our Lord and Master, purchased with the terrible price of his blood, whose garments are washed exceeding white, whose teachings have fired the hearts and inspired the minds of saints and seers and sages, and have taken barbarous nations from the woods and from their rude huts to civilize them, and make them the greatest nations of the world! It is necessary that we should learn to distinguish between men and Christ, between the allegiance that we owe to the Christian creed, the profound reverence that we owe to the Christian sacraments, and the very limited obedience that we owe to an authority whose only reason for being is that it may build up and not tear down (applause); that it may, in the language of Christian piety, edify and not disedify; that it may convert men to Christ, and not drive whole nations from him (applause); that it may exemplify in every land and age the humility, patience, charity, and self-sacrifice of the Master; that it may teach men in a selfish age to forget themselves; that it may fire them as did the Master with the enthusiasm of humanity; and that it may, in spite of the cupidity of perverted hearts, teach men to be unselfish, and in spite of the passions that disintegrate human society and separate man from man to-day, cause to prevail the magnificent gospel of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. (Applause.)

Dr. McGlynn finds the Church less respected in Catholic countries than elsewhere:

It is a notorious fact that religion is vanishing fast from nearly every part of the world; that men who are naturally religious—as, in fact, all men are naturally religious ("hear, hear," and applause)—are being alienated from the Churches, and perhaps more from the Catholic Church than any other. (Cries of "hear, hear," and applause.) In so-called Catholic countries you will find a peculiarly satanic hatred of religion—pope, bishop, creed, and Church—that you will find scarcely anywhere else. (Applause.) In this favored land of ours the Catholic priest is, as a rule, an honored and influential member of the community. (Applause.) Men not of his communion treat him with respect and with deference. They respect him as a moral force in the community; they are often glad and thankful to be permitted to contribute to the building of his church; they are glad to have his influence in aid of peace, order, virtue, and sobriety. Go to Catholic countries and you find that the gown of the priest is hated as something unclean. You will find that a priest can get all the room he wants in a railway carriage by simply exhibiting himself and his gown and shovel hat at the door of the compartment. It is a remarkable thing that if you want to see real sincere devotion to the Roman Catholic Church you must go to those countries where the Church has been robbed of her benefices, where she has been impoverished, where she has been reduced to something a little nearer the primitive apostolic simplicity, and where she has been largely free from the influence of Roman cupidity, Roman domination, and Roman diplomacy. (Great applause.)

HUXLEY'S LATEST "SCIENCE AND CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY."

While politics and religion are the two subjects in which the majority of civilized society are always most deeply interested, it is no less certain that the relations between natural science and revealed religion are topics of wide-spread and earnest discussion. As it is now, and has been for centuries, so it is likely to be for centuries to come. Science has no more authoritative, lucid, or forcible expositor than Professor T. H. Huxley; and none of his historical expositions is more judiciously considered than that published in the jubilee work entitled, *The Reign of Queen Victoria.**

"The wonderful increase of industrial production by the application of machinery, the improvement of old technical processes and the invention of new ones, accompanied by an even more remarkable development of old and new means of locomotion and intercommunication," is, in Mr. Huxley's opinion, "the most obvious and the most distinctive feature of the history of civilization during the past fifty years." For "this revolution—for it is nothing less"—the world is largely indebted to "physical science, in consequence of the application of scientific methods to the investigation of the phenomena of the material world." How revealed religion has been affected by this wonderful progress is an inquiry of special importance, not to theologians only, but to people of all classes and pursuits. Huxley is not regarded with favor by churchmen generally. Preachers, whose deliverances would be of more value if they were better acquainted with the subjects whereof they speak, denounce him as "grossly materialistic" in his belief, and malignant in his spirit toward Christianity." He, in retaliation, affirms a necessary struggle between science and religion, in which "extinguished theologians lie like strangled snakes beside the cradled Hercules." The two parties make up "a very pretty quarrel." Each is strong in its own domain, and somewhat likely to come to grief when it invades that of the other. The Huxleyan is professedly of the earth, earthy, and deals principally with physics. The theologian is more immediately concerned with spiritual things, through revelation and consciousness. The scientist writes for the public, and as the theologian is a part of the public he has a perfect right to judge how far alleged scientific truths agree or disagree with his interpretation of the contents of revelation. He is never reluctant to point out such solecisms as those of Dr. John W. Draper, who, in his *History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science*, identified religion with Roman Catholicism, and at the same time asserted the necessary friendliness between science and Protestantism, inasmuch as both rest upon the exercise of the right of private judgment. Nor will he be at all unwilling to dispute Professor Huxley's statement, that the arrested

* *The Reign of Queen Victoria.* A Survey of Fifty Years of Progress. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. Vol. ii.

development of physical science in the Middle Ages was due to "the diversion of men's thoughts from sublunary matters to the problems of the supernatural world suggested by Christian dogma." Any philosophic history of Christianity clearly shows that what he calls "Christian dogma" was really Gnostic or heathen superstition. Christian dogma never fails to encourage physical science, and that for the sufficient reason that it furnishes brilliantly beautiful and telling illustrations of revealed truths.

Without attempting any apology for Professor Huxley's flings at theologians, we must concede that he is an honored, if unconscious, instrument in enlarging human knowledge of divine things. Demonstrated scientific truths are invariably in harmony with correct interpretation of "God's word written." Arrogant assumption is not exclusively proper to the interpreter of either nature or revelation. Both are human, and therefore errant. Disagreement is not between the two records of the Almighty, but between the fallible human expositors. As these are gradually led into the knowledge of all truth, the unity of Jehovah's revelations of himself will be more and more obvious.

Despite Mr. Huxley's grievances by mediæval dogmatists, he is generous enough to state that "the schoolmen considered no one to be properly educated unless he were acquainted with, at any rate, one branch of physical science;" and that "in this respect, it is only just to them to observe that they were far in advance of those who sit in their seats." "The invention of hypotheses based on incomplete inductions," he maintains, "has proved itself to be a most efficient, indeed an indispensable, instrument of scientific progress." If this be true as to the lower forms of divine workmanship, why should it be less true of the higher? Christian theology, quite as much, or even more, than the new natural philosophy, is guided by no "search after practical fruits" in the shape of mere wealth. "That which stirs the pulses of all disciples of the latter," Mr. Huxley says, "is the love of knowledge and the joy of the discovery of the causes of things sung by the old poets—the supreme delight of extending the realm of law and order ever farther toward the unattainable goals of the infinitely great and the infinitely small, between which our little race of life is run." "Nothing great in science has ever been done by men, whatever their power, in whom the divine afflatus of the truth-seeker was wanting." "Physical science is one and indivisible;" its "object is the discovery of the rational order which pervades the universe," its postulates "the objective existence of a material world—the universality of the law of causation (that nothing happens without a cause)—and that the rules or so called 'laws of nature' by which the relation of phenomena is truly defined [are] true for all time."

In all this there is nothing discordant with or unhelpful to that practical biblical Christianity which "rejoiceth in the truth" (1 Cor. xiii, 6), and delights to trace law to a Lawgiver and order to a Ruler whose dominion is co-extensive with the universe, to "the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy" (Isa. lvii, 15); yea, the divine-

human Christ, "the fullness of him that filleth all in all." Eph. i, 23. The psalmist voices the reverent thirst for knowledge of the orthodox believer in the words: "I meditate on all thy works; I muse on the works of thy hands" (Psa. cxliii. 5), as truly as does St. Paul his maturest convictions: "To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." 1 Cor. viii, 6. "By him all things consist" (Col. i, 16); and his workings in the designed sequences of causes and effects are like himself, "the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever." Heb. xiii, 8.

Professor Huxley recognizes the influence of revelation in what he regards as the three greatest achievements of physical science, namely, the doctrines of the molecular constitution of matter, the conservation of energy, and evolution, by saying that "it would be hard to overrate the influence of metaphysical, and even of theological, considerations upon the development of all three." Each of these doctrines, so far as it is verifiably sound, impressively illustrates the creative, preservative, and ever-ascendant operation of "the blessed and only Potentate." "Theoretically, at any rate," he tells us, "the transmutability of the elements is a verifiable scientific hypothesis." We are not sorry to know that he holds this belief, quadrating as it does with the revealed doctrine of the "new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness" (2 Pet. iii, 13), and that Christ will "change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself." Phil. iii, 21.

In the following sentence we fail to see any thing "grossly materialistic:" "A living body is a machine by which energy is transformed in the same sense as a steam-engine is so, and all its movements, molar or molecular, are to be accounted for by the energy which is supplied to it. The phenomena of consciousness which arise, along with certain transformations of energy, cannot be interpolated into the series of these transformations, inasmuch as they are not motions to which the doctrine of the conservation of energy applies. And, for the same reason, they do not necessitate the using up of energy; a sensation has no mass, and cannot be conceived to be susceptible of movement. That a particular molecular motion does give rise to a state of consciousness is experimentally certain; but the how and why of the process are just as inexplicable as in the case of the communication of kinetic energy by impact." In other words, the phenomena of consciousness are not identical with transformations of energy, and compel belief in the presence of spirit immanent in organized matter and yet totally distinct from it.

Mr. Huxley knows of no conditions under which life can come from any thing but life, nor do we believe that he ever will. His hypothesis of evolution—that higher forms of animal and plant life are evolved from lower—is probably one that will pass into the category of wild guesses, which he insists have done such royal service to Kepler, Newton, and other great philosophers. Evolution of plan, in the sense that the plan

of a man is higher than that of a mollusk, is apparent in all God's work; but that a mollusk may, through countless ages, evolve itself into a man, is an hypothesis as foundationless as the Ptolemaic theory—that is, so far as we are able to judge of facts. Mr. Huxley retorts on disbelief in his evolutionary hypothesis by a fleer at Genesis as "pentateuchal mythology," and at "the controlling and perverting influence of theology." What theology? That founded on the eventually correct interpretation of the Bible, out of which "new truth" continually breaks, or the theology of the papacy—pontifical or Protestant? The first, so far as hitherto attained, has, according to his own words, and to the affirmations of Draper, powerfully aided the development of physical science. The fact is that true scientific discovery corrects human interpretation, and true interpretation corrects wrong scientific hypothesis. Consciously or unconsciously, seekers of truth in every department are working toward the same end. Thomas H. Huxley, notwithstanding his eloquent irritability, is an invaluable laborer, and nothing is surer than that every truth he finds in the realm of nature will be only a part of that wider, eternal truth revealed in the Scriptures of grace. R. W.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE still has its struggles in regard to the basis of its faith. In the year 1866 the long strife between Orthodox and Liberals rose to its highest point, and there followed a division in the General Pastoral Conference. The Liberals withdrew and formed a special Conference, and the Orthodox formulated a statute in the following words: "In matters of faith the Conference rests on the sovereign authority of the Sacred Scriptures and the apostolic writings as the summary expression of the works and miracles of God as found in the Holy Writ."

This Conference of the Reformed, Lutheran, and Free Churches has now lasted for twenty years, but of late it has much decreased in interest. Many attributed this fact to the narrow boundaries in which it moved, and have felt that more liberty would bring more life into their discussions; and thus in the late Conference an effort was made to drop the said statute. But the majority resolved to retain it, and, therefore, there is no probability for a time of a closer union of the two parties.

The special conferences of the Lutherans and the Free Church passed off in harmony, and the anniversaries of the various Christian endeavors were encouraging and gratifying. The Missionary Board reported the largest income ever received, nearly $100,000. About 200,000 francs were appropriated for a new mission house, 20,000 for a new mission on the Congo, and the deficit, which last year was quite large, has been reduced to a very small sum.

A communication concerning the elementary schools of the Protestants was less gratifying. It has been found necessary to close the normal

school for elementary teachers—an institution that has existed for about fifty years, and has sent out a large number of faithful and capable Christian teachers. The cause is simply the competition of the State. The laicization of elementary instruction has simply abolished the Protestant schools. The normal school has been deprived of the annual stipend so long accorded by the State, and nothing is left but to close its doors. The future will show whether in this way a service has been rendered to the cause of pure education. The authorities are now playing fast and loose with all educational interests, which in fact never know where they stand; each new ministry revises the budget for educational purposes, and sports with the whole matter in any way that will secure the most favor for the moment.

THE SOCIAL TROUBLES IN BELGIUM are becoming truly alarming, and threaten great disaster to the State. The authorities seem at a stand-still in the matter of relief, and are, it would seem, trying to find a remedy in political concessions. The demands of the masses are, suspension of the existing constitution, universal suffrage, a constituent assembly, separation of Church from State, etc. The extension of the right of suffrage to the masses would indicate that the government would give them a boon, but the condition accompanying it, namely, the capacity to read and write, greatly narrows its sphere. The Catholic Church of the country, in its work of Christian love and care has, carefully confined this art to the few. It therefore almost seems as if the clerical ministry were indifferent to the fate of the laboring class, thinking to alleviate it through the Church, and not through the State. It has long been the boast of the Church that it can contend more successfully with these social troubles than any other power. But the present condition of things in that country where the Church has always had the fullest sway greatly belies this assertion. One never hears that the Belgian clergy are endeavoring to sharpen the conscience of the wealthier classes toward the sufferings of the poor, or would train them to a higher moral perception of their duty to the demands of a lower humanity. All the wealthy classes of Belgium, Catholic as well as Liberal, seem inclined to combine to retain all the political power which they possess, and are not the least inclined to soften their hearts toward their poorer and suffering countrymen. They would rather punish with the lash of the scorpion, and starve them into submission, than suggest any measure of conciliation.

All right-minded men must, of course, condemn the revolutionary and anarchical measures of the Belgian workingmen, who can hope for no melioration of their condition in their way; but the conduct of employers, political rulers, and the priests has been quite as worthy of condemnation. In their necessity the people have been misled and mistreated, and while Belgium has been fast growing in importance in the industrial world, its people have been sinking very low in the moral scale.

The Catholic Church, which boasts so much of being the only saviour in social troubles, shows in Belgium just what it is; namely, not the servant

of God, who preaches the Gospel to the poor and the rich, but the representative of unholy desires and the servant of mammon, which does not hesitate to make common cause with the oppressors of the poor and lowly. Of course there are many men in Belgium who are sincere in their Christianity, but their voices are not heard, and they are opposed on all sides. It is far more easy to pretend to practice Christianity than in reality so to do; but the present generation will erelong learn that for all the sorrows in the world there is but one Physician. For such immense industries as those of Belgium there can be no prosperity without even-handed justice; and a state that rests on such a social foundation as now prevails must hasten to its ruin. Every earnest Christian man in that land must see this, but the great trouble is how to begin a reform while that Church is in power which has largely been the cause of the unfortunate situation.

THE EVANGELICAL UNION in Italy does not seem to make a great deal of progress, and we think the wrong parties are blamed for the failure of the plan thus far. It is generally believed that the Free Church is at fault in this matter, whereas the trouble comes clearly from the Waldenses. By a special commission, the two churches in 1885 agreed on a basis of union. This agreement, it is true, was only a preliminary measure, but it was made by the five most prominent members of each Church, and made unanimously, and was to serve as a basis for all other negotiations regarding which they would legislate.

In this statute of union it was distinctly declared by both sides that the name of the united Churches should be, the "Evangelical Church of Italy." In the general convocation of 1865 of the Free Churches this so-called combination statute was unanimously accepted. But the Waldensian Synod of 1866 made striking changes in this statute, and then adopted it by a one-sided vote, as the Free Churches were not represented. To those who knew the relations of the Free Churches in Italy it was clear that this movement would kill the measure, on account, of the inadmissible condition that the combined Church should bear the name of the Waldensian Church, instead of that of the Evangelical Church.

Now what would the Waldensians have thought had the Free Church, on the contrary, coolly rejected the proposition of the commission, and adopted for the union the name of the Free Church of Italy? It was almost superfluous for the president of the commission, Dr. Prochet, to inform the synod that such alterations would render the acceptance of the measure impossible on the part of the Free Churches. These latter are by no means willing to lose their identity entirely by being swallowed up in the Waldensian Church. The name of Union would be equally fair to all; that of Waldensian would be manifestly misleading. to say the least. This movement has caused considerable feeling in Berlin, where the Waldensians often appeal for help, and will generally make their cause unpopular outside of Italy, whence they draw much of their financial aid.

And the matter is made the more grievous because it is presented as

a slight difference, while it is in reality an insuperable obstacle, as the other Protestant Churches in Italy will not consent to be swallowed up in the Church that contains the least aggressive life, and depends for its support so largely on funds from foreign sources.

Now under such circumstances to take the position that the Free Churches are the ones who are delaying the union is absurd. It is not, therefore, surprising that the General Convention of the Free Churches, in their late meeting in Florence, passed the following resolution: "Having heard the report of the special commission regarding the changes made by the Waldensian Synod, and duly considered them, we greatly regret that the union should be delayed by them, as we must remain by the decision of the General Assembly of 1885; and we sincerely express the wish that these obstacles may be removed, and that the two Churches may be united at as early a date as possible." It now remains to be seen whether the next Waldensian Synod will retrace its steps, and make a union possible.

"HAIL, PRINCE OF PEACE!" is the cry to greet the pope on the celebration of his jubilee, according to Father Tosti, the well-known and very learned abbot of the abbey of Mount Cassino, who seems now to rise like the prophet of old, but with the same cry applied to mortal man, and not to the coming Saviour. The peace that the abbot looks forward to with enthusiastic delight is that between the holy pontiff and the Italian monarchy, when Leo is to be borne, according to him, on the shoulders of the entire nation, and when the cry of "*Ave Princeps Pacis!*" will resound from the mouths of thirty millions of Italians. In the words of Tosti, "We shall see miracles at the jubilee of the holy father. Providence will inspire worldly power, and the filial love of an entire nation will offer its heart to the pope as to an invincible rock. We shall see the palanquin of the pontiff borne on the shoulders of thirty thousand Italians. We shall see Leo XIII. borne so high that on looking down he will see no more conflicts or discord. His eyes will perceive the portals of a new realm, namely, the rule over all consciences that have become tired of war and thirst after peace."

These words of the hoary abbot of Mount Cassino, which he sends forth into the land from his lonely eminence, are enthusiastic and full of warmth; but with all this they are nothing more than the voice of the preacher in the desert, and they will find genuine echo neither in the Vatican nor among the thirty millions. If the abbot of the mount had uttered the warning prophecy that the thirty millions of Italians on the occasion of the jubilee would lay at his feet the former Holy See, or even a part of it, this voice would have been welcome, and would have brought to the venerable monk a new dignity. But Father Tosti says not such things; in his soaring words echoes not the expectation that Leo on that grand occasion will find the enthusiasm and the offerings of the heart so grateful that he will abandon the hope of the recovery of the temporal power, and thereby solemnly indorse the situation created by the "occupation" of Rome.

Father Tosti, in his lofty cloister, has hoped for many a day that the Vatican would finally comprehend the expression of a kingdom that is not of this world. But this has been a vain hope. Even Pius IX., who knew the abbot well, once said to him, "You will never be made a cardinal; aye, not even a sacristan." But what of the thirty millions of Italians? When the pope sees the nation at his feet, will he not be overpowered by it? Will his heart not be so deeply touched that he will exclaim, "Children, you have conquered; you shall have peace; I renounce all temporal power?"

A BITTER CRY is going up in France from many Christian hearts in regard to the demoralization of the young. It is claimed that this is largely caused by the godless schools, showing how hard it is for a people accustomed to a union between Church and State to pass over into different relations. The greatest violence is in this way done to the Church, and the Protestant pastors are uttering painful complaints.

Legally, Sunday and Thursday are free in the schools, that the children may on these days enjoy special religious instruction. But the City Council of Paris runs a continual competition with the Church by arranging for these days all sorts of military parades and demonstrations, theatrical performances for the children, visits to expositions, etc., so that their time is in this way entirely absorbed. Thus the young come finally to be confirmed without the least instruction in the Bible and its history. Moses, Abraham, and David are to them unknown names. In matter of morals the children are totally neglected. They have no idea of the fear of God, and are not accustomed to prayer or any religious exercises. As they thus come to their religious care-takers for examination they know absolutely nothing of all those things required by the Church before confirmation.

Thus neglected by the State, the Church can depend only on the influence of the family. But the character of family life in France, especially in the large cities, is, alas! too well known. This sad state of things causes alarm to the Church, and its loyal servants are now making a supreme effort to overcome this modern evil by increased zeal and sacrifice, and are uttering the cry of alarm to parents to open their eyes to the danger.

THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES are being stirred up by the demand for reform. A professor in Breslau has just issued a bulky brochure entitled *Faults in German Universities, and the Means of Amelioration.* His complaints seem to be made in honest frankness, and his suggestions are characterized by perception and good sense. He complains, in the first place, of the looseness in the opening and closing of the semesters. Every German student knows how long it is before the full corps of professors gets into running order, and how soon some of them close their work. In this way it is quite often the case that a full term of work cannot be obtained.

He also complains of a great deal of carelessness in the matter of graduation; many students get through certain studies with very little attendance on the lectures. And again, he calls attention to the inequality of the salaries, and the uncertainty in many cases of obtaining the students' fees which are depended on. He calls also for the more rigorous sifting out of old men, and the advance of young ones with more vigor and enthusiasm, and with less of the professional rut. He claims that as a rule the professors should be pensioned at their sixty-fifth year, barring very exceptional cases of efficiency.

He very strenuously insists on the *liberty of teaching* (*Lehrfreiheit*) as the palladium of the German universities, and would have no teacher interfered with either by Church or State. But a thoughtful man will soon see that this absolute liberty to teach what and as one pleases may be attended with much danger. The German savants have a somewhat romantic idea of this peculiar kind of liberty. We would suggest to the author of the above criticism that he might well have called for a few restrictions on the unlimited carousing and dueling of some of the students.

CENTRAL AFRICA is painted in no flattering colors by a recent German traveler, especially Gaboon and the French settlements in the neighborhood. Gaboon itself is rather attractive in appearance in comparison with other settlements on the coast, but he who would judge of the prosperity of the place by its looks would be much deceived. For nearly fifty years this settlement has existed, and for many years it was very prosperous, but now is so demoralized that a few more government taxes and restrictions will cause the close of the factories and the retirement of the traders.

The French factories are dirty and neglected, and are the picture of sloth and disorder, while the Portuguese are, if possible, still worse. The German and English set better examples, but even these seem to feel that their day has departed. The truth is, that the old system of factories on the coast carried on by certain parties under the shield of their governments has had its fortunes and its day. The advent of the missionaries and the independent traders, who compete with one another and introduce modern modes of trading, has taught the negroes new lessons, and made them more careful whom they trust.

The natives all along this coast have been greatly demoralized by intercourse with the whites, such as they were, and as a result the most of them have been pushed back out of the villages, where are now found in this region scarcely more than a thousand souls. These are a low and abandoned class, mostly; they are deceitful, thieving, and wholly immoral, and totally ruined by the wholesale use of the worst of rum. It is well, indeed, for all this coast that the days of the slave-trade and the slave-dealers are past, for it was fast becoming a desert.

"SAVE THE YOUNG!" is also the cry in Germany. Church and State, and voluntary benevolence, are joining hands to assist in the effort to res-

cue the young from the dangers that surround them. This work must be vigorously done by all classes of the people if hosts of these are not to fall a prey to the thousand religious and moral dangers that surround them. This task has been systematically begun by the spiritual director of the famous institution in Halle, founded mainly in the interest of the orphans and abandoned children.

This good man, whose calling gives him much opportunity to know of the needs and dangers of childhood, brought the matter before the annual convocation of the friends of home missions in the province of Saxony, and a large audience listened to him with rapt attention. The result was that the Provincial Committee took charge of the work, and has issued a call entitled, "Care for the Children," directed mainly to the friends of Protestant youth of the land. The pastors of the respective parishes are invited to take the lead in this effort, and to carry it into schools and families, and wherever, in their judgment, they see a field and pressing need for labor. It is hoped that this appeal may excite many Christian people to find an interest in the movement and give it active assistance.

JERUSALEM is extending her boundary line materially. The heights that extend to the west from the Jaffa gate are being rapidly covered with new structures, that even now extend over a greater space than that of the city within the walls. The Abyssinians believe that they and the Russo-Greek Church alone possess the true faith, and should, therefore, exclusively rule the earth. In the plains of Sharon their two hosts are to combine, their two rulers are there to take the sacrament together, and then to proceed to divide the world between them in order to subject it to the faith.

The tourists of the last season to Jerusalem were more numerous than ever before. They bring money and service into the land, though few of them tarry for more than a week. The pilgrims, numbering about thirty thousand, require a strong police force to keep them in order. The English Protestant bishop is now permanently settled there, and the Church does not require a German bishop in addition. In proportion as means flow into the land the desire to build grows stronger. Russia is still working at its mighty tower on the Mount of Olives, and proposes, it is said, to make it a hundred yards high. If this should be done, this will be the highest structure in the Orient.

THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT is becoming more and more bitter in its endeavor to cut off any accessions from the "*rotten West*," as it sarcastically calls all European lands. Following the ukase which excludes the German language from the schools of the Baltic Provinces, comes another which forbids to foreigners the acquisition of land in Poland. The Poles and Lithuanians of the German Empire are rudely struck by this measure, as well as many Polish Austrian families from Galicia. The Poles of Austria propose to bring this matter before the Austrian Council, but this will do no good, as St. Petersburg is wedded to its idols, and seldom listens to

advice or appeals. The Poles may be thankful if this decree is not also made retrospective, driving out many that are now settled there with business and families. It would not be a difficult matter for Russia to find a pretext for this and the confiscation of their property.

THE JEWS OF ALGIERS must be a hopeless lot. Pastor Krieger, who is now working among these people in Oran, declares that if those in that region are not now converted they never will be. They are surrounded on all sides with New Testaments, but they trample on them. The following incident occurred there lately, according to the above authority: An English society for the conversion of the children of Israel sent thousands of Hebrew Testaments thither. The Church was for days simply filled with boxes. A special messenger was also sent to distribute these books freely among the Jews. But how were they received? The Jews took the books; they even asked for them, but mostly in order to tear them to pieces before the eyes of those who gave them to them. Therefore many of the streets and squares of the Jewish quarters are covered with the leaves, which are trodden under foot!

FROM JAPAN there comes a strange story to German journals, which runs thus: Great excitement has been caused here by the common worship of Buddha on the part of heathens and Christians, on the occasion of the interment of the wife of the governor of Nagasaki in the great Buddha temple. A Christian missionary was not ashamed to devote to the deceased a European funeral discourse, and Christian ladies and gentlemen threw, in common with the Japanese heathen, incense into the burning censer on the altar, folded their hands, and made low bows to the honor of the spirits of the deceased. The English consul was at the head of this company. Only two of those present regarded the protest of a Christian missionary, and refrained from joining in the service. On the following Sunday the English missionary, from his pulpit, raised his protest against this violation of the name of Christ from his confessed supporters, declaring it an insult to all native-born Christians.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

PROGRESS AMONG ARMENIANS IN TURKEY. — Here and there in Turkey an Armenian church has become so liberalized as to listen with gladness to the American missionaries. The priests are the last to receive the pure Gospel; but even they, in some instances, show that their prejudices are not proof against all influences. In Zeitoon, which is in the Central Turkey mission of the American Board, an Armenian priest who has become a leader in what is called the "Lovist" movement—a movement toward reform, begun chiefly under the influence of Protestant teaching—called

on the Rev. Henry Marden, the missionary, and invited him and his helpers to take charge of the preaching services to be held in the Armenian Church Sunday noon. Mr. Marden responded favorably, and preached freely to a crowded audience of a thousand or more on "Repentance." A preacher from Marash, who accompanied him, followed with a discourse on the importance of immediate repentance. The service was three hours long, but men and women, many of whom were of a very rough type, listened intently, and the only restless persons were some Armenian priests who sat near the door. The priest who was in charge of the church expressed his approval of the doctrines set forth by the preachers. Shortly after Mr. Marden was again invited to preach to an Armenian congregation, this time in what is called the "robbers' ward" of the city. The church was packed, and the Moslem governor, judge, and other city representatives were present out of curiosity. Mr. Marden read from a Turkish Bible handed him by the priest, and took for his subject "The Brazen Serpent." The people, many of whom were outlaws, listened with rapt attention for nearly three hours. Writing of the service Mr. Marden says:

> Zeitoon, and especially this ward, has been for generations a nest of outlaws, and a few years ago was saved from destruction at the hands of the exasperated Turks only by the mediation of the missionaries. Persistent efforts were made to turn the prestige we had gained to good account in preaching the Gospel of peace. The missionary, Bible in hand, followed the outlaws to their homes and to their hiding-places in the mountains, with many entreaties and prayers, and though nearly all kept their promises of good behavior, yet, as to spiritual results, it was like sowing seed upon the dry rock.
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> Now there were here in church the "unwashed" of all grades, twelve hundred to fifteen hundred of them. The better class were there too. The priests only were missing. This reform movement has left them far in the rear. The associations of the place and the strange surroundings, though almost bewildering, were peculiarly inspiring as I tried to point this multitude of sinners to Christ and bade them look and live. The opportunity of preaching in this church and to this audience was a rich reward for all the weary climbing in past years over the Zeitoon crags and rocks to sow the good seed.

A remarkable change has taken place in the town. Quarreling, drunkenness, and profanity have almost ceased, and the quiet of a New England town has come to Zeitoon on Sundays. Daily services were held in the mission church, and many sermons were preached in the open air, and not a few conversations had with outlaws by the road-side. The Armenians in Harpoot have opened a school near the mission college, and an order from the patriarch directs Armenians to patronize the school, and not to attend the Protestant schools. The latter have not, however, lost any scholars. The college has four hundred and fifty students. Mr. Robert Chambers, of Erzeroom, writing of a tour he recently made among the villages of the Passen and Alashgerd districts, says he found most cheering evidences in Karazabar, although there is no mission there, of the spread of evangelical doctrines. He writes:

> We were invited to preach in the churches, and were received, not as strangers, but as brethren. The state of this whole plain is peculiar. Our books are read

every-where and our principles accepted. Priests who defend all the rites of the old Church are laughed at and called dotards. The churches are empty. Nobody believes in the existing state of things in the Church, but nobody is ready to make a stand for reform. . . . In one village, where we remained two days, the priest and some of the leading people would not be separated from our company. They came early in the morning and stayed with us till late at night. The priest took his turn in reading and explaining the Scriptures, which, however, he never does in the church service. He got into discussion with the priest of a neighboring town, an old man. The old man defended pilgrimages, picture-worship, intercession of saints, etc., and was scandalized to hear the Protestant view from the young priest's lips. The old man returned to his town in great grief and related the affair sadly to the teachers of the Gregorian school. These laughed at him, and told him the young priest was right. But none of these people have any idea of becoming Protestant. The national spirit is too strong and the spiritual life too sluggish for that.

THE WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY'S ANNIVERSARY.—The anniversary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society this year marked the close of the second jubilee of Wesleyan missions, and the report gives a review of the development since 1837, the end of the first fifty years, the year also of the coronation of the queen. The century of the Society closes with this record of the present strength of the Society's work: 1,959 circuits, 10,919 chapels and preaching places, 2,592 ministers and missionaries, and 430,247 members. At the close of 1836 there were 51 missionaries, 143 catechists and day-school teachers, 51 Sunday-school teachers and local preachers, and 3,196 members. On the same field, together with others since occupied, there are now reported 324 missionaries, 1,825 catechists and day-school teachers, 3,651 Sunday-school teachers and local preachers, and 31,268 members, with 4,097 on trial. This does not include Australia and some of the South Sea missions now under the care of the Australasian Missionary Society. The income last year was $715,910, including $39,610 collected by the ladies' auxiliary. The Society's debt is upward of $53,000. One of the most interesting speeches delivered at the anniversary was by the Rev. G. M'Kenzie Cobban, of India. He said in the old days government officials and others were in the habit of denying that any Hindus had become Christians. But every body now knows that in the Madras Presidency alone there are a million native Christians. The critics admit it; but they say, "Your Christians are but the dust and rubbish of Hindu society." It is true that the majority are from the lower castes. The first missionaries offered the Gospel to the higher castes, but they would not accept it, so they turned to the degraded and oppressed, and they accepted Christ gladly. "Out of the so-called dust and rubbish of Hindu society—out from among those lowest classes, who have had their brains well-nigh trampled out of them by centuries of cruelty, who have had their hearts steeled against the classes above and around them—out of such materials as these God has raised up Christians who will bear comparison with ourselves." Mr. Cobban then went on to speak of the intelligence and character of Hindu Christians. He showed, by government authority and by statistics, the high estimate put upon Hindu Christians, as above Mussulman and Hindu, in intelligence.

"Out of every hundred Brahmans who appear for the B. A. degree there are thirty-five that pass, and out of every hundred Christians there are thirty-six." The Christians, originally from the lowest castes, now come from all castes, from the Chandalan to the Brahman. As to the character of native Christians Mr. Cobban said he inquired of the chief police commissioner of Madras who were the best and who were the worst people in Madras, a city of 400,000 inhabitants. He was told the best people were not the Hindus nor the Mussulmans, but the Christians. If all the people of that presidency were Christians there would be, according to government statistics, twelve thousand fewer criminals than now. Christians have there the respect of all classes, and are trusted where others are not trusted. Said Mr. Cobban:

These are simple facts, which should have their weight with sensible men. There are other points which illustrate what I have said. I find, for instance, that our native Christians are invited by Brahmans to join those political and other associations which are springing up all over our Madras Presidency. This shows that the most intelligent Hindus in the country feel that Christianity is a power which they are bound to respect, and whose friendship it may be well to court for the time to come. And our native Christians in India feel that they must not be second to any class of men in the community; that in every noble movement which has for its aim the uplifting of India, whether it be a social or educational movement, or even a political one, their place is at the very front; and I have no doubt but that they will take it in due time.

Speaking of what has been done for the relief of oppressed village tenants, he said:

In one village I had some ninety or ninety-five ready for baptism, but, as usual, the landowners, finding that the tenants were becoming Christians, threatened eviction and other kinds of distress. Many of them drew back in fear; twenty or twenty-five, however, remained firm. The landlords then came down upon the village belonging to the tenants, plowed every patch of ground, and covered it with huts, so that we might not put down a chapel or school. We had to appeal against this oppression. I thought that the matter must be fought out some day, and I had better fight it out once for all; so I wrote to the collector, the government official, a long account of the whole affair, stating how the ground and rights of the tenants had been interfered with. Those people suffered persecution which sorely tried them. At times the sweat was on their brows as they hesitated whether to go back or remain. But God has kept them firm, and now they are a strong and united Church in that little village. The caste villagers all over South India have generally regarded the land belonging to the non-caste villagers as their own; and if the non-caste tenant has troubled them they have driven him from his house and from his land a beggar. This has been their great privilege. Strictly speaking, they have no right to do this. According to government usage, the caste farmers have no right to persecute the lower caste who are their tenants. But such persecution is a relic of the old days of slavery, and it has been a hard matter to change such a state of things. But our Christians stood firm. The result was that the government issued a charter of rights protecting the lower castes, saying that the caste villagers henceforth could not interfere with the lower castes or their lands on any pretext whatever. That charter of rights, won by the patience of a few Methodists in a little village, is a charter for millions of people in India. Before one month had passed I heard in the collector's office that men in many villages, who had grown courageous, had challenged the justice of the castes in question, and of men above them, and had won their causes in the district courts.

CHURCH UNION IN JAPAN.—The Episcopalian missionaries in Japan, representing three distinct societies—the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society, and the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church—having formed a sort of union between themselves, sent a communication recently to the Synod of the United Church of Christ (Reformed and Presbyterian), and to the other Christian bodies in Japan, inclosing a series of resolutions passed at a conference of the three societies held in Osaka, Feb. 8, and inviting correspondence on the subject of union. The first resolution expresses the desire of the conference "for the establishment in Japan of a Christian Church which, by imposing no non-essential conditions of communion, shall include as many as possible of the Christians of this country." The second resolution named a committee on the part of the conference, including the two bishops, to enter into communication with any committee authorized to act for other Christian bodies in Japan. The third resolution directed that the resolutions be communicated to the secretaries of the various Christian bodies in Japan. Bishop Bickersteth, chairman of the conference, sent the resolutions to Dr. William Imbrie, secretary of the Council of the Synod of the Church of Christ, with copies of two sermons of his own. Dr. Imbrie, in replying on behalf of the Council, called the attention of Bishop Bickersteth to the wording of the first resolution as admitting of two quite different interpretations, and asked whether the Synod was to understand that the Episcopal Conference desired to establish in Japan a Church which shall admit individuals to membership without requiring of them any thing beyond a credible profession of Christianity, or whether the end sought was the establishment of a single ecclesiastical organization, which shall include in its standards of doctrine and government nothing but what is essential to constitute a true Church of Christ. With the sentiment of the first interpretation, wrote Dr. Imbrie, the council is in hearty accord. The second interpretation commits nobody. It might be adopted by a college of cardinals. All turns upon the meaning attached to the word "essential." Referring to Bishop Bickersteth's sermons accompanying the resolutions, Dr. Imbrie finds that they treat as among "essentials" the episcopal form of government, the rite of confirmation, and the sacraments, and he asks whether the bishops and clergy of the Osaka Conference regard the episcopate as an "essential," whether they acknowledge the Presbyterian Church as a true Church of Christ, and whether they recognize the validity of Presbyterian ordination, and whether they would receive the sacrament at the hands of Presbyterian ministers. He reminds the Episcopal Committee that, while the Synod has appointed a committee of conference, there can be no meeting except upon terms of absolute ecclesiastical equality. The Episcopal Committee made reply as follows:

We desire to draw your attention to the fact that the resolution of our Osaka Conference refers to *Japan;* to the formation of a *Japanese* Church; that we are looking to the future and not to the past. Our expressed desire is the formation of a Church in this land which shall include the Japanese Christians connected

both with yourselves and ourselves. May we not hope that this may be accomplished if we can meet together with a readiness on both sides to seek this end?

We are not ignorant of the grave ecclesiastical and other difficulties involved, but we hope that, through the aid of God's Holy Spirit, we may in mutual conference discover some means of solving them, at least for this land.

The correspondence closes with a letter from Dr. Imbrie expressing regret that no answer has been returned to the inquiries raised by the Council's former communication. If the Episcopal Committee can accept the terms proposed by the Council, namely, treat the episcopate as non-essential, and recognize the validity of Presbyterian ordination and organization, the committee of the United Church of Christ will be glad to meet them. This practically ends the effort at union in this direction.

Union, however, is making progress in other directions. A basis of union has been agreed upon between the Synod of the Church of Christ, which already unites three denominations, and the Congregational Churches. This basis, from which is to be elaborated an ecclesiastical system and doctrinal standards, according to the lines agreed upon, has been approved both by the Synod and Conference of Congregational Churches, and each body has appointed a committee to work out details of government and doctrine. When this work is completed it is to be submitted for ratification to the Congregational Churches and the Synod. If approved by both the union will be consummated. On the question of doctrine there was no great difficulty in agreeing upon the basis. The real difficulty came in settling upon the character of the polity for the united Church. There could hardly be much compromise; either the Congregational or Presbyterian system must be selected, and the agreement was upon the latter. The outline leaves individual churches free to manage their internal affairs, either directly or by a *shokwai* (session); it provides for three assemblies: District Conference or Presbytery, Great Conference or Synod, General Conference or Assembly. The District Conference, which is to consist of one pastor and one delegate from each church within its bounds, is to organize new churches, license, ordain, and discipline ministers, and decide appeals from a session or a church. Three or more District Conferences form a Great Conference, the members of which shall be the pastors and representatives of the churches. It is to have the direction of evangelistic work and decide appeals originating in the District Conference. The General Conference is to be composed of ministers and laymen from all the District Conferences, and is to decide constitutional questions and appeals originating in the Great Conference, and is to have the general care of interests common to the whole Church. There is not to be a system of appeals, but a single appeal only—from the session or church to the District Conference, from the District Conference to the Great Conference, from the Great Conference to the General Conference. Appeal in every case is allowed only to the next higher body, and must there stop. As to the standards, ministers are to be required to subscribe to the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Nine Articles of the Evangelical Alliance, and to approve the Westminster and Heidelberg Catechisms

and Plymouth Declaration for substance of doctrine. The prospect of union on this basis appears to be good, and doubtless the Synod of the United Church of Christ will soon include also the Reformed (German) Church mission, and the mission of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

It is interesting to note that, according to the statement of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the organization of the Episcopal Japanese Christians into a native Church was pressed by the natives themselves. The archbishop had counseled caution and delay in proceeding to organize a native Church. But the Japanese are so independent, and possess in so large a degree the gift of self-government, that "the missionaries found that it was impossible to continue the mission further unless they allowed the framing of constitutions and canons for the native Christians. A synod met," continues the archbishop, "consisting of native Christians on the one side, and on the other of the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society, and of the American Church, who all work together with the greatest harmony. After two days of separate conference they met together and sat continually until they had removed from their plans every thing that was likely to be a bone of contention in the future, and safely provided that they would always be in communion with the English and American Churches; but they saw quite clearly that there were things in our formularies which had nothing to do with them, and that there were others which would have to be supplied to meet their own needs. So now there existed, on the other side of the world, what they called, not 'The Church of Japan,' for it was pointed out to them that the title might give offense to other Christian Churches working there, and also to the civil government; and so, with their wonted ingenuity, they did not call themselves 'The Church of Japan,' nor 'The Japanese Church,' but, according to the perfectly understood grammar of their own tongue, 'Japan Church.'"

The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions hopes to reach the million dollar line. The General Assembly recommended that this amount be raised this year, partly for the purpose of clearing away the debt of the Board and partly for the benefit of the missions, which have suffered somewhat the past two or three years for want of larger means. The Assembly took advanced ground in its deliverance on the subject of union presbyteries in foreign fields. This deliverance declares that in order to build up independent national Churches in foreign fields, holding to the Reformed doctrine and Presbyterian polity, the more complete identification of the missionaries of the Church with native ministers and churches is of vital importance, and needs to be pressed; that where union presbyteries can be formed the further organization of presbyteries in connection with the Assembly should be discouraged; that missionaries should become full members of union presbyteries so far as possible, and sever their connection with home presbyteries.

As a Result of the establishment of mission stations at Bandawe and Angoniland on or near Lake Nyassa great changes have been wrought in the life of the people. Thousands have gathered about the two stations, because of the safety assured them, and settled down to a quiet life. Formerly they were warriors, particularly the Angoni, and lived by plundering other tribes. They say the missionaries have made them cowards, for they dare not go out and plunder as they used to do. They have great respect for the missionaries, but they will not acknowledge God.

The English Baptist Missionary Society has twenty-two missionaries on the Congo, and has not lost one the past year. Most of them write that they never had better health. The society has three stations on the Lower Congo, including San Salvador, and two on the Upper Congo. The Congo mission has a strong hold upon the Baptists of England. Responses to appeals for funds for it are always prompt and cordial, and the struggling and obscure give as freely and gladly as the more favored.

Dr. J. W. Lambuth, of the mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Japan, writing of a remarkable awakening in Hiroshima, describes a very interesting scene in the mission church in that city at a meeting called for the benefit of the probationers, of whom there were forty-eight. After the opening exercises Dr. Lambuth proceeded to question each of the probationers as to their faith and what they were willing to do for the Master. The first man was a physician. "Dr. Sugiye, are you willing to give up your *saké* (wine) and observe the Sabbath?" He hesitated and said he had just begun to practice, and if he refused to take *saké* it would ruin his practice. "Well, that settles the question with you." "Mr. Mito, can you give up your *saké* and observe the Sabbath?" Mr. Mito hung his head and made no reply. "Mr. Sunamoto, will you close up your shop and observe the Sabbath?" Mr. Sunamoto said it would ruin his business to do that. "Mr. Ijinia, will you give up all and follow Christ?" Mr. Ijinia said he had determined so to do many days ago. After Dr. Lambuth had gone through the list in this way with some very hearty responses, a local preacher from Tokio prayed most fervently for the doctor and those who could not give up all for Christ. Dr. Sugiye then arose and said: "I have for a long while hesitated about this matter, but I am determined now to follow Christ even if I am poor. I am willing to give up my *saké*." Then the others got up one after another and solemnly renounced all for the Master.

The Organ of Moravian Missions, *Periodical Accounts*, has a review in a recent issue of the remarkable revival which began in the mission of the United Brethren on the Moskito Coast, Central America, in the year 1881. The mission was established chiefly among the Indians and Creoles in 1849, and at the close of 1880 it numbered about a thousand converts. No special effort preceded the awakening of 1881. The missionaries had faithfully proclaimed the Gospel as a remedy for sin in all the years of

their ministration on the coast, and every year they saw Indians and Creoles and Spaniards gladly accepting the good tidings. When the great revival began, it began in places where it was least expected and at a time when the most devoted and faithful missionaries were absent. It began in a deep consciousness of sin, which seemed to pervade all classes of the population. The cry of all was, "God, be merciful to me, a sinner!" Persons of all ages were prostrated with a feeling of utter unworthiness, little children fell on their knees in united prayer, and the most profligate and abandoned became sincere penitents. A dozen sorcerers, who had been the high-priests of heathenism, became meek and lowly followers of Christ. Those who had long been abject slaves of the drink habit became thoroughly reformed, with no further desire, so they testified, for the cup. "Companies of Indians, working in the forest at a great distance from the stations, were seized in their turn," and entreaties for forgiveness were heard from lips which had never been known to utter a word of prayer. As the Moravian missionaries passed from village to village, in response to calls from every direction, they found "that the finger of God had touched" places which had been lying in the shadow of death. It seemed to be God's revival, without the ordinary use of human agents. The revival proceeded amidst great excitement. The missionaries strongly disapproved of it, but they could not wholly control it. They had not sought to arouse it, they had not expected such a manifestation, and they were careful how they discouraged it. Tremblings, cold sweats, fits, and prostration, followed by great exultation, came upon the penitents. Some had dreams and visions which they regarded as revelations from God. Some excesses were committed, but in the main the converts became steady, sober Christians. The missionaries declined to baptize any convert whose sincerity was not thoroughly tested. The result of the awakening has been the adding of some fifteen hundred persons to the list of communicants, a great increase of zeal in Christian work, and the opening of new stations. Few have fallen away. The natives no longer say, as they used to, "God loves the white man, but not the Indian." He has given them, they say, a special manifestation of his love for them.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

RICHARD W. GILDER, in the July number of the *New Princeton Review*, discusses certain tendencies in current literature apropos of the desultory conflict waged in the literary field between "Realism and Idealism." Mr. Gilder has much sympathy with the realist, and especially with the American literary realist, because his voice is the voice of conviction, the note of the genuine, of the exact. A good bit of petulant wit is embodied in the sentence: "There are skeptics who would say that the present realism in fiction is, in France, a discovery of the unclean, and in America a discovery of the unimportant. The realistic method in fiction is averse to character, does not take kindly to the conventional hero and heroine, nor the elaborate plots, melodramatic situations, or romantic disguises." The author well defines the spirit of true realism in the words: "Let it be reality all the way through; reality of the spirit as well as of the flesh; not a groveling reality, not a reality microscopic or photographic, or self-conscious, or superficial; not a reality that sees ugliness but is blind to beauty; not a reality which sees the little, yet neither sees nor feels the great; not a reality which ignores those social phenomena, those actual experiences of the heart, those natural passions and delights which have created in man the romantic spirit; those experiences of the soul which have created in him the religious spirit, and which are facts of existence certainly no less important than any other." The sum of Mr. Gilder's paper is, that those who pursue both the real and the ideal methods are useful fellow-creatures, and it gives us a new illustration of the old proverb, "*In medio tutissimus ibis.*"

S. T. N. Benjamin in this number turns from his recent studies of Persia to note "American Art Since the Centennial," finding in the establishment of the museums in the great cities, in the change of our art students from Dusseldorf and Rome to Munich and Paris, in the growth of our monthly magazines, in the growing taste for etchings, proofs of great advance and a prophecy of the development of real American art.

S. H. Cobb discusses the theory of prohibition, taking the strong ground that as a remedy for the moral evil of intemperance prohibition is wanting in the first principles of true morality.

In the June number of the *North American* Dorman B. Eaton defends independent political action as a necessity for the purification of politics. A paper of popular interest is that made up from biographical notes by President Garfield on his experience as a lawyer. An article of much value to Christians is that by Dr. Mendes on "Why I am a Jew," which exhibits the ground of the tenacious hold which Judaism has upon its hearers in a very strong and intelligent way. The attention of political students is called by H. A. Gumbleton to the dangers of our lodging-house vote, which is becoming an increasing factor in the political life of New York.

The July number of this magazine has quite an attraction in the opening article by Henry George on "The New Party." It opens with the statement: "The era in American politics which began with the candidacy of Fremont closed with the defeat of Blaine. The Republican Party died at heart some time ago, with the second administration of Grant, or at least with the early part of the administration of Hayes. The growth of the Prohibition Party on the one siue and the Labor Party on the other, and the readiness with which Republicans and Democrats have united in some of the recent municipal elections when threatened with what seemed to them a common danger, show how rapidly the process of disintegration is taking place." Mr. George accounts the prohibition movement a natural effort to bring into politics, in the absence of larger questions, a social matter, but holds that the rise of the Labor Party takes hold of these questions lower down. Mr. George is quite intoxicated by the success of the Anti-Poverty Society's Sunday meetings in New York, forgetting that new movements have always been able to command, when made sufficiently popular by eccentric facts or advertising, similar attention in our large cities.

O. B. Frothingham furnishes the religious article, if it can be so called, entitled, "Why am I a Free-Religionist?" After reading the article, we are unable to see why, unless it be a certain mental twist which compels Mr. Frothingham, wherever he is, to fight alone. Dion Boucicault writes on the "Rise and Fall of the Press," apropos of stage critics, we suppose.

The most noticeable article in the June *New Englander and Yale Review* is by Frederick Alvord on the question, "The Bible: Shall we Take It as we Like It, or as we Find It?" The paper is a strong attack upon the new theological idea that the Christian consciousness is a tribunal before which to summon the Bible for trial. A strong point is made against it in the statement that the lack of uniformity in the deliverances of the Christian consciousness is fatal to the jurisdiction of consciousness in an inquiry of this kind. Dr. Newman Smyth fares not over-well in this paper in respect of the conclusions which he draws in his little work on the *Morality of the Old Testament.* Much praise is given by John Dewey to Professor Ladd's paper upon "Ethics and Physical Science," showing close discrimination between the moral law of the Spirit and the physical morality which has proved so attractive to many, and which, in the judgment of some, affords strong aid to biblical teaching. He declares that "we cannot admit the claims of physical science to be the founder of the ethical system of the coming man. We have to deny it because ethics deals with an end, and there is no place for an end in nature, as confined to space and time; and because, even if there were an end in the universe, this would not of itself constitute an ideal for human conduct; and because science is utterly unable to establish the essential feature of the ethical ideal—its insistence upon the identity of humanity in their relation to it. It is evident that the professor strongly holds that it is impossible

for physical science to formulate a constructive ethics, because the world of physical science gives no ground for morals—no place where the moral life may so much as set its foot. There is a very well-drawn Socratic dialogue by President Hyde in review of Dr. Harris's "Self-revelation of God." The old question of religion in the public schools is freshly discussed by Principal J. C. Greenough. The principal seems to be strongly in favor of teaching religion in the public schools, declaring that our public schools are the offspring of Christianity, and that the schools of Europe, whether Catholic or Protestant, are the offspring of Christianity; and he believes that as sectarian bitternesses are melting away there will be less difficulty in determining what amount of religious truth shall be taught.

The article in this number and in the July number on Christian work in London, both by the Church of England and the Dissenting Churches, reveals a degree of activity and diligence in discovering methods which is very inspiring to workers in America. It is plain that the Established Church is waking up to the advantages of its position, and no longer deserves the criticisms which have been visited upon it as a dead Church. Possessed of the old foundations, having a legal status, and an historical and social influence of amazing force, the English Church seems disposed to compete with the Dissenters for the popular ear; and as the spectacle of a surpliced clergyman holding out-door meetings and addressing himself to the outcast population is more novel in the Church of England than among the Dissenters, it has happened in several cases that larger and more visible results have occurred from their ministry than from the diligent toil of the Wesleyans and the dissenting bodies. We commend these two papers very strongly to all pastors in large cities.

Much space is taken up in the July number with the Andover controversy, which is becoming more and more a purely denominational matter. Thomas R. Bacon, now filling his dead brother's place in California, reviews, in the July number, Mr. Brooks Adams's *The Emancipation of Massachusetts*. Mr. Bacon shows a great deal of the paternal vigor in this critique. Rikaizo Nakasima, a Japanese student of New Haven, has a singularly good paper on the "Via Media in Ethics." This was an essay presented at the anniversary exercises of Yale Theological Seminary, and would do credit to the scion of any one of New England's academic families.

The Reminiscences of his European tour by O. W. Holmes are continued in the July and August numbers of the *Atlantic*, and are altogether the most interesting papers recently given to the public through that medium. Many men might have revisited England after fifty years and have been incapable of observing with the eye of a poet and of a scientific man. The humor which has always been so delightful an element in Dr. Holmes's genius shows no decay in his advancing years. Perhaps his longest stay outside of London was in Salisbury Close, and his reminis-

cences of that most graceful of English cathedrals form a delightful element in his hundred days in Europe.

In the August number he tells us of his experience of London life, and has some sharp criticisms of English snobbery, though he admits that exclusiveness has its conveniences. Students of philosophy will be interested in the article by George Frederick Parsons on the "Growth of Materialism." It is a strong indictment of mammon-worship, but its general tone is not very cheerful. He holds strongly that progress of a genuine character upon purely material principles is inconceivable. The spiritual is as necessary as the material, and progress is artificial and unsound in proportion as the only recognition received by the spiritual is an outward one. With many others he looks upon the devotion to material prosperity in our American life as certain to bring about all the dangers which have marked similar conditions in the history of other nations.

The *Unitarian Review* for June gives the first place to a semi-sermon by Dr. John W. Chadwick on the "Revelation of God." We have seen no article which more strikingly manifests the impossibility of any belief when the foundations of Christianity are themselves sapped. Some one who writes under the pseudonym "Conrad Mascot," in treating of St. Paul's doctrine of the risen Christ, attempts to show the influence of the great vision of Paul on the road to Damascus upon his whole life and writing. The peculiarity of his conclusion is to be seen in the sentence: "The doctrine of the pre-mundane embodied Christ finds no stable support in any certainly Pauline Scripture. The dogma that Christ is the second man is Pauline; that of his pre-mundane glory is Johannine."

We have formerly referred to the remarkably high character, from a literary and historical point of view, of the *Magazine of American History*, conducted by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. The July number has an excellent engraving of the portrait by Copley of Henry Laurens, President of the Continental Congress, and a sketch of his experiences in the London Tower, with several reproductions of old and very valuable portraits. To those who are fond of historical reading this magazine offers more in a year than any other publication of American inspiration with which we are acquainted.

In the lengthening season in which Mr. Gladstone leads her majesty's opposition, he holds to his early studies in Greek criticism and mythology, and appears in the June number of the *Contemporary Review* as a student of the great Olympian Sedition, a study of the rebellion against Zeus. R. W. Dale, the well known Congregational clergyman and *littérateur*, writes in a very kindly spirit of the relations of the Liberal Party and Home Rule, and seems to indicate that the differences in the Liberal Party are not so formidable as to justify despair of their being united in some plan which will relieve the legislative pressure with regard to Ire-

land. Frances Power Cobb writes in her strong and skeptical way of "Faith-Healing and Fear-Killing;" yet her skepticism does not prevent her admitting that there is really such a thing as faith-healing, holding, however, that three fourths, and probably nineteen twentieths, of the stories of cures of the religious class are undoubtedly myths, frauds, exaggerations, fallacies of memory or of reporting; and quite as many of the medical kind, she adds, may be divided between silly self-deceptions and the arrant falsehoods of interested quacks. She makes a very strong point when she says: "If faith and piety and hope so elevate and stimulate the soul as to enable it to dispel disease, then, beyond a doubt, mistrust and pessimism and fear must correspondingly depress the soul, and leave Lucifer master of the situation." She condemns this age as hag-ridden by anxiety. Andrew Lang has a bright paper upon "Literary Plagiarism," coming no nearer a definition of it, as we can see, than many who have written before him. Speaking of his own experience, he says that when he was a freshman he wrote a most unjustly successful Newdigate prize poem, in which he thought there was a good line. Somebody's hands were said to be

"Made of a red rose, swooning into white;"

but he afterward found in Chastelard somebody's hand "made of a red rose that has turned to white." Here was a direct though unintentional robbery. He holds that the plagiarist appears to be a decidedly rare criminal, whereas charges of plagiarism have always been as common as blackberries.

We are very glad to see in the June number of the *Church Review* an article on the Beneficiary Education for the ministry, by the Rev. Frederick W. Harriman, M.A. The paper is strongly in favor of such education, on the ground that the Church must be as wise as the State, which educates its own officers, and declares that underlying all the reasoning against the societies for the help of students is the silent, unconfessed, half-conscious prejudice against poverty. It is evident that those who desire to abandon the name of the Protestant Episcopal Church are not to have it all their own way in the public prints, for in this number the Hon. Hugh W. Sheffey declaims strongly against the change, and attacks Mr. Prince, chief apostle, with great vigor. He admits the possibility of conciliating some Romanists, or Rome-bound Churchmen, by striking out the word Protestant, but he believes its effect will be disastrous in alienating the sympathies of sincere and out-spoken Protestants, and the door of fellowship and organic union with them will be closed and barred forever.

In literary interest *Scribner's Monthly* is the equal of its predecessors—*Harper's* and *The Century*—and in respect of illustration is rapidly approaching, within its own scope, the great merit of those periodicals. Two more interesting papers have never appeared in any magazine than those by John C. Ropes in the June and July numbers on "Some Illustra-

tions of Napoleon and his Times," while the "Unpublished Letters of Thackeray," which have been printed in the last four numbers, form a literary find of the highest value.

The July number of *Harper's* opens with a very noteworthy article on "A Printed Book," under the general head, "Great American Industries," in which the process of book-making is followed from the setting of the type to the marbling and binding, with illustrations of every process. A glimpse into a life not generally known is given in the well illustrated paper, "Cadet Life at West Point." Charles Dudley Warner's series on "Here and There in the South" is not up in interest to the level of "Their Pilgrimage," except in the matter of illustration. More than a glimpse of African life is given in the richly illustrated article on a central Soudan town. Richard T. Ely, who may be said to be rapidly becoming the leading American writer on social questions, studies in this number "The Future of Corporations," and believes, as do all who think upon the subject, that corporations will be brought into greater subordination to public interest, and that all charters for performing the functions of a natural monopoly will be limited to a brief period, with a reversion of the entire property to municipal, state, or federal government, either without compensation or with compensation at an appraised valuation for actual outlays.

The *Forum* for July has perhaps the most important critique on Mr. George's theories about land which has appeared in any periodical. It is from the pen of Professor W. T. Harris, and shows that Mr. George's project would not enrich at all the laboring-men. Newman Smyth, in retaliation or in reply to the article by Professor Patton, "Is Andover Romanizing?" asks in this number, "Is Princeton Humanizing?" and, as it seems to us, with a sharper satirical blade. Park Benjamin, in considering the infliction of the death penalty, advocates the use of electricity instead of the rope. But about the most interesting, because the most painful, paper in the number is that by the Rev. J. O. S. Huntington on "Tenement House Morality," which shows how impossible it is for the ideal of decent family life, and, therefore, of Christian order, to be realized within the precincts of a tenement house.

BOOK NOTICES.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Keats. By SIDNEY COLVIN, in John Morley's *English Men of Letters.* 12mo, pp. 230. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Next to the wonderful boy Chatterton, Keats died the youngest of all the long list of famous poets England has produced, and one of the most lamented. Of humbly respectable birth, orphaned in early youth, with a fair preparatory and medical education, handsome, brilliant, sensitive, pugnacious, yet laughing, laughable, and lovable, Keats was launched upon the world with sufficient inherited income to keep him from poverty, but not enough for independence. There was no recognizable heredity of genius from his ancestry on either side; but his temperament and type of mind, though not manifest in his immediate ancestors, belonged distinctively to his *race.* The Keats family came from the Cornish coast, where the name, though never eminent, is ancient; and Wales seems to be the original home of the Jennings stock—his mother's line—though it has spread widely. Thus his ancestry was from Celtic roots on both sides, and never was Homer a truer embodiment of the Greek genius, nor Milton of the English, than was Keats of the genius of the Keltic race—the expiring Cornish blood from his father, the ardent, picturesque, and sensuous Kymric-Briton spirit from his mother. Put these elements together into the immature, seven-months first child of a gay, dancing, and consumptive mother, and give him a glimpse of classics and mythology in his education, and then kill him off with an uninspiring, unennobling, yet consuming love, and with consumption, at the early age of twenty-four, and we have all the potential elements for the genesis of Keats, and elements which Mr. Colvin should have brought together into crystallization, as a philosophy and psychology of Keats, but has hardly done so. From this base the very essence of Keats's genius was distilled. The immortal opening sentence of his *Endymion* crystallizes his whole philosophy of poetry:

> "A thing of beauty is a joy forever:
> Its loveliness increases; it will never
> Pass into nothingness," etc.

Over and over, in both his poems and his letters, Keats proclaimed it the mission of the poet—and so of himself—to be the seer and revealer of beauty to man, and that not, in his ideal, the highest beauty, the beauty of pure, intellectual truth and moral perfection, nor yet the beauty of the affections glorified by communion with the supernatural and infinite, but the sensuous, Celtic conception of beauty, the beauty of the physical man, of physical nature, the physical universe. It is of the very essence of this concept of the beautiful that it is impatient of moral ideals and purposes. It is the outcrop of the ancient nature-worshiping Keltic genius, as shown from all the past in the Gaul, the Briton, the Kymri,

the Gael, all saturated with the spirit of that anti-Semitic, anti-Teutonic, earth-and-sense instinct, and æsthetics which are latent in a strain of human blood which has given to the world fighting clans and song-singing bards, battle-painting, ditties and dancing, but to which—in profound unlikeness to the Hebrew and the Germanic races—ethics is constitutionally abominable. Of that deep, and wide-spread, and ancient Keltic root Keats is, for the English-speaking peoples, the final and consummate flower—or, rather, a flower that promised to be consummate could it have matured to perfection. Great poetry can only be read with a large and deep intelligence by the aid of history, ethnology, and religion, as well as that of native sympathetic imagination and cultured taste. The poetry of a nation is the blossoming forth of its inmost life, and not merely of the life of the individual poet. Mr. Colvin would have grasped the ethereal and elusive genius of Keats better had he first used this wider net to catch him in. He has given us a thorough and elaborate biography of the person of Keats, and full sketches of the incidental origin, development, and publication of his poems. He has, indeed, overwrought, as we think, his research among the older and the contemporary English poets for the germs and models of Keats's imitation—as though two poets, like two wild-wood birds, could not warble similar strains without being imitators of each other! All this historical part of Mr. Colvin's Keats is well done, though the style is never vivacious, and some sentences are structurally obscure, and must be read twice to get their meaning. The only real failure of the book is in the last chapter, on the "Character and Genius" of Keats. The character is well sketched, and the reader gets a clear mental image of that. Of the genius he gets none at all, only a nebulous shape—

> "If shape it might be called that shape had none
> Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb."

But if Mr. Colvin fails in his attempt to grasp the genius of Keats as an abstract whole, he does not fail to show good analyses of its working in his sketches of the several leading poems as they come along. In fact, these analyses are excellent—the best parts of the book.

It is not easy to form a clear and just conception, as a whole, of a genius so airy, and so early blighted, as that of Keats. The profound and luxurious sensuous beauty and express antipathy to all ethical purpose which pervades all his work, makes it, to a great degree, alien to the deeply ethical and Christian Anglo-Saxon mind; and these traits seem almost to justify the application to his whole work of Wordsworth's curt remark concerning his hymn to Pan, in the first book of *Endymion:* "A pretty piece of paganism!" What would he have said of the "roundelay" on the triumphal progress of young Bacchus through the Oriental world, in the fourth book? But even here, in this unethical and even anti-ethical spirit of Keats's work, is one of the proofs of his power. The dominant spirit in the momentarily fashionable poetry of to-day is this same unethical and anti-ethical spirit—a semi-pagan spirit, the sensuous and

untheistic spirit of Keats, though with scarce a tithe of his æsthetic and imaginative power. But it is characteristic of all imitators to copy the copyable—that is, the lowest and weakest features of an original, and never has this principle been more forcibly illustrated than by the thin and sloppy modern Keatsism.

But let the imitators of Keats bear in mind the last and highest stage of his moral growth, which Mr. Colvin seems but poorly qualified to understand or interpret. During the last and ever-wonderful two years' development of his ripening genius Keats began to be profoundly cloyed with his own engorgement of sensuous beauty, and to see and often vaguely utter glimpses of the vast ethical mission of art and genius—glimpses that foreshadowed a coming fundamental revolution in his philosophy of poetry. It was a late moral development, characteristic of the moral infancy of his race-stock. But had he lived to ripe maturity, he seems likely to have developed an ethical purpose in his work as profound as that of Milton and Spenser, his chief masters, or that of Tennyson, whose youthful work shows so plainly the tutelage of Keats. As it was, he only lived to give those fragmentary premonitions of the coming revolution of his moral and spiritual being which appear in his letters and in some brief poetical passages, and to prove its present reality by making Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying* almost the one book of his last months and days before death. Would that our modern Keatses and Keatsism might realize the same ennobling *evolution* from an infantile and semi-pagan anti-ethicism to the ethical manhood of Christianity and moral obligation!

But, studied apart from the ethical want and hunger of man's moral nature—if it is possible to so study any serious literary creation—Keats, with all his early crudities, is the most gifted seer and prophet of natural beauty in English, perhaps in all, literature. Next to the two volume work of Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton, revised edition 1867, and the Aldine *Keats's Works*, edited by the same gifted author, 1876, Mr. Colvin has no doubt given us here the best view of Keats that we have, and one indispensable to a mastery of its theme. The Appendix is useful. The Harpers' part of the work, as publishers, needs no praise.

The Captain of the Janizaries. A Story of the Times of Scanderbeg and the Fall of Constantinople. By JAMES M. LUDLOW. 12mo, pp. 400. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 1887.

Whatever pertains to the "Eastern Question" is "live" matter. This work is an historical romance, of the same general class with those of Jane Porter (*Thaddeus of Warsaw* and *Scottish Chiefs*) and Walter Scott (*Ivanhoe*, etc.), but it is more strictly historical than these, and shedding light upon the livest question of Europe to-day.

It is not often that a reviewer has time to read through a work of fiction, but we have read every page of this book, and some of it twice. It is, however, very near to a mistake to call such a work "fiction." The great

historical events and characters with which the book deals are too well known, and have been and still are too potential in shaping the world, to be regarded in a fictitious light. The period is the early and middle part of that fifteenth century which closed with the discovery of America. The scene is the wizard realm of all Europe, its south-eastern frontier, where the Old World joins the New, and all lights and shadows blend and dance together. Next in importance to the gift of a new continent to Europe was the loss of what stood for the "Old World," in the fall of Constantinople before the conquering Ottoman Turks, in A. D. 1453. That was the death of antiquity, an event which shook Europe and civilization. It was not, however, the beginning of the Turks' onset on Europe, but far from it. The Turk had conquered almost all south-eastern Europe already. His capital had been at Adrianople eighty-seven years, and the Greek empire, reduced to only Constantinople and its suburbs, was merely an island of Christianity in an ocean of Mohammedan barbarism that rolled from India to Vienna, until at last the surge swept over the island too, and from the Danube to the Ganges all was Islam. Amid the swirl of this inundation lies the story of weird little Albania, standing on her mountains like their crags themselves, and dashing back the ever-rising tide of Moslem invasion for a generation. Even in the soberest history it is a marvelous tale. George Castriot, an hereditary prince of Albania, as a boy, is a hostage at the Turkish court at Adrianople. In violation of hostage law he is made a captive, forced into the corps of the Janizaries (all captive Christian youth), and trained in Mohammedanism, and in all the art of war as practiced by that renowned body that stands in history with the Roman Prætorian Guards, the Egyptian Mamelukes (who were Circassians), and the Russian Strelitzes (shooters), as the four great autonymous military organizations that have ruled great empires. Of this famous ten thousand Castriot becomes the most famous personal soldier, the most sagacious and invincible commander, it ever had; and he is justly ranked by Sir William Temple as one of the seven greatest uncrowned men of history. From his height, as the hero and pillar of the Ottoman empire, the conqueror of every great warrior of his age, recognized even by the Hungarian, John Hunniades, as his master and the peerless soldier of the world, the Albanian patriot and the childhood Christian overmaster the Janizary and the Moslem in him. Then he obeys the call of Albania, quits his last battle-field for the Turk, and flies to his Albanian mountains, there to rule his native rocks, and like them to dash back the myriad hordes of the Moslem, though Constantinople falls and the crescent and scimeter flash to the center of Europe. The Lord Alexander (Iskander-beg, or bey), the name given him by the admiring sultan, is to the Turk, to this day, "a name to conjure with;" the most marvelous name for valor, military genius, and soldierly honor known in Turkish story, despite his treason, as they viewed it. He defeated the Turks in twenty-two pitched battles, always against superior numbers, often four to one, and was never beaten in battle except by his own planning in his last fight for the Turks—that with

Hunniades, the Christian hero, the "White Knight of Wallachia;" and then only in order to cripple the Turks sufficiently to aid his own escape to Albania. But even in this defeat he out-generaled Hunniades. The check which he gave to Moslem conquest made Europe his debtor forever, and anticipated by more than two centuries the final defeat of the crescent under the walls of Vienna by that second Charles Martel, John Sobieski, the "Wizard King of Poland."

As might be inferred from Dr. Ludlow's *Historical Charts*, the historical material of the book is rich, and we may also safely say that the artistic structure of the tale, in plot, narration, character-work, and local coloring, all unite to make it a masterpiece. The two Servian peasant brothers, duplicates of each other, one of whom, captured by the Turks in boyhood, becomes Scanderbeg's able successor as captain of the Janizaries, the other in free Albania, the right arm of the patriot Castriot (whose mother was a Servian princess), and finally marries the Albanian princess, the heroine, the daughter of Castriot's boyish sweetheart, are admirably drawn; and the adventures growing out of their resemblance, while each supposes the other dead, are almost miraculous, but always probable, and always such as to help the right and help each other.

The heroine herself, disciplined in countless adventures, from a shepherd's hut to the Ottoman court, is a noble and glorious model of womanhood, such as no man can study without a higher reverence for womankind.

Here and there in the work the historian gets the better of the artist, but only to condense the story when too long to be told by the actors. We predict that this book will run a good race with *Ben-Hur*. It will interest and instruct mature minds, and furnish an excellent historical and moral lesson for every youth in the land.

Abraham, Joseph, and Moses in Egypt. Being a Course of Lectures delivered before the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. By Rev. ALFRED H. KELLOGG, D.D., of Philadelphia; member of "Victoria Institute," etc. 8vo, pp. 160. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

Egyptology has scarcely attained to the status of a science, though some good progress has been made toward determining certain data from which such a science may be constructed. From the earliest to the latest times the biblical records are more or less entangled with Egyptian affairs, and especially the careers of the three hero-patriarchs named in the above title have large Egyptian relations, and through them the histories of both nationalities are illustrated. In these lectures Dr. Kellogg endeavors, with a good degree of success, to trace out the connections of the Hebrews with the Egyptians; but after his large expenditure of learned labors the amount of positive knowledge attained is not large. Two points, however, are made pretty certain—first, that there is enough in the subject to justify the now prevalent study of the topic, and second, that the boasted chronology of Egypt, going back through tens of thousands of years before the earliest biblical dates, is wholly untrustworthy.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Outlines of International Law. With an Account of its Origin and Sources, and of its Historical Development. By GEORGE B. DAVIS, U. S. A., Assistant Professor of Law at the United States Military Academy. 12mo, pp. 449. New York: Harper & Brothers.

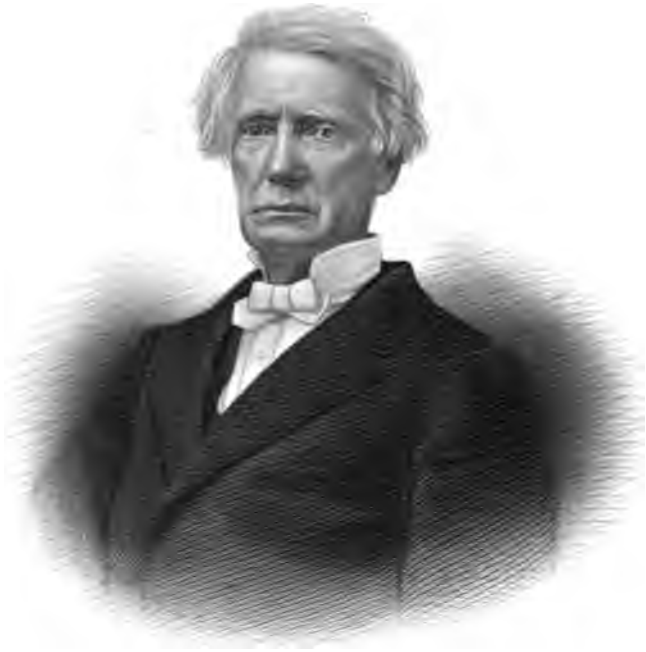
The subject discussed in this volume is one of great dignity, in which every citizen is concerned, and the proper understanding of which is an essential part of a liberal education; its elucidation has also engaged the learning and genius of the present and of former times. The purpose of this work is not to discuss anew the several subjects treated of, but rather to set in order for the benefit of beginners the chief facts and principles upon which International Law is based, and according to which its superstructure is built up. It is intended to serve as a text-book for schools, or as an elementary treatise for private reading, rather than a comprehensive system or book of general reference; and for the purpose so intended the work is well adapted—better, indeed, than some larger and more elaborate works. The style is plain and pure English, clear rather than elegant, and sufficiently forceful to awaken and command attention. As a book for the advanced classes in schools and colleges it deserves to be favorably considered. In our professorial days we sought in vain for such a text-book.

Things Seen (*Choses Vues*). By VICTOR HUGO, Author of *Toilers of the Sea*, *History of a Crime*, etc. With a portrait. 12mo, pp. 235. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This volume is interesting as embodying the author's impressions of certain persons and events from the year 1838 to the year 1875. It is far too fragmentary to be called an autobiography; it is rather a series of word-pictures, brilliant and often revealing a deep insight of human character and historical incidents. Here and there are masterly touches of that genius which has raised its author to such eminence among the writers of this century; but as a whole it is a little disappointing when compared with his other works. From a man so great, when speaking of well-nigh forty years of his life, we expected more, while allowing for all that he has done—his splendid literary achievements.

DEATH OF DANIEL CURRY, D.D., LL.D.

THE Publishers of this Review are deeply grieved at the necessity of informing its readers that the Rev. Dr. DANIEL CURRY, its able and scholarly editor, is no longer an inhabitant of earth. He died at his home in this city, after a brief but severe illness, on Wednesday, August 17, in the 78th year of his age.



Daniel Carey

Daniel Cleary

METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1887.

ART. I.—IN MEMORIAM—DANIEL CURRY.

[DANIEL CURRY was born near Peekskill, Nov. 26, 1809. He was a graduate of the Wesleyan University. In January, 1841, he was received on probation in the Georgia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and stationed at Athens, in that State. His following appointments were: 1842, Athens and Lexington; 1843, Savannah; 1844, Columbus. On leaving this charge he came north, and was stationed in 1845 at Twenty-seventh Street, New York; 1846–47, his station was New Haven, Conn.; 1848–49, Washington Street Church, Brooklyn; 1850–51, Fleet Street; 1852–53, he was at Hartford, Conn.; 1854, again at Twenty-seventh Street, New York; 1855–57, President of Indiana Asbury University, finishing the year at South Third Street, Brooklyn; 1858–59, at Middletown, Conn.; 1860–61, New Rochelle; 1862–63, at Thirty-seventh Street, New York; 1864, for a short time, presiding elder of South Long Island District. In May, 1864, he was elected editor of the *Christian Advocate*, in which office he was continued until May, 1876; he was then elected editor of the *Ladies' Repository*, the title of which was soon thereafter changed to that of the *National Repository;* in 1881–82, he was again in the pastorate, at East Eighty-second Street and South Harlem; in 1883, at Bethany Chapel; in May, 1884, he was elected editor of the *Review* and General Books. While in this office he ended his earthly career on the 17th of August, 1887, in the 78th year of his age.]

SUCH are the historic facts in the career of the great man who has gone from us. But how meager such a record is!—a skeleton without the breath of life.

DANIEL CURRY came of that Scotch-Irish ancestry which lives long, works hard, fights well, reasons closely, loves intensely, dislikes strongly, and has underneath the firm rock of religious conviction. Methodism owes much, in both continents, to this strain, and owes nothing stronger or braver than Daniel Curry. Such an inheritance fits its possessor to take on culture readily, and gives steadiness of aim and industry in acquisition. These

qualities were conspicuous in the young Curry. He read persistently but discursively. He studied with this habit of discursive reading upon him, and had need to resist it all his life, as his maturing judgment saw the value of accuracy as well as breadth. His ancestry made itself visible not only in the qualities of his mind but in his frame and face. Tall, almost gaunt, with square forehead, deep-set and easily kindled eyes, projecting and shaggy eyebrows, a straight and prominent nose, high cheek-bones, a firmly set mouth, a square and well projected chin, his appearance was such as is not easily forgotten. It was the diaphanous veil which disclosed the firm, earnest, aggressive spirit, which grew with his years and the development of his career, to have at length its iron strength softened by age and broadening piety.

It would have been difficult for any one meeting Daniel Curry in his middle life to form any other impression at first sight than that here was a man to be feared and followed. The commander was visible and vocal in him. His mental constitution and its physical agent both gave strength to this impression. From his youth he could value the deftly cutting cimeter, but his own weapon was naturally the broad-ax, which crushes as well as cuts; and many who knew him only in the days of controversy which brought him to the front, and who saw him only while fighting a great wrong, supposed that sympathy and tenderness were foreign to his nature. But as through the granite hills internal heats have thrown up veins of softer rock, seen as penetrating the larger masses only by the observer close at hand, so those who knew him well in his most warlike days detected the affection and tenderness which veined his rugged nature.

His mind was incisive and yet philosophical. He could not only penetrate but explore. He could generalize as well as observe. Indeed, his powers of observation were so great that he missed something of that intensity which is the outcome of a partial view. Had he been a narrower man he would have left larger literary monuments. He made advance in knowledge too rapidly to feel that at any one moment he knew any thing fully, and while others reached what they believed to be the final stages, and gave their work to the world in that pleasing belief, he was so enamored of the many-sidedness of truth

that he felt incompetent for its expression. This gave a vagueness to some of his critical and theological utterances which ill accorded with the most easily visible elements of his mind. But it was only in the range of higher thought that his trumpet ever knew an uncertain sound. There was such a large practical element in him that nothing passed him without awakening his interest. He was no mere dreamer, no abstracted metaphysician, dwelling contentedly amid the cobwebs spun from the involutions of his own consciousness.

An idealist in philosophy, he was a realist in life. A spiritualist of the true sort, almost a quietist in religion, no man among us more strongly insisted upon the axiom of St. James, "Faith without works is dead." This intellectual breadth reenforced his personality and diminished its output. If he had had less of it he would not have so much dreaded authorship in the more personal and independent form. He often said to the writer, "I sometimes think I know too much to write a poor book and not enough to write a good one." It was this which made him chiefly a commentator and essayist. If he had been less able to determine historical and critical values he would not so often have startled the Church by divergences from accepted thought. If he had been incapable of seeing truth from another's stand-point, the chief strain of lamentation over him would not be that a great personality has gone from us. It was, then, the blending of breadth and intensity which marked the success and failure of his career. As an intellect he will live as an influence—as one of the most stimulating and suggestive of minds. He made no advance in philosophy, but he has helped those who will. He has not defined the faith anew, nor shown us where the breadth of God's visible kingdom must be more fully the interpreter of the invisible. He has not so weighed and adjusted the sciences that we can feel ourselves of his school; but no man met him who did not think more broadly for the contact. He gave hints which others will work out. He opened the doors through which others will pass. As an intellectual guide-post no man in Methodism has been his superior.

This is only another way of saying that such great critical faculty as he had was largely of the destructive kind. To know what a thing is not is much toward knowing what it is. A

certain combative element gave him great power in attacking the theories of others. His glance was eagle-like in strength and quickness. He laid hold of shaky pillars as if he delighted to overturn them. Indeed, he may not uncharitably be suspected of a grim pleasure in bringing down flimsy structures on the heads of the builders. This appeared most fully in his speeches. He might appear to be half asleep or reading a paper; but as an opponent neared his close Daniel Curry's eye would shoot new fires, his lounging form would straighten, and, leaping to his feet, the smile on his face meant that he saw where he could hit, and that the pleasure of the conflict spurred him on. But very rarely would the hearer receive the impression of intentional injustice, or of battling for the sake of victory. Daniel Curry came from a race whose blood and training led its representatives to identify unconsciously their own will with the will of God. He had enough of the Puritan and Covenanter in him to love a tilt against any existing order. In the work of John Knox we see God, but we see also John Knox. And as Knox, conscious of the righteousness of his aim, and believing in his cause, had sometimes scant courtesy for his opponent, so Daniel Curry was, especially in middle life, often impatient of contradiction, occasionally overbearing in manner, sometimes contemptuous of an untried foe. It is difficult for any man who is made conscious of his power by success to avoid complacency and self-will. It is equally difficult for one who from youth knows himself to be masterful to keep his sovereignty in modest exhibit when events exploit it. Rare, indeed, is that courtesy which treats intellectual weakness with the consideration due to strength. That in these things Daniel Curry sometimes failed, his most loving friends will admit. But the general impression produced, by method, manner, and man, was that of unflinching courage and downright honesty. Seldom, indeed, did he warrant the judgment that in his work he was thinking chiefly of himself. He breasted too many currents to be deemed a time-server.

Thus much it is needful to remember to understand his long public career of almost fifty years.

Possessed, at the beginning of his work, of culture beyond that of most of his co-workers, it has been said that much of his eminence was due to this advantage. No greater mistake

is possible. Eminence was in the man. He would have come to the front because of himself. Culture and conflict made him stronger, as the oak is stimulated and toughened by the soil in which it grows and the winds which blow about it. But the oak-possibility must be there in the beginning.

In reviewing his career as pastor, professor, college president, journalist, legislator, and critic—in studying his character as acquaintance, associate, friend, and Christian—one wishes for the broadest vocabulary, the deepest insight, and the most facile pen. One is compelled to wish that Daniel Curry might have been his own biographer. Few remain who recall his early career in Georgia as pastor and preacher. This seems to have been, as was natural, a formative and tentative period in study, opinion, meditation, and effort. It bore fruit, but he needed pressure and compulsion to bring on his most fertile moods, and to the last was apt to delay important work. Little remains to us of the earlier period of his career, except that in the presence of slavery he learned to hate it, and with its seductions around him lifted up his voice against it. That voice was never silent until slavery was dead. It was like him to be out of tune with such an institution. He claimed liberty for himself. He valued institutions only as they enlarged and strengthened the individual. To see humanity, black or white, in bondage through slavery was to rouse all that was most fiery, forceful, and religious in his nature. But his experience in the South was had at a time when Calhoun was changing the Southern sentiment as to the wrong of servitude. To that great but perverted mind is largely due the change which came over our Southern brethren in respect of the right and wrong of human bondage. Until he became a force Southern statesmen and pastors used language not very different from that of the North. They admitted that slavery was an evil to white and black, but one inherited, from which they could not see the way of deliverance. Calhoun taught them that it was a blessing, according to the divine order, and therefore a religious, commercial, and social necessity. That he taught masterfully and well needs no further proof than the fact that some ministers in every denomination in the North took their lesson in public utterance from him. Daniel Curry's instincts were superior to such beguilements. His clear pene-

tration made short work of such reasonings. He saw that an effort was being made to use the sanctions of religion to rivet more firmly the fetters of the slave.

Once such a man could be tolerated in the South: but it was before his day. And when he found that his opinion made him useless in his chosen work in the Southern field he left it, to find that he had work for the slave to do in the North from which he sprung.

To those who have no memory of the *ante bellum* days it is difficult to imagine the disabilities under which an "abolitionist" labored. No matter whether he wished to work for Christ as pastor or teacher, abolition sentiment crippled his influence by narrowing his sphere. The writer, with other men of middle age in the New York East Conference, can recall the time when churches rejected pastors who pleaded the cause of the slave, and when fear that colleges might lose Southern students prevented scholars of the highest merit from attaining presidential and professorial positions. Daniel Curry suffered with many others at this time, and it may be said that he never had a fair field for his abilities until the death of slavery through the War of the Rebellion. While never among the rashest of anti-slavery speakers, he had enough of the noble contagion to make him unwelcome in some pulpits and in some posts.

As a college president his career was short and eventful. He had not yet sufficiently softened to make the young his allies, and to command by delicate use of his power the eager assistance of his compeers. No man questioned the strength of his brain nor the goodness of his heart. No one doubted that he intended to bring his best endowments to the institution of which he was the head. But his mental tone just at this period was least fitted to the delicate task of a college presidency. Later on in life the young thought him an oracle and a friend. The crown of age permits its wearer to be both positive and insistent. Dr. Curry was both when neither was helpful in the work he had to do.

Death has removed many who knew him as pastor, but enough remain to give some impression of his labors and to speak in admiration of his strong, clear, sound, trenchant, philosophical, fervent sermons. It was impossible for him to be a popular preacher. His manner was too serious, his language

too lofty, his range of thought too wide, his method too philosophical, and his logic too severe to please a promiscuous audience. He had adopted the didactic style common in his youth, and felt himself a divinely-commissioned teacher, entitled by his call and message to a willing hearing. While there were delightful veins of poetry and humor in this robust man, they seldom appeared in his pulpit utterances. Of his inadaptation to pastoral work in the itineracy he became aware, and no one ever spoke more amusingly of his inability to hold an audience than himself. His abilities were such as to be largely discounted by that itinerant system which has never had a stouter advocate than himself. If he had been early called to a pulpit in a large city, where his personality and intellectual power could have gradually drawn about him a sympathetic constituency—where his natural severity could have been softened by social warmth—he might have become the Leonard Bacon of his city and denomination. But he was, as a rule, unable to hold what he found, while always delighting some of his hearers. It is also to be here again remembered that the sterner side of his nature had the largest manifestation in that middle age which was also the period of his chief pastorates. This element affected the choice of his themes and his administration of discipline, and more than once aroused criticism, if it did not abbreviate his term. But as a preacher on special themes and occasions he was mighty, and never more at home than when preaching to his brethren of the ministry. Choosing some great theme, he unfolded it with scholarly skill, warmed, as he went on, with the heat of his thought and with devotional fire, and often rose to a majesty of eloquence which commanded astonishment and delight. These efforts had small help from oratorical graces. To these he had little claim. His voice was husky, his enunciation not always distinct, his attitudes, as a rule, without grace. But when animated by oratorical fervor his figure became straight, his gestures took on appropriateness, and the manner was wedded to the thought. His greatest work as a public speaker was in debate. He loved it and grew by it. It was a necessity of his nature, and it was no less a part of his education. Whether in the Preachers' Meeting of New York, on the floor of the Annual or General Conference, or in the board or committee

room, he had few equals and no superiors. Others may have won victories from him by a calmer judgment or a more trenchant wit; no one conquered him by richer or fuller expression, larger parliamentary resource, or greater readiness in apt and weighty utterance. The courage, the self-will, the intelligence, the art, the tact of the man all appeared in the strife of debate.

All who heard his brief speech at the last session of the New York East Conference, on the question of formally approving the third or Prohibition Party, were eager to admit that he had never been more vivacious, brilliant, condensed, or cogent. The judgment and tact which sometimes failed him in personal intercourse were in debate at full command. The discipline which he received by contact with younger minds steadily improved his forensic powers. This was shown by greater carefulness in statements of fact, fewer *ad captandum* appeals, larger courtesy toward opponents, scantier use of ridicule. He possessed two very dissimilar powers. He could amplify with almost as much skill and readiness as Bishop Foster, while, under the fifteen minute rule of Conferences, he could condense until, as it was said of Webster, he made his sentences weigh a ton. At moments, when his snow-white head punctuated with nods his energetic speech, no one could deny his right to the title, "The grand old man."

Much of his power as a debater was undoubtedly due to his mastery of Methodist legislation and constitutional history, as well as to his patient attention to all the details of business. At Conference he always sat well in front, where, catching every word, looking at every speaker, scrutinizing every candidate, debating every point of order, he was at all times fertile in suggestion and rich in parliamentary resource. He early perceived, what the mere orator is slow to perceive, that the man who has grasped the principles, knows the history, and has digested the facts, is always the master of the rhetorician. The reward of his patient attention to the details of Conference business was an influence second to none in our parliamentary history.

Strangely enough to those who knew only his sterner features, Dr. Curry was always a favorite speaker at the funerals of his brethren. Some men could not die content until he

promised to bury them. Not always equally happy, he was in general so sympathetic, just, and consoling on such occasions, that when he had finished few were willing to follow him and few were willing he should be followed.

The legislative career of Daniel Curry cannot be understood without perceiving that he was a radical on all questions of personal liberty, and conservative on nearly all matters of polity. I am confident that this will be found to be the key of his conduct. It is granted at once that there are apparent exceptions to this rule, but those who know the man will judge the exceptions to be only apparent.

It is an open secret that his was the most influential mind in forming the plan of lay representation under which the General Conference now works. And yet for years he steadily opposed the admission of laymen to the chief councils of the Church, and yielded only to the overwhelming evidence that the ministry demanded it. In his thought the Church owed its existence to the traveling preacher, who was, under God, the *fons et origo* of the outward life of the Church. He had called the Church, gathered it out of the wilderness, trained it, fashioned it, governed it, and brought it to its glorious maturity. The traveling preacher had founded its Book Concern, originated its Missionary Society, established its schools and colleges, and therefore had earned the right to administer the estate he had created. To admit laymen to a voice in the control of these great interests was to diminish the privileges and importance and imperil the liberty of those who, by the ministerial call as well as by success, were exclusively its legitimate rulers. Hence, he was indifferent to the claim that the laity were the larger part of the Church in numbers and contributions, and were therefore entitled to a voice in her counsels. And there can be little doubt that when the tide could not be resisted he set himself at work to prevent the harm he had prophesied. He lived long enough to see the Church survive and prosper under the change, but to the last rejoiced that the plan—except on the rare occasion of a separate vote—still left the controlling power in the hands of the representatives of the Annual Conferences. He claimed that the principle before asserted governed him in his occasional criticism of episcopal action, and his freely admitted sympathy with the diminution of episcopal

influence. In his thought no bishops in the world, except those of the Roman Church in those countries where the missionary rule prevails, wield such powers as those which have in general been, as he would admit, so wisely and unselfishly administered by our superintendents. That Dr. Curry was jealous of the least increase of their authority, or extension, by custom or law, of their influence, he would have been the first to own. But here again it was the loss of prestige and independence on the part of the traveling preacher that he feared. And when the last General Conference, by the rubric prefixed to the ritual for the consecration of bishops, for the first time officially declared that the bishopric among us was an office and not an order, he felt as if his legislative career had been happily crowned, and whether he inspired it or not, rejoiced over it as over his own child.

Thus also is light thrown upon his occasional manner toward the bishops when presiding in his own Conference. The least suspicion on his part of the undue exercise of influence and authority would provoke an appeal from a decision, or a stout insistence on what he deemed his privilege as a traveling preacher. Those who knew him well were aware that there lay on his heart, as a needed legislative change, the increase of the authority and dignity of the Annual Conference. He had, in private conversation, committed himself, in view of the fact that our General Conference has but one house, and was likely therefore to legislate under impulses of strong feeling, to the plan of proceeding in the supreme body by overture from the Annual Conferences, after the Presbyterian manner, especially if laymen should be admitted to the Annual Conference. In comparison with this all other changes seemed to him insignificant.

Whether right or wrong, he connected the itinerant system with the liberty of the traveling preacher, and, for the first time, we believe, did, in the last General Conference, turn his face toward a more elastic policy. Then he dreaded the invasion of ministerial authority from the side of the pew, believing that, with the considerable extension of the term of service or the removal of the limitation, the preacher would pass from the restricted rule of the bishops to the unrestricted control of the people.

But if he sometimes criticised with rigor, in speeches and writings of a more than subacid flavor, features in our polity which might be misused, there can be no question of his general loyalty to our system. He defended it eagerly before the outside world, and largely kept his criticisms for the family circle. And, in passing, it may be remembered that it was his voice which presented the report on the election of a missionary bishop for Africa; and if, in the whirlwind of emotion which the opportunity to recognize the apostolic labors of William Taylor created, he found himself carried beyond his intention, he was large enough to hope and believe that God used him to build better than he knew. But his reverence for law, as well as his deliberate study of legal questions, led him to write that conservative article on the stirring question of Bishop Taylor's status which has already appeared in these pages.

While speaking of his legislative divergences from many of his brethren, it may be well to allude to his theological divergences. While unable to follow him in some of his statements, the brethren of his own Conference could not doubt his substantial orthodoxy. He certainly, on some occasions, gave reason for suspecting a greater sympathy with the doctrine of divine sovereignty, as stated by Calvinists, than is warranted by our authorities or the general consensus of the Church; but his statement of human freedom and responsibility, if given at the same time, would have furnished a considerable corrective. So also his conversational expositions of the guilt of original sin would startle those who look upon the results of Adam's transgression upon his posterity rather as deprivation than depravation; rather as inherited disability than personal guilt. Here the tendency of the Scotch-Irish mind to Calvinistic doctrine would seem to be apparent. In his leaning toward a spiritual resurrection, as well as in his recently published views on doctrinal changes, he indicated a further movement of his intellect from adhesion to accustomed statement. But it is only justice to remember that Daniel Curry sometimes experimented intellectually. He loved to whet his broadax on the hatchets of his brethren. He believed in free thought as the safeguard against formalism in orthodoxy. He liked to put things in such a way as to provoke dissent and

criticism. He was eager that Methodism should not be stagnant in thought. He felt that Methodism, however true to the old faith, was not sufficiently considerate of that class of sincere doubters and sincere believers who are drawn together by doctrinal difficulties. He feared that the atmosphere of doctrinal repose so characteristic of Methodism might produce intellectual torpidity. He mourned over the fewness of doctrinal publications from Methodist pens, and dreaded lest the world should come to think that Methodism had no modern Fletchers and Wesleys to take full part in investigation and controversy. For creedless men and for unthinking believers he had equally small liking. He was anxious that his advancing years should not induce intellectual superannuation. So he tested his powers by making excursions into new fields, forgetting, perhaps, that the modern literature of the higher criticism had not yet been fully weighed and its value determined by exegetical and historical scholars. With these thoughts in mind some of his most peculiar deliverances are to be read.

As an editor he belonged to the waning school of personal journalism. While on the *Advocate*, its readers were apt to look, not at the scope of the paper as a religious family journal, but at what Dr. Curry had to say. He could hardly be called a condensed and pithy writer. Many of his editorials were long essays on doctrine or polity, and have permanent place in his published volume of Titanic "*Fragments.*" His choice of contributed articles often gave evidence that his personality determined the admissions to his columns. When he printed articles advocating views contrary to his own he sometimes interjected exclamations of dissent, or followed them with footnotes which broke their force. Thus at length was born the feeling that the *Advocate*, in his hands, was his personal organ, and not that of the Church. His habit, in this respect, became, together with his opinions on Church polity, in time the ground of serious opposition. His personal views, published in an official paper, and with that *ex-cathedra* tone which was natural to him, were accepted in outer circles as the views of the Church. For some years, then, his radical opinions on some points and conservative tendencies on others, together with his inability to discriminate between personal and official utterance, kept our Church and its polity under discussion in such

a way as to withdraw from his management some of the approval which he had enjoyed, and with other causes to lead, after the longest incumbency any one has yet possessed, to the choice of another editor.

The change of the *Ladies' Repository* to another form found him at its head with small confidence in its success or in his fitness for the work. His feeling on these points he freely expressed, and no one was less surprised at the failure of that costly and short-lived experiment.

During a single quadrennium he was occupied with largely nominal pastorates, as an editorial contributor to the *Methodist*, as a free lance in the periodicals of several denominations, and in editing a new edition of the New Testament portion of Clarke's *Commentary*.

At the General Conference of 1884 he was elected to the editorship of the *Methodist Review* and General Books, and found himself once more at a congenial post. Without underrating the value of the contributed articles, it is not too much to say that its measure of success has since his accession been largely due to the interest which his views on doctrine, polity, and methods commanded. Some of his best work has appeared in these pages. Notwithstanding his advanced age, he wrote with all his old-time vigor. His eye was on the whole Church in the whole world, and, had he lived, his opinions would have been eagerly read by those who are to be members of the next General Conference. Already he has discussed one at least of the great questions which will demand the attention of that body, and it was his purpose to consider them all in turn. It is hard to think of a General Conference without him.

This presentation of the character and career of Daniel Curry would be far more incomplete were no allusion made to his relations with the brethren of his own Conference. Those who know that body are aware that it is one of the most independent of the subordinate organizations of Methodism. Its sessions are always animated. It believes in discussion, and has long been one of the best debating schools in the Church. To these qualities Dr. Curry has been a chief contributor, and if any others shared the honors of leadership with him they have been among the first to acknowledge the benefit of his inspiration and training. The independence and courage which he taught,

on more than one occasion brought penalty on himself. He was not always able to carry his point, nor secure himself from formulated criticism. The severest defeats of his life he owed to those qualities in his brethren which he himself had fostered. He was fond of regarding himself as the school-master of younger men, and would laughingly say to one who had done well, "You learned that from me." Indeed, as he walked out of Conference with a group of young men about him, he seemed to reproduce by his comment, his questions, and his badinage, the ancient Porch or Academy.

He did not pretend that he was indifferent to disappointment or unmortified by defeat. But he was great enough to keep his personal relations with his antagonists within Christian limits, and was always prompt in recognizing strength. Thus he would be found at dinner with some opponent an hour after a gallant fight, and would chaff, criticise, and compliment his foes with infectious good humor.

He showed a noble courage in scrutinizing candidates for admission to the Conference, whether on trial or in full connection, and yet managed to preserve the respect and love of those who were worsted by his action. He believed that this scrutiny ought to be firmly exercised at the time when the young minister begins his probation. Two years of work, in his thought, gave the candidate for full connection just expectation of admission, and he would sometimes plead for mercy to one who was about to be dropped. It was in private intercourse, in the Conference *tête-à-tête*, that he found the greatest delight and the strongest cement of regard. He never acted as if he was above the humblest or beneath the highest. The burdened country circuit pastor had access as close and confidential as he of the most easy and lucrative post; and when money was needed to smooth the way to superannuation, or to relieve a brother pursued by calamity, his hand was quickly and generously open. While a master of parliamentary order, he did not always contribute to parliamentary decorum. Side remarks, witty interruptions, and conversational thrusts often punctuated business and debate. To the Rev. Dr. Pullman the writer is indebted for the following happy statement of his Conference relations: "When he first came among us we feared him; after years we revered him, and finally came to love him."

It is certainly true that as age came upon him he grew increasingly lovable. As a guest he was simply delightful, showing toward women and children a deference and delicacy which contrasted strongly with his masterful bearing. He became gentle where once he would have been rough; yielding where once obstinate; considerate where once indifferent; tender where once stoical. He learned to melt under fraternal sympathy, and to weep under religious emotion. And this was no accompaniment of intellectual decay, but the ripening of grace and the mellowing of strength. Over his dead brethren he lamented with majestic pathos, and heaven drew nearer to him as he followed them with longing eyes.

To such a character religion must have been at first chiefly a principle and a conviction. Like the psalmist, he "meditated in the law of the Lord." His nature made him strenuous in the performance of religious duty. Just as men who saw him in conflict could find no figure for him but a wave-washed rock, so in much of his ministerial life he must be compared to the steamer which plows and not to the ship which conquers headwinds by yielding to them. But in these later years he talked no less of principle but more of practice; dwelt less upon the intellectual aids to faith than upon the experimental confirmations of truth; and sentences linger in the memory of friends which seem the final phrasings of enthusiastic belief. The last time the writer met him he was found sitting upon the threshold of a great store, with strength too small to reach his office unaided. Half disdainfully welcoming the proffered arm he talked a moment of his pain, and then launched into a monologue on his spiritual condition which lasted long after he was resting on the lounge in his office. Among the many utterances of that memorable hour, this remains in verbal accuracy: "When one studies this universe only with the eye of an agnostic, all he sees is what an agnostic sees; but when the Lord Jesus Christ, in his great and merciful surgery, removes blindness, then one sees God and knows that his Redeemer liveth."

It was not easy for such a man to yield his hold on life. He belonged to a long-lived race. He found himself in vigor when a multitude of younger men had for years been buried. He had a great work to do. The great council in which he had so often taken a leading part was near at hand. The presidency

of his *alma mater* was vacant, and his vote could influence selection. He was a trustee of Drew Seminary, and had given and planned for its future. For years a member of the Missionary Board, and many times its representative on the General Committee, the time was in sight when he might touch the whole world with his hand. Yet he had been shaken by bereavements in his own family. The virile inheritance of his brothers failed to keep them on earth. Even before he felt the pangs which wasted strength, he thought that his time was short. Yet the world was so full of opportunity, its pace so great, and new questions, social, political, religious, were so abundant, that the strong man hoped for ten years of working life. Shortly after the interview of which mention has been made he went to Ocean Grove, in hope of rallying from increasing weakness. The lamp did for a time blaze up. Now the spiritual fires burned brilliantly. He became a prophet, a seer, a saint. All who talked with him left him with benediction. Rapture came with weakness. The soul soared as its physical weights diminished. Not in dreams, but with open eye, he saw "the goodly company and fellowship of the first-born." The veterans at rest seemed to enter the earthly life again to strengthen his faith and promise welcome. His deep conviction of undeserving sinfulness was lost in the assurance of redeeming love. Hosannas were on his lips.

Yet it was granted to him to die in his own home, and sooner than most expected. His conversation on the day of his death, without directly asserting it, is seen now to have indicated his conviction that it was his last on earth. He kept his loved ones near him by gentle hints, and fell on sleep as if a wearied spirit had found a Father's arms. D. A. Goodsell.

ART. II.—MOMMSEN'S ROMAN PROVINCES.*

THE history of the world has been written too much from the stand-point of its so-called great men and of its leading states. The warriors, the kings, the statesmen, have occupied the stage, and the masses of the people have been relegated to obscurity. We have been informed with scrupulous care upon what fortunate day this or that prince first saw the light of day; we have been made familiar with his personal characteristics, and even with his personal appearance; we have been introduced into his palace and have witnessed his occupations, serious and trivial. The most insignificant of his words and actions have been rehearsed to us, as if nothing pertaining to such august personages must be allowed to pass into oblivion. So clumsily, indeed, is this irrelevant recital made, that all due sense of relative importance seems obliterated, and a picture arises before the mind's eye as false to nature as it is defiant of all the rules of the art of perspective. Much of the illustration which passes current under the name of historical delineation of men, whether in the contemporary novel or in more formal treatises of past events, lies open to censure. The observation of the eminent Rapin de Thoyras is as appropriate now as when it was first made, nearly two centuries ago:

> The portraits and characters of persons are good embellishments of history, if accurately performed. But our romancers have corrupted our genius in this respect. We make too many pieces without the least resemblance, and such as agree to nobody, because they agree to all the world. We take a pleasure in painting the face and mien of persons, and those outward features, which we have really nothing to do with. What shall I be the better for knowing whether Hannibal had a fine set of teeth, provided his historian acquaint me with the greatness of his genius—if he display to me a hardiness and restlessness of spirit, a vast and enterprising thought, and a fearless heart; and all these qualities animated with an irregular ambition and sustained by a more than athletic constitution, which is the picture we have of him in Livy? †

* *The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Cæsar to Diocletian.* By THEODOR MOMMSEN. Translated by WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. With ten maps by Professor KIEPERT. Two volumes, 8vo. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1887.

† *Reflections upon History.* Critical Works, translated by Kennet, ii, 302.

Meanwhile, it is quite in keeping with the extravagant prominence assigned to unimportant details of the personal portraiture of the rulers, that the *people* have secured but scant notice, that the story of the weal or woe of the great masses of the population has been for the most part untold. Peace, we are told, hath its victories as well as war; but in the clamor of armies, amid the shouts of the contending forces, and through the smoke of battle, our eyes can scarcely discern the details of those more humble, and possibly more homely, scenes of the every-day life of the husbandman and artisan, far from the din of conflict. It is, in fact, only in our own times that the rights of the people, of civilization, to a hearing in the halls of history have been vindicated, and that the ablest of scholars and the most skillful of writers have recognized the work of tracing the successive steps in the upward progress of the poor and down-trodden toward freedom and social equality, as a task worthy of the exertion of the most resplendent abilities. The esteem enjoyed by the philosophical investigations of Guizot into the progress of society collectively, and of the individual man during the Middle Ages, not less than the popularity of Macaulay's pictures of life in England in the seventeenth century, exhibit at least the fact that our age has awaked to the value of a long-neglected branch of research.

It is to the credit of Theodor Mommsen that he has noticed and has set himself to remedy a somewhat analogous injustice done to the provinces of the great Roman Empire. The effulgence of that wonderful city, the prowess of whose citizens, assisted by a marvelous concurrence of propitious events in world history, secured for it a domain almost co-extensive with the known portions of the globe, has dazzled the eye to such a degree as to prevent the observer from seeing the conquered provinces save in their relations to Rome. Not, indeed, but that before these provinces were merged in the empire their fortunes received attention and historical treatment. Without referring to the great monarchies of the East, to Egypt, to Judea, to Greece, we may notice that even such comparatively insignificant districts as Libya and Arabia were made the subjects of antiquarian research even in Roman times. But the Jubas and Josephuses concluded their works at the incorporation of the countries of which they treated in the vast empire

that doubtless appeared to them to be the ultimate government, the reservoir into which all streams of nationality had been seen to pour, but from which none had ever yet been known to emerge. By the side of Rome no other city of the world was worthy of account; consequently no city but Rome, no country but Italy, was entitled to separate treatment. And yet of the millions of men, women, and children in the Roman Empire the vast majority inhabited the provinces. These multitudes outside of Italy were touched but very superficially by the events that occurred in the "eternal city." The rise or fall of emperors affected only in a very remote degree the provincials, who, beyond the acknowledgment of the authority of a sovereign whose face they never saw, and beyond the payment of tribute to support his state, had little in common with the dwellers upon the banks of the Tiber. What was the condition, moral and intellectual, of these untold numbers of so called barbarians? How was the conflict waged between the native and the imported superstitions? What was the resultant gain and loss? How was the way paved for a higher civilization? These are some of the inquiries which the ordinary histories of the Roman Empire make little effort to answer. They are the inquiries which Mommsen in his new work has attempted to meet, and which to some extent he does meet. We say to some extent, because the undertaking is by no means an easy one. There are lamentable gaps in our sources of information, chasms which no ingenuity at this late date can hope to fill. Our informants, or, more correctly speaking, those who might have been our informants had they chosen or known how to enlighten us, have for the most part adopted a course savoring less of caprice than of perversity. The better we become acquainted with the subject the more we shall be inclined to regard Mommsen's strong words in his Introduction as none too strong: "Any one who has recourse to the so-called authorities for the history of this period—even the better among them—*finds difficulty in controlling his indignation* at the telling of what deserved to be suppressed, and at the suppression of what there was need to tell." The great problems that confront the student of their pages are precisely those to which they do not even pretend to furnish an answer. Among these problems is the radical inquiry into the reasons

of the success of the Latin-Greek civilization in molding to a great extent, and in securing the prosperity of, the whole ancient world, from the borders of Persia to the shores of the German Sea. Dr. Mommsen says (i, 5):

> Old age has not the power to develop new thoughts and display creative activity, nor has the government of the Roman Empire done so; but in its sphere, which those who belonged to it were not far wrong in regarding as the world, it fostered the peace and prosperity of the many nations united under its sway longer and more completely than any other leading power has ever succeeded in doing. It is in the agricultural towns of Africa, in the homes of the vine-dressers on the Moselle, in the flourishing townships of the Lycian mountains, and on the margin of the Syrian desert that the work of the imperial period is to be sought and to be found. Even now there are various regions of the East, as of the West, as regards which the imperial period marks a climax of good government, very modest in itself, but never withal attained before or since; and, if an angel of the Lord were to strike the balance whether the domain ruled by Severus Antoninus was governed with the greater intelligence and the greater humanity at that time or in the present day—whether civilization and national prosperity generally have since that time advanced or retrograded—it is very doubtful whether the decision would prove in favor of the present. But, if we find that this was the case, we ask of our surviving books, for the most part in vain, How came it to be so? They no more give an answer to this question than the traditional accounts of the earlier republic explain the mighty phenomenon of the Rome which, in the footsteps of Alexander, subdued and civilized the world.

The two volumes now before us form a remote sequel to the four volumes of the English translation (the three of the original German edition), in which the history of Rome is traced from the foundation of the city to the overthrow of the republic by the institution of the new monarchy by Julius Cæsar. The last installment of that history was given to the world just thirty years ago. For almost an entire generation the learned author has been pursuing with undivided attention that branch of antiquarian research in which no scholar of our own or of recent times has shown himself his equal, and adding to the rich stores of knowledge in the monumental work entitled, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.* The general public, as well as scholars, who set a high estimate upon his achievements in the larger field of Roman law, and in the study of

ancient civilization, had almost settled down in the belief that the world would see no more of the fruits of his patient investigations to elucidate the obscure points in the history of the state to which rightfully belonged the proud title of mistress of the globe. This apprehension has been dispelled. Yet the author, now in his seventieth year, gives us little encouragement to hope that he may yet complete his great historical theme. The political fortune of Rome itself —the story of the succession of the emperors that filled the throne of the Cæsars for three centuries before the establishment of Christianity — Theodor Mommsen has not yet narrated. Nor does he seem to regret much the gap which he has suffered to remain between his earlier work and that which now occupies us. Others have handled, and handled well, this important period. The original sources are so copious and so trustworthy that later accounts seem of necessity to be little more than reproductions of the delineations of men and things handed down to us by antiquity. But this is by no means true of the history of the provinces of the empire. Says Dr. Mommsen:

> There is, if I am not mistaken, no comprehensive survey anywhere accessible to the public to which this work addresses itself; and it is owing, as it seems to me, to the want of such a survey, that the judgment of that public as to the Roman imperial period is frequently incorrect and unfair.

The work is very methodical in the distribution of topics, and the order is both natural and simple. In the eight chapters of the first volume Dr. Mommsen passes under review successively the Northern Frontier of Italy, Spain, the Gallic Provinces, Roman Germany and the Free Germans, Britain, the Danubian Lands and the Wars on the Danube, Greek Europe, and Asia Minor. In the five chapters of the second volume, pursuing still further the same course around the Mediterranean Sea, he introduces us to the Euphrates Frontier and the Parthians, Syria and the Land of the Nabatæans, Judea and the Jews, Egypt, and the African Provinces. The subjects are of unequal interest, a circumstance arising largely from the comparative wealth of information respecting the more highly favored regions; but all are studied carefully and conscientiously. Let us add that the author and his translator have

done much, if not quite every thing they might have done, to make the story intelligible at all points, even those which could not by any possibility be rendered highly entertaining. Dr. Mommsen has called to his aid the eminent geographer Kiepert, and the result is, that we have in the first volume eight and in the second volume two beautifully executed maps, by means of which every statement calling for a clear understanding of the relative position of places can be thoroughly understood. It is rarely the case with the maps or atlases accompanying historical works that they seem to have emanated from the same source as the works themselves. There are at every turn vexatious discrepancies and contradictions. The boundaries of countries are stated in one way in the text and are laid down in another upon the map. We find upon the map a great abundance of cities and towns which are of no particular value to us, as their names never occur in the narrative; and, as an offset, we waste precious time in the unavailing search for cities, rivers, and mountains mentioned by the author, but evidently deemed by the map-maker quite unworthy of his attention. We have the exact reverse of this in the present instance. Either Dr. Mommsen has inspected Kiepert's maps, or Kiepert has carefully read Dr. Mommsen's narrative, for upon the maps there is nothing omitted and nothing superfluous. With the possible exception of so comparatively unimportant a point as a difference respecting the direction of the *Via Augusta* in a part of its course in Spain (i, 81), a pretty minute examination on our part has failed to disclose any disagreement between the geographical data of the two eminent authorities. To the translator, on the other hand, we are indebted for an excellent index. He would have removed every possible ground of complaint on the part of the reader had he been so thoughtful of our comfort as to provide a table of contents, giving the subject matter page by page. No history of any pretensions should at the present day be allowed to issue from the press unprovided with this double apparatus, which is indispensable to the highest utility of the work.

In the survey of a field every portion of which is rich in important additions to human knowledge, it is, of course, impossible to undertake a complete and exhaustive analysis. We

must confine ourselves to a few points, and to a very limited number of facts that strike us as of particular interest.

The extension of the Roman Empire presents more than one paradox to the student of history. By the time of the fall of the Commonwealth the victorious standards of the legions had been carried to the most improbable distances in certain directions, while they had failed to reach their natural destination in other quarters. The sea had proved no obstacle in the path of conquest, but wide plains and ranges of mountains had effectually checked the ardor of the most enterprising soldiers on the face of the earth. From the Euxine to the Pillars of Hercules the generals of the Republic established the undisputed supremacy of Rome; but they were appalled by the Alps, and by the great stretches of land beyond, with their sparse and shifting population of barbarian tribes. If the Romans were, in the strict sense of the word, a less maritime people than their neighbors the Greeks, they seem to have been little less uncomfortable than were the latter when they got to any considerable distance from the broad sea, and they were almost as ready as the returning ten thousand to shout "Thalatta! Thalatta!" if by any chance, when in doubt as to their bearings, they caught a glimpse of the wide expanse of waters upon which they always knew how to find their way when all roads by land failed them.

The Empire undertook what the Republic had shrunk from attempting—the reduction of the countries beyond the Alps in the direction of the North Sea. But the success of its efforts was, to say the least, far from satisfactory. For a time, it is true, the border of the state bade fair to be advanced from the Rhine, which the brilliant generalship of Julius Cæsar had virtually secured, to the line of the river Elbe. Nor is it altogether plain why the policy which aimed at this permanent accession was abandoned, and that, too, so suddenly as to give to the change almost the appearance of inconsistency or caprice. Dr. Mommsen does little more than suggest some considerations that might have had weight with Augustus, and subsequently with Tiberius. The defeat of Varus and the almost total destruction of his army was a serious blow, but the Romans had met with such blows before, and had only been incited by them to redoubled energy. They had not only

repaired the damage, but had placed themselves so much better before the world as to show that their successes were due to their merits; their reverses, humanly speaking, to the accidents to which all men are liable. To acknowledge weakness by retiring from an attempt in the prosecution of which disaster had been encountered was little in keeping with their known character. And if, as Dr. Mommsen observes, the battle of Varus is an enigma—not in its course, but in its consequences—it is even more inexplicable that Germanicus, after his brilliant campaigns, should have been summarily recalled merely in consequence of the destruction of a portion of his fleet by the angry winds and waves of the North Sea, in one of its not uncommon autumnal storms. We seem forced to conclude that Augustus had slowly reached the conviction—which a few years after his accession to the throne was also strongly impressed upon the mind of his successor—that the permanent conquest of the region between the Elbe and the Rhine was impracticable. The cost was a formidable one, and both emperors shrank from heaping new burdens upon a treasury already burdened to its utmost capacity. Moreover—and this was no unimportant matter—the legions posted upon the Rhine at the two great camps, at Vetera and Mogontiacum (Mainz), could accomplish what legions stationed two hundred and fifty or two hundred and seventy-five miles further east (as great a distance as from Paris to Geneva) could not accomplish. They could keep, and they did keep, the Gallic Provinces in subjection through fear. And so the emperors not only resigned themselves to leaving the *numbers* of Varus's legions unfilled—the 17th, 18th, and 19th are never heard of again—but also to the abandonment of the task upon which Varus had entered.

The civilizing, or, more properly speaking, the Romanizing of the Spanish peninsula was more thoroughly accomplished than that of any other region outside of Italy. By the time of Augustus there were fifty communities upon the inhabitants of which the rights of full citizenship had been conferred, and there were nearly as many more that had received Latin rights, and, so far at least as their internal organization was concerned, were on an equality with the former class. Nothing like this could be shown in Gaul or in any other part of the world. Spain and

the modern Portugal were made thoroughly Roman in dress, in manners, in language. For the most part, the native Iberian tongue came to be spoken only in the north-western part of the peninsula, where, driven up to the mountain slopes of the Pyrenees, it has subsisted until the present day in the form of the Basque, that *crux* of linguistic students. It is significant that "monuments with native writing from the imperial period" are hardly to be found at all in Spain, while they are discovered in fair numbers in neighboring Africa. But what betrays more distinctly the complete change of things is, the position which Spain assumes in Latin literature. Cicero, in the first century before the Christian era, did indeed sneer as the poets of Corduba (Cordova), and even in the Augustan age Spanish *literati* are little heard of. But already, in the second half of the first century after Christ, to use Dr. Mommsen's words, the Spaniards undertook in Latin literature "almost the part, if not of leader, at any rate of school-master." Marcus Porcius Latro, Ovid's teacher and model, was a native of Cordova. So were Marcus Annæus Seneca and his more famous son the philosopher, and Lucan, author of the epic poem *Pharsalia*. Quintilian, whom Mommsen well styles the pearl of Spanish-Latin authorship, was of Calagurris, on the Ebro; while the great epigrammatic poet of Latin literature, Martial, was born at Bilbilis, in Aragon, near the borders of Old Castile.

> The Gallic rhetors, the great African ecclesiastical authors, have as Latin writers retained in some measure a foreign complexion; no one would recognize the Senecas and Martial by their manner and style as belonging to one or another land; in hearty love to his own literature, and in subtile understanding of it, never has any Italian surpassed the teacher of languages from Calagurris.*

For the local distribution of genius no rules can be assigned, but for the more complete assimilation of Spain and Portugal than of Gaul to Roman ways of thinking two causes may be found: Andalusia had fully a century and a half the start of central France in coming under the government of the Roman state; and ever thereafter Cartagena and Cordova, although geographically farther distant from Rome than Paris or Orleans, were practically not half so far off from the capital, because in regular and constant intercourse with it by the sea; a highway

* Mommsen, i, 84.

of nations needing no costly constructions to make it passable, and, after the suppression of piracy, comparatively free from dangers attending travel by land. Add to this the important fact, that while the expense for the young man studiously inclined who might wish to frequent the schools of Rome from the valleys of the Loire or the Seine must have been a formidable obstacle, his brother from the banks of the Guadalquivir, if he chose to "rough it" upon the merchant vessel, could doubtless reach Ostia for a sum which would now appear absurdly small.*

In reading the interesting account which Dr. Mommsen gives of the civilization of the Gallic Provinces, we cannot but be struck with the variety of influences that were at work and the consequent variety in the results. Long before the Romans set foot in the territory now known as France, the Greeks had established their colonies upon its southern coast, and Massilia, the modern Marseilles, was built or re-peopled by the fugitives from the city of Phocæa, who preferred to set fire to their dwellings and temple-shrines and take to their ships rather than submit to Persian rule. The story of their successive settlements in Corsica, at Velia in Italy, and at Marseilles may be shrouded in obscurity; but respecting the permanence of the culture which they introduced into the south of France,—a culture whose traces can be seen to the present day—there can be no question. This Greek culture was the first humanizing instrumentality providentially used in the territory between the Alps and the British Channel, and it was never obliterated by the more strictly Roman civilization that followed in the course of time. As bearing upon this point, we note one interesting remark derived from Dr. Mommsen's own favorite branch of antiquarian study. As might have been expected, the conquerors seem to have proscribed the old language of the conquered so far as any official use of it was concerned. On the coins struck under the Romans and upon the monuments erected on

* We have no reason to think that the conditions differed essentially from those that held in the age of the Athenian commonwealth. The ship's cargo was the chief and almost the sole concern of the master, and, in comparison with the freight, the gain to be derived from passengers carried was an insignificant matter. Hence the startlingly low fares which Socrates is made by Plato, in his *Georgias* (i, 511), to name as prevailing in his time—two oboli (six or seven cents of our money) from Ægina, and at most (πάμπολυ) two drachmas (about thirty-five cents) from Egypt or Pontus to the port of Piræus.

behalf of the community, Dr. Mommsen is our authority for stating that there has been found no demonstrably Celtic inscription. But the use of the native language was not interfered with in other directions. We have Celtic inscriptions on private monuments as well in northern as in southern France, but with this marked difference: those that emanate from the north are always written with the Latin alphabet, those from the south just as uniformly employ the Greek alphabet.*

It was in great part this preliminary preparation that gave to Gallia Narbonensis a type easily susceptible of modification by contact with the Roman system. This extensive province, reaching from Tolosa (Toulouse) on the west to the Rhône, and northeastward as far as to Geneva, covered the territory later occupied by Languedoc, together with Provence and Dauphiné. Here it was that Roman institutions found a congenial soil.

The old cantonal organization characteristic of the Celts gave place to the organization affected by the Romans, and, not to speak of colonies such as Narbo itself, at one time the most populous place in all France, cities began to line the course of the Rhône with Latin rights and in full sympathy with the mother city. Nemausus, or Nîmes, Vienna, the modern Vienne, and Arelate, or Arles, were among the number. On the other hand, the "three Gauls," as they were called—Aquitania, Lugudunensis, and Belgica—retained their special Celtic character. They still kept up their communal divisions. With the single exception of Lyons (Lugudunum) there was not a city in this wide territory that boasted the possession of Latin rights, and Lyons was less a city belonging to any one of the three provinces than their common capital, deriving from this circumstance and from its admirable commercial position an importance which it has never ceased to possess, even down to our own times. Its isolated position, with a very contracted district of its own, at the head of and yet belonging to no one of the three provinces, Dr. Mommsen not without reason compares to the relation which the city of Washington occupies to the States constituting our own North American Union.

A subject which it seems to us that Dr. Mommsen has set forth with greater distinctness and in a more satisfactory man-

* Vol. i, pp. 108, 109.

ner than any previous writer whom we have met with, is the character of the Celtic cantons. He says:

The cantons, at least as they present themselves among the Celts and the Germans, are, throughout, tribes more than townships; this very essential element was peculiar to all Celtic territories, and was often covered over rather than obliterated even by the subsequent Romanizing. Mediolanum and Brixia were indebted for their wide bounds and their lasting power essentially to the fact that they were, properly speaking, nothing but the cantons of the Insubres and the Cenomani. The facts that the territory of the town of Vienna (Vienne on the Rhône) embraced Dauphiné and western Savoy, and that the equally old and almost equally considerable townships of Cularo (Grenoble) and Ganava (Geneva) were down to late imperial times, in point of law, villages of the colony of Vienna, are likewise to be explained from the circumstance that this was the later name of the tribe of the Allobroges. In most of the Celtic cantons one township so thoroughly predominates that it is one and the same thing whether we name the Remi or Durocortorum, the Bituriges or Burdigala.*

The learned author might here have observed that this fact explains a circumstance that must have struck every one who has compared attentively the map of ancient Gaul with that of modern France; namely, that the names of the present cities are perhaps about as frequently derived from the name of the canton or tribe as they are from that of the principal settlement. If Bordeaux derives its name from Burdigala, Rheims has taken the cantonal designation. So Lutetia Parisiorum has become Paris, and Chartres and Tours are variations upon the names of the Carnutes and Turones. Dr. Mommsen continues:

The specialty of the position of the Celts under the Roman rule as compared with other nations—the Iberians, for example, and the Hellenes—turns on this, that these larger unions continued to subsist as communities in the former case, while in the latter those constitutional elements of which they were composed formed the communities. Old diversities of national development belonging to the pre-Roman epoch may have co-operated in the matter; it may possibly have been more easily practicable to take away from the Bœotians the joint diet of their towns than to break up the Helvetii into three or four districts; political unions maintain their ground even after subjugation under a central power, in cases where their dissolution would bring about disorganization. Yet what was done in Gaul by Augustus, or, if it be preferred, by Cæsar, was brought about not by the force of circumstances, but chiefly by the free resolution of the govern-

* Vol. i, pp. 98, 99.

ment, as it alone was in keeping with the forbearance otherwise exercised toward the Celts. For there was, in fact, in the pre-Roman time, and even at the time of Cæsar's conquest, a far greater number of cantons than we find later. In particular, it is remarkable that the numerous smaller cantons attached by clientship to a larger one did not in the imperial period become independent, but disappeared. If subsequently the Celtic land appears divided into a moderate number of considerable, and some of them even very large, canton-districts, within which dependent cantons nowhere make their appearance, this arrangement had the way, no doubt, paved for it by the pre-Roman system of clientship, but was completely carried out only under the Roman reorganization.

Our limits will not permit us to go more fully into this subject. We may, however, call attention to the great contrast between the two sides of the Pyrenees in regard to territorial subdivision, and the necessary results of that contrast. On the south of the mountains lay the province known as Tarraconensis, comprising possibly two thirds of the Spanish peninsula. Its superficial area would seem to have varied little from that of the united three Gauls, but on the whole it was somewhat less. Yet whereas Tarraconensis was split up into two hundred and ninety-three independent communities, the three Gauls numbered together only sixty-four of them. The Iberian cantons, consequently, were nothing but so many little districts, quite incapable of uniting in the pursuit of any common plans for the advantage of the nation, had they even been able to conceive so lofty an ideal as a fatherland. It was a case of complete surrender to a foreign state. The Celtic cantons, on the contrary, maintained a unity, and political as well as religious traditions, which the Romans either did not care or did not dare to interfere with. They were a power under the Empire precisely as they had been a power when Julius Cæsar set about the work of compelling them to recognize Roman supremacy. They retained their ancient noble houses with the extraordinary influence they had swayed from of old. The Roman government permitted them to possess a measure of military authority, to garrison certain forts, and to have a militia which their own magistrates could, when occasion required, call out and command. They even received at the hands of the Emperor Augustus, or his representative, Drusus, twelve years before the Christian era, a species of national constitution. On

the first day of August, from that time forward, the festival of "Rome and the Genius of Augustus" was celebrated in connection with the altar dedicated to those divinities by Drusus, at Lugudunum or Lyons. Then and there it was that the delegates of the sixty-four cantons met to select the "priest of the three Gauls," and to exercise certain functions of a religious as well as a civil character, of whose nature we have little precise knowledge.

As in Germany the emperors Augustus and Tiberius settled in their minds a boundary beyond which it was inexpedient to push the conquests of Rome, so in Britain their successors upon the imperial throne stopped short of the reduction of the entire island, preferring to leave the Caledonians undisturbed in the highlands of Scotland. The overgrown empire had become sluggish, or it had lost its power of assimilation, and itself recognized the fact. Hence arose the two Roman walls, built with the object of keeping within bounds the troublesome northern neighbors of the British province. The wall of Hadrian came first in point of time, early in the second century of our era; a work remarkable for its good preservation at the end of seventeen hundred and fifty years from its erection, and pronounced by Dr. Mommsen to be more completely understood than any other of the great military structures of the Romans. It was, strictly speaking, a military road, seventy miles in length, connecting the mouth of the river Tyne with the Solway Firth, and was strongly protected on either side—on the north by a fosse and a high stone wall, and on the south by earthen embankments. The wall built by Antoninus Pius, about a score of years later, ran from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde, a distance not much over a half as great, and was an inferior work, little more, in fact, than an advanced post for Hadrian's wall, which it was intended to assist, not to replace. Within these fortifications, and protected by a force of Roman soldiers estimated at thirty thousand men, Britain would seem to have been a province by no means to be despised. The comforts and even the luxuries of life could readily be obtained by the wealthy. The beautiful mosaic pavements discovered in great numbers in various portions of the island betray the fact that the villas of the rich and noble were as spacious and magnificent as they were at the

same period on the Rhine and other favored districts. None of these villas, however, so far as known, were farther north than the present city of York. Literary culture followed in the wake of material prosperity. "In Hadrian's time Britain is described as a region conquered by the Gallic school-masters, and 'even Thule itself speaks of hiring a professor for itself.' These school-masters were in the first instance Latin, but Greeks also came. Plutarch tells of a conversation which he held at Delphi with a Greek teacher of languages from Tarsus, returning home from Britain" (i, 211). Both in language and in culture Britain became thoroughly Roman, and the islanders held firmly to the Empire until the Empire cast them off, the last we hear of them in this connection being their "earnest entreaty" to the Emperor Honorius, about the beginning of the fifth century, to afford them help against the incursions of the Saxons, and the Emperor's ungracious answer, dictated either by conscious weakness or by unconcern, that they must shift for themselves.

We must pass hastily over Dr. Mommsen's long and exhaustive discussion of the affairs of the Danubian Provinces—a portion of his work that displays to advantage the writer's great familiarity with the monumental remains, and the good use that he knows how to put them to in remedying, as far as may be, the fragmentary character of the early chronicles of the Byzantine times. His remarks on the sculptures upon the famous column erected at Rome in the Forum of Trajan, to perpetuate the memory of the most warlike and victorious of the emperors of the second century, may be instanced as a very favorable specimen of the historian's style, his sentences being graphic and readable, even in translation. This general subject is, however, a painful one to the reader who is in full sympathy with the growth and development of the Roman power; for already, before the time of Constantine the Great and the transfer of the capital to the shores of the Bosphorus, the inroads of the northern tribes and the permanent loss of Dacia so soon after its conquest, show that the days are not far distant when the Goths and Huns will pour down with resistless force upon the fairest portions of the ancient world. Already the eastern parts of the Mediterranean Sea swarm with marauders whom it is often difficult to know whether to desig-

nate as warlike invaders or pirates. Meanwhile the Empire, so far as its supreme government is concerned, has become thoroughly *Illyrized.* The process can be easily traced. The imperial office had ceased to be either hereditary or conferred by election of the Senate. The legions set up whom they would, choosing generally their most popular officers. Now, since the legions were recruited from the inhabitants of the province in which they were stationed, the loyal districts to the south of the Danube, along which much of the army was massed—sometimes as many as twelve legions—were most likely to furnish successful candidates for the throne of the Cæsars. So early as A. D. 235 we have Maximinus, a Thracian, and in 248 or 249 Decius, a Pannonian; and within the compass of thirty-seven years from the death of Gallienus we find mention of the election of not less than seven "barbarians" to be "Roman" emperors—two from each of the regions of Thrace, Dardania, and Pannonia, and one, Diocletian, from Dalmatia.

Among the subject provinces Greece occupied a unique position. The oft-repeated statement that if Rome by her arms had conquered the world, Greece by her arts and letters conquered Rome, was no mere sentiment. It was a sentiment that had a practical influence upon the relations of the irresistible city on the Tiber and the republics of Hellas, now shorn of all political or military importance. Achaia, as the easternmost of the Mediterranean peninsulas was now styled, was the petted, and therefore the spoiled, child of the family. Her vagaries were tolerated with a patience nowhere else extended; her whims were humored; her petulant sallies were checked, when checked they must be, without a resort to unnecessary harshness. Especially was this true of Athens, on whose part acts amounting to positive insolence were condoned under the Empire which would have drawn down upon a city less richly endowed with precious tradition speedy and condign punishment. Even the national pride received consideration. So far as practicable Greece was allowed to delude herself with the idea that she was still an independent state. With Athens and Sparta this was more than a fancy—it was almost a reality. "Athens was never placed under the fasces of the Roman governor, and never paid tribute to Rome. It always had a sworn alliance with Rome, and granted aid to the Romans only in an extraordinary and, at

least as to the form, voluntary fashion." Sparta, by reason of its great name, fared about as well. Both cities were gratified with accessions of territory. In the time of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, Athens was mistress not only of all its old dominion of Attica, but of about one half of Bœotia (Tanagra, Platæa, Thespiæ, and Haliartus), and of such islands as Salamis, Ceos, Delos, the islands off the promontory of Magnesia, Scyros, Lemnos, and Imbros. Sparta and the "Eleutherolakones" held between them more than the old territory of Lacedæmonia. Other cities, for one or another reason, were made free. In fact, the Emperor Nero, grateful that his poetical effusions had been hailed with applause by the Greeks, went to the length of pompously proclaiming the liberation of the entire country. It was to be delivered of Roman government, and exempt from tribute to the royal exchequer. But so thoroughly unprepared for this privilege, so utterly disqualified for self-government, were the Greeks, that the Emperor Vespasian was compelled, quite as much, we fancy, out of consideration for the best interests of Hellas itself as for those of the rest of his dominions, to recall Nero's concession, accompanying the change with the quiet observation that the Greeks had unlearned the art of being free.

A moment ago we likened Greece under the Roman Empire to a petted child; the comparison to a decrepit old man would in some regards be more accurate. It was no longer respected for what it was so much as for what it had been. Even in numbers there had been a great decline. Writing in the second half of the second century before Christ, Polybius had bewailed the fact that unfruitfulness in marriage and diminution of the population had in his time come over all Greece, without any general visitation of disease or war (i, 290). Strabo, a century later, tells us how that Thebes, one of the three chief Greek cities that once disputed the hegemony, had dwindled down until it scarcely deserved to be called a goodly village. Possibly it was not much larger than the settlement which the astonished traveler at the present day finds perched upon the top of the old Cadmean acropolis, with an abundance of unoccupied ground for habitations, if any one chose to build.

But more important than even the decline in population was

the loss of moral tone. The very foundations of manly character are sapped when there is engendered a habit of dependence upon others for that which one ought to look only to one's own brawny arms to secure. Athens had come to expect every thing to be done for it. Hadrian among other things "granted the inhabitants of that city the delivery of a certain quantity of grain at the expense of the Empire, and by the extension of this privilege, hitherto reserved for the capital, acknowledged Athens, as it were, as another imperial metropolis." Travelers and resident students made their contributions to the city's support, and rich men, aspiring to popular applause, opened their purse-strings in its behalf.

Yet, [says Dr. Mommsen, we should rather say consequently] the community was in constant distress. The right of citizenship was dealt with not merely in the way every-where usual of giving and taking, but was made formally and openly a matter of traffic, so that Augustus interfered to prohibit the evil. Once and again the council of Athens resolved to sell this or that one of its islands, and not always was there found a rich man ready to make sacrifices like Julius Nicanor, who, under Augustus, bought back for the bankrupt Athenians the island of Salamis, thereby earning from its senate the honorary title of the new "Themistocles." *

Dr. Mommsen's assertion is, however, too sweeping when he goes on to say:

The magnificent buildings with which Athens continued to embellish herself *were obtained without exception from foreigners*, among others from the rich kings Antiochus of Commagene and Herod of Judæa, but above all from the Emperor Hadrian, who laid out a complete 'new town' (*novæ Athenæ*) on the Ilissus, and—besides numberless other buildings, including the already mentioned Panhellenion—worthily brought to completion the wonder of the world, seven centuries after it had been begun, the gigantic building, commenced by Pisistratus, of the Olympieion, with its one hundred and twenty columns partly still standing, the largest of all that are erect at the present day.†

The words we have italicized are certainly incorrect. There was one notable instance of a native-born Greek who adorned the city with costly buildings, of which at least one is so well preserved as to attest its former grandeur. Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, generally known as Herodes Atticus, an eminent rhetorician and philosopher, as well as the heir of a princely

* Vol. i, p. 301. † *Ibid.*, p. 302.

fortune, who was born at Marathon, and, it is said, within sight of the battle-field, well deserves to be styled, as Colonel Lake does style him, "one of the greatest among the benefactors of Athens."* The Panathenaic Stadium, "the proudest monument of his munificence," is, indeed, denuded of its superb coating of steps and seats made of the pure white Pentelican marble; but we know that the undertaking was of such magnitude as to require nearly four years for its completion. But the Odeum, or music theater, which Herodes Atticus built in honor of his wife Regilla, still stands in a tolerably good state of preservation at the south-western corner of the hill of the Acropolis, a building two hundred and forty feet in diameter, respecting whose magnificence we need only say that it was such that Pausanias, a contemporary, makes it surpass all other structures of the kind in Greece, both in size and in the other features of its construction.† A building which the architect Stuart could mistake for, and erroneously figure as, the great Theater of Bacchus,‡ must claim to rank among the "magnificent buildings" of Athens. As to the monarch named by Dr. Mommsen Herod of Judea (we understand him to refer to Herod the Great), Josephus does, indeed, represent him as having made munificent gifts for the repair of the public edifices of Chios and Lesbos, and to have earned by his lavish contributions to the Olympic games the title of perpetual president; but we are not aware that any ancient author ascribes to him the construction of any building, magnificent or otherwise, at Athens.

A life that has no aspirations—a life content to nurse ancient traditions, and priding itself not upon what it is doing or striving to do, but upon what ancestors have done in the past—can never make itself any thing but an object of merited contempt. Dr. Mommsen justly remarks:

> The bane of Hellenic existence lay in the limitation of its sphere; high ambition lacked a corresponding aim, and therefore the low and degrading ambition flourished luxuriantly.

* *The Topography of Athens, with some Remarks on its Antiquities.* By William Martin Leake. London, 1841. P. 189.

† Pausanias, *Descriptio Græciæ*, vii, 20, 6. It is interesting to notice that the topographer in this section apologizes for not having spoken of the Odeum in its proper place, by the statement that the portion of his work relating to the Athenians had been finished before Herodes began his building.

‡ *Antiquities of Athens*, vol. iii.

The rich—and despite prevailing poverty there were undoubtedly many such—were reluctant to enter either the public service of the empire or the personal service of the emperor. In either branch of employment they felt themselves at a disadvantage as foreigners, all the more so that fashion or national pride and prejudice had generally prevented them from acquiring a very great command of the Latin language. Even the order of the Emperor Claudius, depriving of the Roman franchise such Greeks as could not understand the Latin tongue, was not sufficiently powerful to compel the mass of the people to master the language of their conquerors. On the other hand, the municipal politics of the Greek cities offered but a very contracted field for the display either of ability or of patriotism. Of great and elevating lines of policy, of broad statesmanship, of plans for amelioration of the condition of the poor, of any thing, in short, to raise a man out of the narrow sphere of self and of a purely selfish existence—there was an absolute dearth. Religion was virtually dead. From the highest to the lowest, faith in the polytheistic system had died out. Zeus and Minerva were but empty names, utterly discredited by the rich and the learned, who were not, however, displeased to have any one that felt so disposed undertake any thing that might lead the vulgar back to a belief in the old pantheon of gods. Nothing seemed to possess much vitality in public affairs but the games, and the universal interest felt in these Dr. Mommsen shows to have been among the very worst signs of the times. Add to this the fact that, while laudable objects of ambition had been removed, the pursuit of empty honors was unabated, or indeed had even increased, and we have a sorry picture of Greece during a great part of the period covered by these volumes.

These towns, with their magistracies and priesthoods, with their laudatory decrees proclaimed by herald and their seats of honor in the public assemblies, with the purple dress and the diadem, with statues on foot and on horseback, drove a trade in vanity and money-jobbing worse than the pettiest paltry prince of modern times with his orders and titles. There would not be wanting even amidst these incidents real merit and honorable gratitude, but generally it was a trade of giving and taking, or, to use Plutarch's language, an affair as between a courtesan and her customers. As at the present day private munificence in the positive degree procures an order, in the superlative a patent of nobility, so it then procured the priestly purple and the statue in the

market place; and it is not with impunity that the state issues a spurious coinage of its honors.*

Among the most interesting portions of the second volume is the chapter that treats of "Syria and the Land of the Nabatæans." Syria was in a peculiar sense the "New Macedonia." Here the traces of the conquest by Alexander the Great were more plainly visible than in any other part of the East, and they were not effaced by the subsequent Roman possession. Here, more than in any other part, the very names of cities reminded one of the kingdom of Macedonia. Yet by the side of the Greek language the native Syriac continued to be spoken and to be written, not, indeed, for the most part in the composition of original works, but, so far at least as its extant remains would indicate, in the way chiefly of translations from other tongues. The civilization of Syria, into which Hellenism and the native element entered in more nearly equal proportions than in any other part of the world newly acquired by the Greeks, was a mongrel development, betraying to the most casual observer its spurious character. In their religion, in their social tendencies, in their excessive devotion to pleasure, in their mental inertness, in their barbaric luxury, the inhabitants of Antioch showed that they were Orientals, little in sympathy with the great movements of the nations bordering upon the great sea, whose eastern coast their territories touched. It was almost a matter of course that their intellectual progress should in no wise keep pace with their advance in wealth. Great intellectual achievements rarely fall to the lot of those whose pampered bodies are averse to strenuous exertions.

The "land of the Nabatæans" is but another name for the Roman province of Arabia. If the one designation is strange to western ears, the other is palpably incorrect. The Romans, who showed their good sense in not undertaking the impossible quite as often as in the prudent manner of securing what lay within the range of their powers, never tried to reduce the great peninsula that lies between what is distinctively Asia and the African continent, and seems to partake of the characteristics of both. They preferred to confine themselves to a little territory at the north-western angle of Arabia, upon which they pompously conferred the name belonging to the whole. The capital was

* Vol. i, 314, 315.

Petra. The prince who previously reigned there called himself "king of Nabat." His dominions stretched far northward, toward the domain of Syria proper, and cut off the Holy Land from the desert. Damascus, the oldest city on the face of the globe, was for a time a dependency of the petty monarch who, under Roman protection and owing allegiance to the emperor as his suzerain, dwelt in his rocky fastness at Petra. St. Paul alludes to this circumstance when, in 2 Cor. xi, 32, 33, he states as one of the many perils out of which the Lord had rescued him, "In Damascus the governor under Aretas the king kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison, desirous to apprehend me: and through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped his hands." It is not a little curious that, of the peculiar civilization "developed from the mixture of national and Greek elements in these regions during the five hundred years between Trajan and Mohammed," a more perfect notion can be gained than in respect to the state of many countries much nearer to us. The wonderful structures of Petra, with their façades of the Corinthian order cut out of the living rock, have been made familiar to us by the accounts and drawings of travelers from the time of Stephens down, and by the more exact reproductions of the photograph. The not less remarkable buildings of the Hauran (the Greek Auranitis) have been more recently brought to the popular notice, and consequently still possess somewhat of the charm of novelty. The reader who has kept up with the literature bearing upon Bible lands will not need to be reminded that these form part of the subject of the notable volume by Rev. J. L. Porter, *The Giant Cities of Bashan.* The rise of these cities—so far as they are of Roman origin—Dr. Mommsen dates from the impetus given by the transfer of the Roman legionary soldiers to Bostra, the Bozrah of Moab. Quoting from a French observer, M. Melchior de Vogué, he says:

> Every-where rose houses, palaces, baths, temples, theaters, aqueducts, triumphal arches; towns sprang from the ground within a few years with the regular construction and the symmetrically disposed colonnades which mark towns without a past.

According to Dr. Mommsen, the eastern and southern slopes of the Hauran show nearly three hundred such desolated towns and villages, while there are but five new townships now existing.

Several of the former, for example Bûsân, number as many as eight hundred houses of one to two stories, built throughout of basalt, with well jointed walls of square blocks, without cement, with doors mostly ornamented and often provided with inscriptions, the flat roof formed of stone rafters, which are supported by stone arches and made rain-proof above by a layer of cement. . . . The poor attempts at recolonizing of recent times find the houses habitable; there is wanting only the diligent hand of man, or rather the strong arm that protects it.*

Dr. Mommsen does not describe these cities so graphically or at such length as Mr. Porter; his limits do not allow him to do so. Nor does he mention the fact that, irrespective of the Roman constructions, there are a multitude of other and older buildings — deserted towns and villages still possessing essentially the same names as those they bore centuries before the foundation of the imperial city itself. The singular lava plateau of Argob (Trachonitis, now Lejah), the refuge of Absalom and of many another outlaw before and since, alone contained threescore great cities, "fenced with high walls, gates, and bars," "besides unwalled towns a great many." This was at the time that this region, the kingdom of Og, king of Bashan, was conquered by the Israelites, under the leadership of Moses. Deut. iii, 4, 5. That the number is not excessive is proved by the existing ruins. Mr. Porter tells us that in ascending to Hiyât, or Hit, not less than thirty of the threescore cities of Argob were in view at one time, their black houses and ruins half concealed by the black rocks amid which they are built, and their massive towers rising up here and there, like the keeps of old Norman fortresses.†

On first taking up these volumes we turned instinctively to one of its last chapters—that treating of Judea and the Jews —expecting to find in this portion of Dr. Mommsen's work more satisfaction than in the description of the fortunes of any other of the "Roman Provinces." We regret to say that we were disappointed. Dr. Mommsen is at his worst when he touches upon matters connected with the Holy Scriptures. The historian who would have his work enjoy a lasting place in the world's esteem must above all avoid assuming the position of a partisan, and pronouncing, upon incomplete evidence or disputed facts, a decision which may at any time be shown to be

* Vol. ii, p. 171. † *The Giant Cities of Bashan*, p. 28.

erroneous and untenable. Yet this is, we believe, precisely the attitude in which Dr. Mommsen has chosen unnecessarily to place himself. We say unnecessarily, for there is really nothing in the legitimate theme of his new history which calls for the expression of many of the views which he propounds. Least of all was it incumbent upon him to express them in a manner which must be styled offensive, because it dogmatically asserts as uncontroverted truth much that is contrary to the religious belief of the great mass of Christendom. Every body knows that there are critics who maintain that the Pentateuch, instead of being the oldest portion of the Bible, with the possible exception of Job, was written subsequently to the Babylonian captivity, and should rank with the most notable of ingenious fabrications, or, it may be, pious frauds. It was certainly not obligatory upon Dr. Mommsen, treating of a period five hundred years later than the return from that captivity, to go out of his way to indorse this new theory, and inform us that the Jews who came back to the Holy Land, while professing to live according to the statutes of Moses, in fact lived according to the statutes of Ezra and Nehemiah.* It is offensive, and amounts to little less than a sneer at the current belief of the Christian not less than the Jewish Church, when, some forty pages further on, Dr. Mommsen takes for granted, and asserts without giving a particle of proof, that the prophecy in the eighth chapter of Daniel, which purports to have been supernaturally received "in the third year of the reign of King Belshazzar," or about 553 B. C., according to Archbishop Usher's chronology, was a forgery of nearly or quite four hundred years later.† Of questionable taste is the insertion of the long note covering nearly four closely

* Mommsen, ii, 174, 175. The translator, Dr. Dickson, has here inserted the appropriate caution: "This statement, and several others of a kindred tenor in this chapter, appear to rest on an unhesitating acceptance of views entertained by a recent school of Old Testament criticism, as to which it may at least be said: *Adhuc sub judice lis est.*"

† "The thing—that is, the setting up of a pagan statue in the Holy of Holies—had been done once already; a like proceeding of the king of Syria, Antiochus Epiphanes, had been followed by a rising of the Maccabees and the victorious restoration of the free national state. That Epiphanes—the Anti-Messiah who ushers in the Messiah as the prophet Daniel had *certainly after the event*, delineated him—was henceforth to every Jew the prototype of abomination."—Mommsen, ii, 213.

printed pages, in which Dr. Mommsen turns theologian and determines *ex cathedra* who, in the Apocalypse of John (here styled "the classical revelation of Jewish self-esteem and of hatred toward the Romans"), is meant by Antichrist. But the old adage reminds us that of such matters each must judge for himself—"*de gustibus non est disputandum.*" Even so, however, we have the right to quarrel with one of the sentences in this note—a characteristic one—in which the writer, in the course of his unsupported theorizing (for it is nothing more) gratuitously ascribes the reticence of St. John to cowardice or pusillanimity. "If of the seven emperors Nero alone is named (by his numerical expression), this is so, not because he was the worst of the seven, but because the naming of the reigning emperor, while prophesying a speedy end of his reign in a published writing, *had its risk, and some consideration toward the one 'who is' beseems even a prophet.*" How are the mighty fallen! Here is one of the two brothers whom, because of their daring, our Lord himself had surnamed Sons of Thunder—one who, "for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ," was on "the isle that is called Patmos,"—who yet is afraid (we need not mince our words) to mention by his true name the potentate of whom he prophesies, lest he should offend his majesty, and possibly add his own name to the names of the many of whom he writes as having been "slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held." To do so "had its risk, and some consideration toward the one 'who is' beseems even a prophet!" There is no question about it; "this is so, . . . because," etc., says our author, who is quite certain that he is right.

Now, we beg leave to submit that this dogmatic assertion, this belittling of noble characters by imputing to them unworthy motives for acts that probably never existed save in the imagination of the writer—that this and the like is not what we came to "Mommsen's Roman Provinces" in quest of. We expected history, a narrative of actual and indisputable facts, or, if certainty on any point were wanting, we looked for a probable solution of the phenomena, with a statement of the grounds of that solution. What we have found instead we prefer not to characterize.

It is with reluctance, we may say with positive pain, that

we call attention to what is a grave blemish in a work otherwise excellent. We regret the unfriendly spirit of the book toward the Christian revelation the more because, as we have said, its antagonistic expressions are so entirely needless. In general, the marks of close research are every-where apparent. This is no production hastily gotten out to meet a popular demand. It is rather the collection and arrangement in an orderly form of the results of the labors of a long series of years. From the most distant and diverse sources, there has been gathered such an array of facts, respecting a subject many parts of which have hitherto been involved in great obscurity, as cannot be found in any previous work. The style, too, is good; rarely drawing attention to itself, but serving as the transparent medium whose sole function it is to convey the light truthfully and without distortion. Dr. Dickson has done his part with unusual skill and success. A translation from the German which should wholly conceal the fact that it was a version from a foreign tongue would indeed be a marvel. There is an element of ponderousness in the German, especially the German historical style, of which it is well-nigh impossible to eliminate the traces in English save by a laborious process that amounts to little short of an entire re-writing of the work. But if Dr. Dickson has not attempted this, he has at any rate given us a lively, accurate, and sufficiently idiomatic rendering. That it combines with these excellences the indispensable merit of faithfully reproducing the original, we have convinced ourselves by a comparison of portions of his translation of the earlier volumes with Dr. Mommsen's own work in German. While cordially thanking Dr. Dickson for the patience and the scholarly care which he has displayed in giving us in so excellent an English form this new portion of Theodor Mommsen's researches into Roman history, we cannot forego the expression of the hope that the great German scholar may be spared to complete the books—the sixth and seventh—according to his original design; that will fill the gap between his former work and the volumes now given to the world.

ART. III.—THE MYSTERY OF REDEMPTION.

OF all subjects that can engage human thought, there is none more profound than the mystery of redemption. The Scriptures teach that the redemptory work of the Christ is not the mediation of some third person making reconciliation between offended God and sinful man; but it is the intervention of Christ incarnate, who is the union of God and man, and both the one and the other.

The redemptive purpose of the triune God was formed before the foundation of the world. The love of God was the moving cause of that wonderful purpose. Reason strives in vain for an explication of the mystery; and where reason fails revelation discloses the astounding fact that "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." John iii, 16. In the council of redemption, the good pleasure of the Father to save man, and to exalt him through Christ to a glorious state, was concurred in by the divine Son and by the Holy Spirit. In that gracious purpose each of the glorious personages of the Godhead had, as the Scriptures teach, a distinct function to perform. In Rom. xvi, 25, St. Paul speaks of the "revelation of the mystery, which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest, and by the Scriptures of the prophets, according to the commandment of the everlasting God, made known to all nations for the obedience of faith." At the point where eternity joined the birth of time, that eternal purpose already existed, and had already been decreed to be accomplished in the incarnation and atonement of the Son of God. The ruinous fall of man and his costly redemption were, therefore, pre-supposed and foreknown before man's advent on this terrestrial ball.

St. Peter, in his first epistle (chapter i, 18–21), said: "Ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, . . . but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot: who verily was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world, but was manifest in these last times for you, who by him do believe in God, that raised him up from the dead, and gave him glory; that your faith and hope

might be in God." Thus the wondrous plan of redemption was devised by infinite wisdom and love.

> "Grace first contrived the way
> To save rebellious man!"

But on what principle can infinite justice clear the guilty? How can God be just and yet the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus? Various views of this oft-propounded question—a question unanswerable by human reason—have been promulgated. Learned and renowned theologians have essayed to answer, and have here expended their wealth of erudition.

It has been revealed that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, and to give his life a ransom for many; but beyond the acceptance of this great truth as a glorious fact it is doubtful if the human mind can proceed. It cannot fathom the depth of the redemptive mystery.

I. By one theory it is claimed that the perfect holiness of Christ and his obedience in taking upon himself the penalty of sin are a full satisfaction for the claims of justice as to those elected to salvation; and that to supply the want of personal righteousness in them the righteousness of Christ is substituted. According to this doctrine, there are a substituted punishment and a substituted obedience. These, as a justification of the elect, it is claimed, satisfy the requirements of the divine law and propitiate the favor of God. But this so-called theory of satisfaction seems amenable to serious objections: 1) The identical penalty due to the sinner could not have been endured by the Saviour, for he was a holy Being, a Lamb without blemish and without spot; whereas the merited punishment of the guilty consists, in part, of the consciousness of guilt and of the recognized equity of its punishment in the offender. These elements could not have entered into the redemptive sufferings of the Holy One, for he had no guilt to be atoned. 2) Again: a substituted penalty must be equivalent to that for which it is borne, and the merited penalties of sinful humanity are so incomputable, and call for such endless continuance, as to be impossible to be borne by one vicarious substitute. Christ's suffering, therefore, cannot be accounted as an equal, nor, indeed, as an equivalent, punishment for these. Nor is this objection avoided by the suggestion of a reduction

in quantity in proportion to the higher quality, as if it were the payment of gold in the place of silver. It would seem, therefore, that the claims of justice must be satisfied upon some principle other than that of equal or equivalent payment of penalty. Perfect justice, it would seem, requires before its tribunal, where no other principle intervenes, the full payment due from the offender. Nor is it just to inflict the stripes on one innocent as an equivalent substitution of punishment. There was in Christ, it is true, a vicarious atonement for the sin of the world, but not, so far as we can see, in the sense of a full satisfaction by an equivalent penalty. There was, as has been said, a substitute for the penalty, but not a substituted penalty. The latter requires an equal punishment due to the sin of the offender; the former such a vicarious substitute as that the divine law suffers no dishonor in respect of those who are pardoned after repentance through faith in Christ, and on some principle that does not violate divine law, and so that the ruling or governmental order of God is still honored. 3) If the claims of justice on the satisfaction theory have been satisfied, how can they be further enforced? On this theory those for whom Christ died will certainly be saved, whatever may be their demerit or doings. Where, then, is the necessity for them of repentance and a holy life? or how can it be maintained, that for such and such only was the Great Sacrifice for sin offered? The Gospel call to repentance and faith is made to all; and he that heareth may come, and whosoever will may take of the water of life freely. Christ died for all; and although all may not be saved, it is true that all who obey the Gospel, accepting the condition of salvation, will be saved through the merits of the atonement.

II. There is a better theory than the satisfaction theory. It is called the rectoral or governmental. We name this as prominent among various others. It claims that Christ made an atonement by substitution for the sins of men, in such a sense as to render their forgiveness possible and just, on the condition of true faith in him, after sincere repentance. This theory regards the sufferings and death of Christ not as punitive, but as sufficient within the moral administration and perfect government of a just Sovereign. Justice can still fulfill its demands in the interest of God's moral government, and

he be just while yet he is the justifier of him who believes in Jesus.

In this marvelous provision of infinite wisdom and love, holy intelligences, as the Scriptures teach, feel deep sympathy. There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, for he is thus brought to the cross of Christ, and to divine forgiveness through the atoning merit of him who was "delivered for our offenses." These things the angels delight to look into. The theme, the sight, the joy are new and mysterious.

The atonement must have been something more than compensation for merited punishment; for, if that were all, how could the principle have challenged the profound study of angels? Nor were the sufferings due to sinful men transferred to Christ; but he made an offering of himself and a propitiation for men; and thereby a new covenant in the blood of Christ, shed for many for the remission of sins, in some sense deeper than we can understand, became the basis of the atonement. The great Sacrifice was not offered by men to God, but was made by God for men. It was the plan of redemption found out by infinite wisdom and love, and was accomplished through the incarnation and death of the adorable Redeemer.

> "How great the wisdom, power, and grace,
> Which in redemption shine!
> The heavenly host with joy confess
> The work is all divine."

III. The salvation of man for which the atonement provided consists of something more than a means of pardon. It is the means of a new creation as well. The soul must be regenerated and born anew before it can dwell with God. The affections and tendencies of the heart must be turned toward God and goodness. The law that thundered in the words, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die," has not been repealed. The sacrifice on Calvary aimed, therefore, a destructive blow at sin and its consequence, death. It seems divinely designed to break the heart, hard and sinful though it be, and to kindle therein the supreme love and constant choice of purity, truth, and goodness. The springs of action and motive in the soul are thereby changed, cleansed, and purified, so that thenceforth

a new principle of spiritual life takes the place of sin and disobedience.

What can accomplish so strange a work but the Divine Spirit in a heart attracted by the cross? We thus see that reconciliation to God must come through the acceptance of the gospel-disclosed condition—faith in the Crucified One—and through the resulting obedience of a holy life. In the man who has acted wrongfully, and devised evil, there must be an entire change of mind, of purpose, and of conduct. He cannot truly come to Christ for pardon, because Christ has died; but he must abandon his wrong doing, choose the right, and then, by faith, rely on the only sacrifice for sin. A new principle must thus actuate his life.

There is, then, in the work of redemption, at least a twofold feature: a plan for the pardon of guilt, and a means for the recovery of the sinner from his lost condition, so that he may escape from sin and death. The Saviour himself declared, before his departure from earth for his throne above, "Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day: and that repentance [change of mind and conduct] and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem." Luke xxiv, 46, 47.

The incarnation, humiliation, suffering, and death of the Son of God were the method of man's salvation. Divine wisdom and love found this means, and this only, as necessary for the recovery of man, for the extirpation of his sin, the regeneration of his soul, his reconciliation with God, and his restoration to divine favor. "God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners (enemies to him), Christ died for us." Rom. v, 8. He died that his enemies might become his friends.

Thus our fellowship is with the Father and with his Son, Jesus Christ; and the way of this wonderful reunion is through unfeigned repentance and sincere faith in the atonement of the Redeemer. Not now must man be eternally separated from his loving Father, but sin is to be slain and cast forth forever; so that the saved are they who are arrayed in fine linen, even those "who have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." They have been

restored to a new life through faith and the constraining force of love and gratitude.

Our Daysman with God showed to the world a gentleness, a patience, a meekness, an overflowing pity, a condescending love, such as had never been exhibited on earth. He said, "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." Thus it was that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them. What a symbol of infinite love, wisdom, and compassion is the cross on which Jesus died! And what a wondrous means it is for the elevation of man from his lost estate to a glorious destiny! The highest utterance of divine love was the sacrifice of Christ. What God-like compassion for fallen man was here made known!

IV. But the redemptive work of Christ was not a mere expedient to meet an emergency occasioned by the fall. Thereby, indeed, a process is displayed by which the guilty can be pardoned, while justice is maintained; and thereby, also, a provision is set forth by faith in which, beyond the sphere of justice, sin can be destroyed, the human soul regenerated, the moral image of its Creator restored, and affinity with the pure nature of God regained. This is a recovery of what was lost by Adam's transgression. But is that the extent of the great redemption by Christ, and of heaven's wondrous love in that redemptory work? Nay: the incarnation and atonement of the Son of God lift our thought upward to another glorious conception.

Had Adam retained his integrity his race could never have been more than co-equal with him. But now—O now Christ has taken our nature into union with his own, and we are made joint heirs with him to an immortal inheritance! Our future glory and destiny soar far above the Adamic, and are lost in the incomparable light of the glory of Christ! His promise is, "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne. . . . Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple. . . . For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters." These words speak of a higher heaven than Eden. They are symbolic representations of the blessed in Christ's eternal kingdom.

What had been the glory and the destiny of our race had Adam never sinned has no charm of conjecture now; for who can doubt that man's higher glory and destiny have been enriched by reason of the incarnation and atonement of the blessed Redeemer, through which the infinite measure of God's eternal love to the world finds wondrous expansion? What must be that glorious life immortal of soul conscious and divinely-chosen union with Christ! The human soul, a divine spark from the uncreated fire, breathed forth from the one Source of all life and light, will be unspeakably glorious in eternity through its relation to Christ! Stars of transcendent glory, unseen in this dim and cloudy night of time, will glow and glisten in the firmament of the new heaven!

From all eternity the most glorious object of time must have been the cross of Christ; and to all eternity will its radiance be reflected in the souls of those who have been redeemed and have washed their robes, and thus gained right to the tree of life, and entrance through the gates into the city. Christ will not be ashamed to call them brethren. Heb. ii, 11. And these are they who, by the Almighty Father, were fore-ordained to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren. Rom. viii, 29. We need not look back to Adam, and think of a lost hope for his pristine grandeur. We look for inconceivably more. Having Christ for our elder brother suggests a higher grandeur than Adam ever knew. The grace of the redemption by Christ Jesus confers on his followers the glory that he wears—a glory immeasurably above what Adam enjoyed in Eden! To gain that glory for us our blessed Redeemer consented to go through the scenes and sorrows of his humiliation, the grief and suffering of Gethsemane, the taunts and buffetings of the judgment-hall of Pilate, and to endure the shame and agony of the cross! But what he thus gained for us, and what are the blessed results of the redemption, the human mind cannot in these limitations of time depict or comprehend. It is a theme for eternity. Then it will fill the universe with joy.

Art. IV.—THE ALLEGED DECAY OF THE FAMILY.

That the family institution in the United States of America is passing through a process of disintegration, if not of decomposition, and that the social and political welfare of the republic is menaced with great danger by this assumed fact, is the firm belief of many patriotic citizens. What conclusions have been reached in the course of long and patient investigation of this subject by the writer will be apparent in the following article.

The literature of the family is abundant. Two recent writers, to whom we are much indebted for facts and suggestions, give a list of seventy volumes in different languages consulted by them in the prosecution of their work. The Rev. Samuel W. Dike, Corresponding Secretary of the National Divorce Reform League, also points out the vast body of published materials available to students of this problem. But, with the exception of Anderson *On the Domestic Constitution*, there has been no valuable treatise thereupon accessible to the English-speaking public. The appearance of *The Family—An Historical and Social Study*,* by Charles Franklin Thwing and Carrie E. Butler Thwing, is a timely and excellent contribution to a deeply felt need, and will doubtless be followed by others of more or less worth.

The importance of the normal family institution to Church and State can scarcely be overestimated. It is necessarily the social unit. Were men and women to persist in pure celibacy, the human race in little more than a century would be as extinct as the enormous palæozoic fauna.

The ideal family is yet to be embodied. Adam and Eve, unfallen, were perfect as a social unit; fallen, they were imperfect. But even when perfect they, as a family related to the possible commonwealth, were only inchoate. When sons and daughters were born to them the first family was fully developed. Yet this was not an embodiment of the ideal, as the religion and morals of the parents and the irreligion and wickedness of one of their children amply attest. Perhaps that of Joseph and Mary at Nazareth approximated to the

* Boston: Lee & Shepard, pp. 213.

perfect archetype as closely as any of which we have knowledge. But theirs was a Semitic ideal. The fact that there is a Semitic, an Aryan, and other ideals more or less distinctly shaped enforces the conviction that there is no universal ideal. Even Christianity has not, as yet, originated one so excellent that it may aspire to that commanding eminence. It will do so. The finished revelation of the mind and will of God concerning man, understood through the grace of the inspiring Paraclete, will undoubtedly lead to the conception of a perfect ideal, to be more gracefully defined and more thoroughly incorporated in the life of society as the Christianity of Christ enthrones itself in the faith and love of the race.

The question now is, whether the family, and particularly within the United States, considered in relation to the noblest Christian ideal, is decaying or not. Postulating that the ideal family is divinely instituted—that it is the original unit of society, monogamous through exclusive elective affinity, fruitful, religious, of equal rights in some respects and of peculiar rights in others, pure in morals, participant in all human interests, the strength of the Church and the safeguard of society—next, examining the alleged proofs of the general decay of the family, and, lastly, inquiring into and suggesting methods of embodiment as the concept ideal presents itself to the Christian mind, is the line of thought along which studious investigation naturally proceeds.

That the family is a divine institution, founded in a special act of the Almighty, is obvious from Gen. ii, 18–25. It is established by the marriage contract, which, as Fraser affirms, is "unlike other contracts; it is one instituted by God himself, and has its foundation in the law of nature. It is the parent, not the child, of civil society."* Milton and all other writers who maintain that marriage is only a simple contract, and divorce but its dissolution, ignore the divine constitution of the family through marriage.

It is also worthy of remark that the family appears to be a type of the divine government. The family and the domestic relationships interpret those names by which God makes himself known to man. Power, obedience, reciprocal love, mutual rights and duties, as existing in the divine government in its relation

* *Domestic Relations*, i, 87.

to man, are made intelligible by corresponding qualities prevailing in the human family. In its narrowest as well as in its broadest sense the family is the medium of a divine revelation. Into a family was Christ born, in a family Christ lived; from the family, also, we receive those conceptions of God as Father, Brother, Friend, which we believe most truly represent his character.*

That the family, consisting in its simplest form of husband and wife, is the original unit of society is not only the dogma of Christian theologians, but the belief of scientists like Sir Henry Maine, Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, and Oscar Peschel. These maintain that the monogamic, and not the promiscuous, relation of the sexes characterized their archaic state. The instincts and habits of animals, excepting a few wild ones, are in favor of this hypothesis. Polygamy and polyandry are equally unnatural. The preponderance of male births, and the greater uncertainty of masculine life, shut out presumption of universal prevalence of either of these customs. That society has ever been chaotic, or embracive of all kinds of domestic relations, is not the fault in any way of the primitive constitution of the family. Hearn, in his description of the *Aryan Household*, shows that it illustrates the remark of Aristotle, that the family is the unit of the social fabric. The husband is the spouse of one wife, and the wife is the spouse of one husband. No trace of polygamy is visible in the Homeric delineations of Greek life. Christianity sanctifies marriage as the life-long union of one man and one woman, and brands all outside sexual commerce as sinful. The progressive movement of society for the past three or four centuries has been toward the substitution of the individual for the family as the social and legal center. Modern jurisprudence cognizes only the individual, not the family, who has been guilty of crime; and yet popular feeling largely identifies the family with the individual, and metes out praise or blame accordingly. All this is consonant with the teachings of Christianity. The Bible bears an "individual message to the individual," and holds him, as possessed of free-will and conscience, to be blameworthy or meritorious. Protestantism emphasizes the right and duty of private judgment, and regards every sane person as responsible for his moral character. But while Christianity treats the indi-

*Thwing's *The Family*, pp. 99, 100.

vidual as the responsible social atom, it no less clearly deals with husband and wife—with or without children—as the molecular unit of society. Personal rights and responsibilities are necessarily modified by the expansion or constriction of the related sphere in which the individual moves.

The physical basis of marriage which constitutes the family is in sexual instinct; its spiritual foundation is the exclusive preference of husband and wife for each other. This mutual elective affinity is supreme, complete, persistent. "It is an affection of soul for soul, of mind for mind, of body for body." The essence of marriage, whatever may be its external form, has always and every-where been more or less distinctly affirmed to consist in the willing consent of both parties to it. These parties should not be consanguineous. The deplorable physical and moral condition of some families, royal and republican, and of some communities, heathen and nominally Christian, is traced by biologists to the marital relations of persons within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the Mosaic code. Neither reason nor revelation opposes any obstacle, save those inconsistent with Christian good sense, to the choice of parties. Under the Levitical institutions heiresses were obliged to marry within their own tribe to prevent the alienation of the inheritance. Men might legally marry those not of their own tribe or nation. Under the Aryan institutions the bridegroom must marry a daughter of his own people, but not a woman of his own kin. The choice of an Athenian citizen was limited to Athenian women. Such was the pride of race that the wedded union of an ordinary artisan with a foreign princess was esteemed disgraceful to the former. The children of such a connection could not possess the full birthright of citizens. No Athenian woman was allowed to marry a foreigner. Severe penalties followed the infraction of the rule forbidding the search for a spouse without the national boundaries. In the mediæval republics of northern Italy the woman was debarred from marriage beyond her own municipality. The spirit of these restrictions inheres in those State statutes of our own republic which prohibit intermarriage of people of African descent with those of Caucasian blood. The New Testament interposes no obstruction to the nuptials of couples inside or outside of the Church of Christ.

Fruitfulness is one characteristic of every ideal of the family. Among the Semites childlessness was a calamity. Husband and wife were pitiably contemptible. Children were desiderated with an intensity inconceivable by modern fashionable society. Chronic and transmissible weakness or disease alone, in ordinary circumstances, should prevent the operation of this divinely-implanted passion. The institution of the family contemplates the production of healthy children. Hereditary or incurable disease ought to be an insuperable bar to procreation. Dr. Combe is not the only one who has rightfully resisted the inclination to marry on the ground of liability to hereditary consumption. Nothing but misery can accrue from the increase of people afflicted by the taint of malignant scrofula or insanity. If the marriage of such could be prevented without violating feeling or propriety the wisest thinkers maintain that it should be done. Instruction on this point, and the consequent cultivation of natural honor, are among the uncongenial duties of public ethical teachers.

The family institution perpetuates itself through legitimate connections. In all Aryan communities the illegitimate son was excluded from the family. Christianity inculcates subserviency of the lower nature to the higher, and particularly in matrimonial contract. Every child ought to be well born. Prenatal conditions should be such as conduce to the creation of strong, healthy bodies and sound minds. These conditions can only exist where parents are united in heart and life with the sanctions of true ethics. Illicit intercourse is poison to the body, murder to the soul, sin against society, deadly wrong to its wretched fruit, and degradation below the bestial level. Only in the bonds of wedlock is the human race propitiously perpetuated. Only in the family can the young and feeble members be duly protected and properly trained. To this end the loving permanence of the married state is indispensable:

> That training of the intellectual, moral, and spiritual nature of the child, without which experience proves that he usually becomes more degraded than the brute, is most wisely and effectively given in the family. The moral qualities of love, justice, patience, temperance, fortitude, are permanent qualities of the marriage state. They are necessary elements in the training of children. . . . In the family we are usually privileged to find them most potent for the formation of the character of children.

The central point of the ideal family organization is religious. In the Semitic and Aryan conceptions it is essentially such. The ancestral worship of Hindus, Iranians, Slavonians, Greeks, and Romans was a survival of the family religion of the original Aryan household—a religion whose original and objective was the God and Father of all mankind. Christianity draws out the inherent truth of it, and eliminates all that is false and foreign. The family of ancient Greece and Rome was a religious institution. By the marriage rites husband and wife were brought into religious communion with each other and with the household gods. Thenceforward they participated in the same worship, and shared in the same rites, prayers, and festivals. In the early Roman republic the husband was the priest of the domestic altar and the chief minister of the household religion. Roman Catholicism recognizes the religious character of the family by the religious rites connected with marriage. It usually publishes the bans in the church, and performs the ceremony before the altar. It is, and always has been, conservative of the family institution. Protestantism, in its extreme reaction against the errors and superstitions of popery, erroneously defined marriage as a civil contract, and lodged it in the hands of justices of the peace. But against this the Christian consciousness of the people rebelled, and compelled legislators to authorize the performance of marriage ceremonies by ministers. Since 1692 marriage by magistrates has not been countenanced by professing Christians in New England or in any of the United States, nor, indeed, by any except people of infidel or socialistic sentiments. Orthodox Christianity admits its civil character, but insists that religious and moral elements enter into its nature, and that it is a religious observance rather than an occasion of social festivity. Practice and theory, however, are in rare accord.

In the Semitic family authority belonged to the husband and obedience to the wife. The head might speak of his wife in such contemptuous language as Shakespeare makes Petruchio use of Katharine:

> "I will be master of what is mine own:
> She is my goods, my chattels; she is my house,
> My household stuff, my field, my barn,
> My horse, my ox, my ass, my any thing."

On the same principle the Aryan family was established. The power of the Roman husband and father over his family was absolute. Life, even, was at his mercy. Among the Jews the husband was head and governor of the family. Paul declares him to be such. To the Corinthians he writes (1 Cor. xi, 3), "The head of the woman is the man;" to the Ephesians, (v, 23), "For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church." In all his writings this sentiment prevails. But he strongly represents the relations of husband and wife as of a mystical nature, essentially akin to those subsisting between Christ and his Church. The apostolic fathers scrupulously followed his teachings. The Thwings, reflecting somewhat on Paul's theory, affirm "that the proper relation of husband and wife in the family is one of equality, equal rights, equal duties, and equal authority, and not of subjection the one to the other, is vindicated," as they believe, "1) by a true interpretation of the Scriptures, 2) by the dictates of justice, 3) by expediency."* Whatever we might say of their criticisms of St. Paul, it will be comparatively easy to accept the doctrine of equal rights, duties, and authority, provided these equalities be properly distributed in harmony with actual and necessary differences of sex and function. The question of proper distribution is one about which the wisest and best of thinkers are not entirely agreed. The fact is, that each has rights, duties, and authority that the other has not. Each should assist, not oppress or hinder, the other in their due exercise. But even then the nature of things is such as must, in the ideal family, bring the principle of necessary authority on the one hand, and of voluntary submission on the other, into more or less of prominence, and that too in perfect concord with liberty under divine law. "In order to form the truest and noblest character, husband and wife should meet on a level where each recognizes the complete individuality of the other, and the right of each to rule and the duty of each to obey," within the sphere providentially and respectively assigned by the Creator of both.

Conjugal love, especially when both parties are "in the Lord," is the universal solvent of all difficulties. It lubricates the wheels of wedlock so that they run smoothly, without friction,

* Thwing's *The Family*, p. 112.

heat, or screeching. It creates a type of family life far superior to that so beautifully delineated by Lecky in the affirmance that

> It may be fearlessly asserted that the types of female excellence which are contained in the Greek poems, while they are among the earliest, are also among the most perfect, in the literature of mankind. The conjugal tenderness of Hector and Andromache; the unwearied fidelity of Penelope, awaiting through the long revolving years the return of her storm-tossed husband, who looks forward to her as to the crown of all his labors; the heroic love of Alcestis, voluntarily dying that her husband might live; the filial piety of Antigone; the majestic grandeur of the death of Polyxena; the more subdued and saintly resignation of Iphigenia, excusing with her last breath the father who had condemned her; the joyous, modest, and loving Nausica, whose figure shines like a perfect idyl among the tragedies of the Odyssey—all these are pictures of perennial beauty which Rome and Christendom, chivalry and modern civilization, have neither eclipsed nor transcended.*

"Even as Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself for it" (Eph. v, 25), are husbands to love their wives. This highest type of conjugal love is the strongest bond of the ideal Christian family. Purity of morals is the necessary sequence of such intelligence and love; purity that has never existed in the celibate corporations of the Greek or Roman Catholic Churches; purity that was rarely, if ever, found in Hellenic or Latin families in the best eras of their history. Fidelity was demanded of the Athenian wife, unfaithfulness permitted to the Athenian husband. Plato, the father of Oneida Communism, in Book V of his *Republic*, argued in favor of sexual communism, severely restricted, as tending to make the new generation "better and more useful than their good and useful parents." Although one of the greatest philosophers of all the ages, he was incapable of rising to that altitude of Christian thought which regards the family as an institution in which each of the two partners gives self to the other, and through this abnegating surrender attains the noblest type of character. Plato's theory sanctions murder, and is opposed to the first principles of morality. The Christian ideal is one of love, altruism, and beneficence. It impresses the divine likeness upon individuals, while it provides for the judicious education of childhood, and

* *History of European Civilization*, ii, p. 279.

the care of the feeble, sick, insane, aged, and helpless poor. It creates the noblest personality. "Its method is simply the Christian method of saving life by losing it." In the mutual surrender of self, "each receives back the other, who has been thus enriched by the sacrifice. They are, indeed, 'no more twain.' The personality of each is ennobled and enlarged by the personality of the other." Thus the family purifies and exalts the character of the race. In the Christian family, unlike that of the Hellene, the wife shares the intellectual and religious life of the husband, is the lovely and beneficent genius of household affairs, the co-director of her children's physical education, the joint owner of common resources, and the equal sharer of her husband's honors. *Ubi tu Caius, ego Caia,* is a Roman formula that she may properly use in a sense unknown to the Latin matron. Whatever of moral obligation rests upon her settles with equal weight upon him. In labors and sufferings, enjoyments and dignities, honors and rewards, there is entire community. "This is a great mystery," like the union "between Christ and the Church." Eph. v, 32. It is a *sacramentum*—a means of grace. The demands of such a family upon the husband (house-bond) are more urgent than those of business; the dignity and influence therein of the wife and mother are higher than any elsewhere attainable; the children are bound thereto by ties stronger than those of all other associations. Mutual love, confidence, and beneficence make it the best earthly type of celestial happiness.

As the ideal family is the creation of Christian thought, culture, and morals, it can only be preserved by the same factors. Just as Greek culture, frivolity, and vices, imported into Rome, disintegrated the pure, strong life of the Roman family, so the introduction of agnostic and infidel thought, of phosphorescent because putrid literature, of frivolous manners and sensual immoralities into American society only corrupts republican simplicity, and does what it may to overthrow republican institutions and liberties. The Christian family is the basis, the strength, the glory of modern civilization.

The bond of that marriage which constitutes the ideal family is indissoluble. Sterility cannot unloose it, as in the Semitic and Aryan divisions of the race; neither can any of the specious causes admitted by the Jews, nor the insanity of either party, nor

any thing short of death or gross crime, dissolve it. The wedded pair can only be separated by the death or adultery (its moral equivalent) of one of the twain. Such is the doctrine of our Lord's sermon on the mount. Malicious desertion (1 Cor. vii, 15), or attempt upon the life of the consort, or confirmed and dangerous drunkenness, is by many regarded as the equivalent of adultery, and justifies the consent of the injured party to the complete rupture of the marriage bond. Such is the doctrine of Luther, Calvin, and most of the Reformers. Roman Catholicism seems to hold the same dogma, but lets in a flood of fetid and destructive evils by its doctrine of marital nullification for any one of many reasons altogether different from these.

The Christian family, rigidly guarded by legislation instinct with the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, is indispensable to the growth and prosperity of the Church.

Nonna, winning her husband Gregory over to the true faith, and training her son, Gregory of Nazianzus, as Hannah trained Samuel—Anthusa of Antioch, left a widow at the age of twenty, and devoting her life to the culture of a son, whose name, John Chrysostom, allows the conclusion that he was well worthy of such devotion—and Monica, who sowed the seeds of divine truth in the heart of hers on Augustine—each illustrates the influence of the Christian home of the first centuries.*

The world cannot too highly estimate its indebtedness to Susannah Wesley for the training of her sons John and Charles, the quickening, organizing instruments, in the Divine Hand, of the most forceful and persistent revival of religion since the day of Pentecost.

The Christian family, in the truest embodiments of its ideal, is not only the strength of the Church but also the surest safeguard of the State. The Roman Empire fell, not because of successive inundations of northern barbarians, but because it had lost all vital cohesiveness and strength through the extinction of the old Aryan family. Germans and tribes of other names established themselves upon its ruins, because they retained the Aryan family in all its simplicity and power. We cannot agree with the Thwings that "the family, which should be the source and fountain of the purest and most lasting influences, has quite ceased to exist as a social unit;" that

* Thwing's *The Family*, p. 78.

"society has thus lost one of its most important elements of noble permanence;" that "one of the supports of the social order has fallen." No, no.

The individual, however "radical and progressive," in whom political power is vested, is now, as in the grandest specimens of the Aryan community, the actual or potential head of a family; and never have family considerations been more powerful in the commonwealth than at present. The United States of America have "special need of conservative influences;" and the present growing agitation for the preservation and perfection of the ideal Christian family, "for the formation of the best order of human society," is the prophecy that such conservative influences will not be wanting in the portentous future.

> Happily, the dignity and purity of the marriage relation have enlisted upon their side the noblest instincts and emotions of which human nature is capable. These, with the help that law and public opinion can give, are sure, ultimately, to do far more than restore marriage to its pristine sanctity. They will raise it to a higher place than it has yet ever held in the temple of human society.*

Ever since the fall of our first parents evil and good have been in perpetual antagonism among their descendants. Divine ideals of individuality, of the family institution, of social relations, of human brotherhood, have been inveterately opposed by the moral evil within and the moral evil without. This active and bitter enmity cannot be ignored, nor the best and wisest methods of overcoming it neglected. Not unfrequently the strongest and most zealous reformers fall into despondency like that of Elijah on Horeb. The wickedness of the wicked, the errors of the foolish and misguided, and the indifference of the lukewarm, temporarily deprive them of hope and energy. It requires the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and the touch of the Divine Hand, to restore and augment their faith and courage. They need to look on both sides of the conflict; without and not within, up and not down.

Alleged proofs of the decay of the family are discovered in the prevalent contemptuous disregard for "blood," the higher education of girls, the opening of larger spheres of work to

* Thwing's *The Family*, p. 167.

women, the division of the family by diverse social, educational, and ecclesiastical preferences, the individualized position of each member, the asserted popular movement toward socialism, the contempt for civil law, and the willingness to adopt riotous measures to gain desiderated ends. Whatever of truth or of unreality may be in these alleged proofs, it is certain that socialism is a popular reaction against exaggerated selfish individualism, and that what is true in its theories is in harmony with the divine constitution and conservation of the family.

The drift of population toward the cities is held to imply the decay of the family. In 1790, of every 100 persons in the United States, 3.3 lived in cities; in 1810, 4.9; in 1820, 4.9; in 1830, 6.7; in 1840, 8.5; in 1850, 12.5; in 1860, 16.1; in 1870, 20.9; in 1880, 22.5.* The increase of labor-saving machinery and the means of production adds to the volume and speed of this drift. "The struggle for wealth, the appetite for excitement, the opportunity for the satisfaction and development of personal taste" of urban communities, it is said, develop individualism and minify the family. The calm conservatism and simplicity of the country, it is also asserted, tend to develop and magnify the family. All such generalities are principally expressions of opinion; and opinions differ as do the experiences and observations of those who express them. There are not wanting judicious authorities of long and wide experience who stoutly maintain that American family life in cities is nearly, if not quite, as pure and as close an approximation to the ideal as that of the rural districts. Not even in Great Britain are there families embodying and exemplifying more of those eternal principles of religion and morality which build up pure, beautiful, beneficent, and happy homes than in the great cities of the United States. Still, it must be conceded that there are many families both in city and country of which the decay is obvious; families originally constituted by couples whose ignorance of the religious and moral character of marriage made its celebration a purely social festivity; families to which divine worship is as foreign as to the association of paired unmoral animals; and to which all the purifying, conservative effects of the knowledge of, and communion with, God through Christ are utterly lost; families

* *Compendium of the Tenth Census*, p. 8.

impaired, broken, polluted, diabolized by drunkenness, lechery, hate, violence, lies, and all manner of iniquity.

The family in this and in other Christian countries is in a state of transition. The Church, the law and society generally uphold the proposition that a wife ought to be in subjection to her husband in all things consistent with natural fitness and the revealed will of God, but they each and all substantially agree in sustaining the wife in her refusal to obey behests contrary to these. The frequent result of contradiction would be the rejection of all obligation and the destruction of the family union.

Boarding-houses and hotels are too often permitted to take the place of homes for multitudes of married couples in city, town, and country. In these wives are idle while husbands are toiling for daily bread. The circumstances of life suggest and foster distaste for parental joys, duties, and responsibilities. Children, than whom nothing but dominating mutual love is a stronger bond of union, are absent from the rooms. Indiscretions are committed, solicitations to sensual indulgence are rife, jealousies and bickerings creep in, reciprocal dislike is engendered, and a long series of avoidable mistakes is capped by the catastrophe of the divorce court.

The absorbing passion for social advancement, springing in some measure from our excellent systems of common-school education, undoubtedly corrupts "much that is most precious in the domestic relations." It deters vigorous and passionate youth from the contraction of matrimony. It prompts to unloving, unsuitable marriages for position in society, command of wealth, means of pleasure, conservation of property, and other ends of worse moral quality. It excites to expenditure unwarranted by income, to display in dress, furniture, and sumptuary provision out of all proportion to resources; to the contraction of debts which the bread-winner cannot defray; to hypocrisy, dishonesty, and defalcation; in some sad instances to the mercenary sale of the holiest sanctities of humanity, and in many to the hopeless shattering of the family organism. Whether in these particulars the "former times were better than these" we do not pause to inquire. Humanity has always been and always will be the same, except as it is modified by the Gospel and grace of God. Matters now call for exhaustive thought upon effective processes of amendment.

The failure of legislation to scientifically correlate woman's responsibilities with woman's rights is another fruitful source of injury to the family. The woman who, as wife, retains exclusive control of her own property, can yet compel her husband to pay her debts. The number of families utterly ruined by the exercise of this power is not a few.

The intellectual culture and business opportunities of women are held by some theorists to be harmful to the family. In the middle classes of the older States the book-knowledge and intellectual superiority of the average wife over her husband is said to be "plain even to a casual observer," and that it is among these classes that "the rate of divorce is by far the highest." These also are largely matters of individual opinion about which observers decidedly disagree. Students must fall back upon personal observation and the testimony of competent contemporaries. Second-hand knowledge is not judicially subordinated to primary, nor mere literary criticism to sound judgment of secular or spiritual affairs. Mrs. Somerville, one of the most gifted of mathematicians and acquisitive of scientists, was a model housekeeper, wife, and mother; and multitudes of the best educated American women are also among the most excellent of domestic managers, wives, and parents. In all these respects they will compare with less cultured classes to their own praise and to the disadvantage of the latter. As to divorce, the poor and ignorant commonly dispense with all action of the courts. As to the business opportunities of woman, if "the industries in which she now engages are numbered by the hundreds" they are oftener utilized for the preservation than for the destruction of home and family.

Loose notions of sexual morality, and the absence of clear ideas of the family obligations, unquestionably foster the shamefully criminal practice of pre-natal infanticide. This is a branch of the question which the pure-minded discuss with shuddering horror. Like most cancerous growths it calls for the knife. It menaces the life of the nation. It has reduced the descendants of the Puritans in some localities to an insignificant minority. Such is the statement of patriotic physicians. The committee of a western State Board of Health avows the conviction "that in the United States the number of women who die from its *immediate* effects is not less than

six thousand per annum." Gynecologists affirm that it is not maternity which sends to them the largest number of patients, but the needless refusal of its responsibilities. Unchastity in many forms keeps step with immoral ideas and legislation. In communities where known licentiousness does not exclude men from respectable, not to say Christian, circles, and where some profess to look upon adultery, and especially of married women, as a venial offense, criminal abortion and the social evil assume their most flagitious and revolting forms. These sins are not the less deadly when disguised or concealed. The pen refuses to record, and good taste prohibits, the publication of conversations and occurrences connected with the murder of the innocents. The disgust and horror expressed even by some professed disciples of the Lord in relation to these leprous sores of nineteenth century civilization are not to the fetid cancers but to their exposure. In Ohio careful medical investigation has led to the conclusion that pre-natal infanticide annually robs the family of one third its legitimate increment. In the Northern States it is said to be more prevalent than in Buddhist China. The murder of adults or of children may be comparatively infrequent, but the All-seeing alone knows to what extent the destruction of unborn life has gone and is going. A partial loss of capacity for maternity has, it is said, already befallen American women; and the voluntary refusal of its responsibilities is the lament of the physician and the moralist.*

Shakerism, Owenism, Fourierism, Noyesism, and all other socialisms, as a whole, are too full of idiosyncrasies, visions, absurdities, injustices, and loathsome vilenesses to threaten permanent danger to the family institution. All are foredoomed to utter failure through their connate unnatural vices. The same remark is true of the monster abomination, Mormonism. All are too evidently inimical to the unity and purity of the family, and to the stability of the social structure, to permit of long continuance. Reaction from them will be toward the embodiment of the simplest and grandest conception of family life. More to be dreaded than they all is the ethical rottenness and spiritual depravation which, among some communities, miscegenates the races without the sanctions of mar-

* *Some Aspects of the Divorce Question*, Dike, p. 180.

riage, and riots in concubinage and promiscuous lust. Worse still, if possible, is the leniency with which public, not Christian, sentiment regards the evil doers. Zola's nastiness, Goethe's "affinities," and "liberal" licentiousness have filled some American cities with women who, like those at Rome described by Seneca, "count their years, not by the number of the consuls, but by the number of their husbands;" with men and women who vie with each other in wanton indulgences, and put on the garb of occasional decency to impart a new and piquant zest to disgraceful iniquity.

The legislative enactments of the several States which gratuitously assuming that marriage is only a civil contract, and that husband and wife are equal partners but not "one flesh"—not the nearest of all possible relatives to each other—work grievously to the decay of the family.

> According to the spirit and most of the legislation of the present age they are no relations at all. They are simply partners. If one member of a business firm die, his property does not go to his partner, but to his own family; so if a wife die without children, her property does not go to her husband, but to her third and fourth cousins. They, in the eye of the law, are more nearly related to her than her husband. This is not the light in which God looks upon marriage.*

In the United States of America the common law theory of husband and wife has been repudiated to a much greater extent than in England, although the mother has followed fast and far in the footsteps of her daughter. Legislation tends in the direction of absolute equality between the sexes. Schouler, in his *Law of Domestic Relations*, says:

> What are familiarly known as the "Married Women's Acts"—the product of American legislation during the last quarter of a century—aim to secure to the wife the independent control of her own property, and the right to contract, sue, and be sued without her husband, under reasonable conditions.

Legislation on this subject is now exceedingly complicated and difficult, for each State has taken its own way of modifying the original common law. Dr. Hodge objects to all such legislation on the ground that "it follows from the scriptural doctrine of marriage that all laws are evil which tend to make

* *Hodge's Systematic Theology*, vol. iii, p 419

those two whom God pronounces to be one. This is attempting to correct one class of evils at the cost of incurring others a hundred-fold greater. The word of God is the only sure guide of legislative action as well as of individual conduct."

The latter statement is one that all Christians will accept, and that without indorsing the old common law doctrine that while husband and wife are one the husband is that one. The word of God distinctly avows and protects the rights, duties, and responsibilities of the wife as one of two distinct individualities in the indissoluble unity of the marriage relation. Human law should do the same, and should do it with correct understanding of the family constitution. Keener insight and truer generalization of all known facts are needful to wise legislation, to the conservation of all that is valuable in, and the elimination of all that is worthless from, our statute books. Many studious and careful observers doubt the propriety of legislation that differentiates the interests of the husband from those of the wife, or *vice versa*. The late John Stanton Gould, who began his researches into this matter with a strong bias in favor of Married Women's Acts, reluctantly came to the conclusion that every departure from the old law of coverture had been attended by social evils commensurate with the degree of such departure.

The award of damages to an injured husband for the loss of his wife's services—said award to be paid by the adulterous seducer who inflicted the damages—whatever else it may be, is not an outgrowth of divine teaching. It works to the decay of the family. Adultery is the worst of all social crimes. Society is perishing in its own corruptions when it regards it as a mere peccadillo. Mosaic statutes punished this crime with death. Even now human instincts are stronger than erroneous legislation. It is practically impossible to convict an innocent husband of murder when he has killed the miscreant who stamped his honor into the mire. Pecuniary compensation is out of the question. His wife is not his slave; she is his second, dearer self. Millions of pelf could not atone for the wrong. Yet civil law commonly denies any redress except that of dollars, and imposes no penalty save of amercement upon the wretch who has slain the self-respect and happiness of others' lives. Lynch law is rarely justifiable. In this regard it should be wholly unnecessary in view of penalties adequate and judicious.

The several causes heretofore pointed out as operative to the decay of the family speciously voice themselves in that general principle of divorce legislation which insists that a marriage not fulfilling its ends should be dissolved by the duly constituted authorities. Among the abortive marriages thus to be dissolved are those in which either of the parties denies the mutual ownership of the person; in which equitable or desirable property arrangements are not made; in which household practices are niggardly; in which discontented and unreasonable wives refuse to assume due share of mutual duties and burdens. In other words, the divine institution of the family is to be abolished because the parties to it inexcusably decline to fulfill their plighted vows; the contract is to be dissolved because one (or both) of the parties refuses to keep its terms. This is as contrary to the Constitution of the United States as it is to the law of God.

Practice is as bad as legislation, if not worse. The divorce leprosy annually destroys a large percentage of families in many of the States. Divorce laws look upon marriage as a relation purely secular. They are for the most part deadly enemies to the family. They foment causes of disunion and discord. Immorality, illegitimacy, and frequency of divorce are the consequences of their immoral laxity. Strictness of law is everywhere conducive to purity of morals. The most thoughtful patriots view the divorce disease with grave apprehension for the future of our country. Statesmanship has begun to call a halt in the downward march of legislation and judicial decision. It is high time. The family institution is in grave peril from the facility and frequency with which marriage bonds are dissolved. In 1878 Connecticut granted one divorce to every 10.4 marriages; Vermont, 1 to 14; Massachusetts, 1 to 21.4; New Hampshire, 1 to 10.9; Rhode Island, in 1882, 1 to 11; Maine, in 1880, 1 to 10; Ohio, in 1882, 1 to 16.8. San Francisco did yet worse, and in 1881 granted a divorce to each 5.78 marriages. Marin County, California, bears the banner in front of the pestilent divorce march. In 1882 it reported "57 licenses and 27 divorces, or one divorce for every two and eleven hundredths marriages." Legal divorces appear to have doubled in proportion to marriages or population within the last thirty years. Spontaneous divorces are more frequent in the South, wherein

slavery practically obliterated the family among the colored people, and also extensively among the whites.

Permission to marry again, after having been divorced for the "cause of adultery," is an offense against the family. Too many men and women, who tire of their spouses, either secretly or by connivance obtain divorce on this alleged ground. All that many do is to commit the crime, confess it, and then welcome the dissolution of the marriage tie. Other associations are subsequently formed, and in not a few instances are dissolved in like manner. The later connections are flagrant legalized adulteries. The civil law has declared persons not to be husband and wife who, by the divine law, are husband and wife. It pronounces those husband and wife who are really guilty paramours, and who, judged by that law, are living in unquestionable sin. In all such permissions and acknowledgments the civil law is utterly at fault. The State has no more right to set aside or nullify the law of marriage underlying the family relation than it has to repeal the decalogue. Its true function is confined to the legal recognition of changes wrought out by moral causes, that decompose and destroy the family.

Laxity in respect of divorce is largely an extreme reaction against the unscriptural doctrines of the Church of Rome relating to marriage. Not only does it frown upon this divine institution, and debar its clergy and nuns from wedlock, but it falsely teaches that nothing besides death can absolve the married pair from their obligations. In denying to some what God allows to all, "it opened a fountain of vice with the smallest incitement to virtue." * That its teachings are contradictory, and that it is false to its own claims as the champion of the family, is obvious to all students of its history. The right of making and unmaking impediments to marriage, at pleasure, it takes into its own hands; † and that with no better motive than the promotion of its own power.

Protestantism has gone to the opposite extreme. In defining marriage as essentially a civil contract, it has erred from the truth, and been deluded into the substitution of imperial Roman law for that of the Christian code. England is the least culpable transgressor in this particular. Her civil tribunals grant judicial

* Woolsey, *Essay on Divorce*, p. 127.

† Den's *Moral Theology*, p. 498. Lippincott & Co. 1856.

separations, *a mensa et thoro*, for adultery, cruelty, and desertion without just cause for two years; and divorce *a vinculo matrimonii* for simple adultery by the wife, or aggravated adultery by the husband. She errs in giving permission to either to marry again, in making any distinction between husband and wife, in departing from the spirit of the "written word." France, Germany, and other continental nations are more grievously in fault. The immense emigration from these countries to the United States is not without deleterious effect on popular morality and state-legislation. South Carolina still adheres to the canon law, and that with felicitous domestic results. Nearly all the States and Territories have different laws on marriage and the family. Besides adultery and desertion, many other offenses are held to justify divorce. Among these are imprisonment, insanity, neglect of due maintenance of the wife, habitual intoxication, cruelty, or such misconduct as permanently destroys the happiness of the petitioner and defeats the purpose of the conjugal relation. Some States leave the whole matter to the discretion of the courts, and go so far as to authorize the judge to dissolve the matrimonial bond whenever "he deems it reasonable and proper, and consistent with the peace and morality of society." American civilization loses sight of the fact that the family, not the individual, is the germ-cell of the social organism. Protestantism chiefly addresses men as individuals, but unwisely overlooks the family. It would hardly speak of Abraham in language so commendatory as that of Jehovah, who said: "I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him." Gen. xviii,19. This individualizing drift has brought damage to the New Englanders and their descendants. It needs the restraint of scriptural and scientific teaching. Individual and family must be correlated to the benefit of both. Divorce rates are highest among the children of the Puritans. "The very counties where Giddings, Wade, and Garfield lived, themselves men of great purity of character, have been about the worst for divorces in the State" of Ohio.

Roused public opinion is doing something to stay the desolating tide of resultant evils; but lust, disgust, profligacy, and many forms of human corruption do their best, or worst, to swell its volume. The facility of divorce is often the induce-

ment to indiscreet and hasty marriage. The courts are too lenient, careless, culpable.

Procedure is often bad. Personal service of the libel is frequently entirely evaded; and when printed notice of it is given it is sometimes done in ways that defeat the design of the law. Instances continually come to light in which the proceedings are based on fraud, and occasionally all the papers have turned out to be forgeries, even to the signatures of the officers of the courts. Collusion between the parties themselves, or the so-called opposing counsel, is notoriously frequent. The celerity with which causes are often heard, and the frivolous evidence on which their decision is made to turn, add to the evil and to its increase. Competent authority asserts that fifteen minutes is the average time spent on a divorce suit in the courts of one State. There are many honorable exceptions to this haste, but probably no causes of any importance have so slight work done on them as divorce suits. A dozen families will be declared non-existent in half as many hours by a court that has spent a day or two on an issue involving five dollars and no principle of law worth ten minutes' thought.*

The immediate consequences are abominable. "Probably in every county in Connecticut some person could be found who has figured in three or four divorce suits. Even the seducer has found the courts a pliant, though unwilling, tool of his trade." United States senators, governors, foreign ministers, public officials, professional men, merchants, mechanics, farmers and laboring men have been more or less vitiated by this awful virus. The Rev. S. W. Dike states that

in some New England manufacturing towns, the migratory working men, chiefly those of foreign birth, are found to desert their wives and children in one place to form a new alliance in another —a custom which exists to some extent among the lowest classes in the cities and in back-country districts.

"Swapping wives" is not uncommon. "The poor man's divorce" is repudiation at will. In city and country the number of men who are "maintaining two families," and of men and women who live in adulterous or illicit relations, cannot be accurately ascertained; but enough is known of the gross facts to occasion the deepest alarm. This wholesale cheapening of marriage and morality fosters the increase of sexual vices and the number of divorces. The official reports of Massachusetts

* S. W. Dike, *Some Aspects of the Divorce Question*, p. 171.

and other States show that illegitimate births are rapidly increasing, although as yet far behind the profligate rates of European countries.

The decay of the family is not now, never has been, nor ever will be, witnessed in the higher exemplifications of Christian life. Never have there been purer, sweeter, holier, happier Christian families than at present. But this is because the complemental, blending individualities at the center and foundation of each have been true to the healthful, sinless impulses of physical nature; true to the mind and will of the All-Father as revealed in his "word written;" and true to the calmly and honestly understood facts of natural science. All deviations from the family ideal are due to depravity, ignorance, and wickedness. There is enough, and more than enough, of these baleful factors in American society to make the public spirited, pious, and patriotic tremble for the future. Fearless, temperate, thorough discussion of the whole subject is needed. Here we can barely touch its surface. The whole science of political economy is more or less involved in it. So are the rights, duties, privileges, responsibilities, and eternities of men, women, and children.

Suggested methods of incarnating the highest Christian conception of the family are the lines along which scientific thought naturally runs in seeking a remedy for rampant evils, and in striving to reach the highest ultimate possibilities of organized society.

The doctrines of our Lord and his apostles, inculcating chastity and the sacredness of marriage, concordant as they are with deductions cautiously drawn from sociological facts, should be thoroughly studied and rigorously applied in ethical, legislative, and administrative form. Christ re-established the original order of the relation of the sexes as the order under the dispensation of grace. "And they twain shall be one flesh: so then they are no more twain, but one flesh." Mark x, 8. In all his associations with women he exhibited the most respectful sympathy, the most delicate consideration, and the highest appreciation of intellectual and moral character. His most philosophical address, excepting that to Nicodemus, was made to the woman of Samaria, and was understood by her better than the "master in Israel" apprehended the one made

to him. All law touching the family institution should be instinct with the spirit of Christ, and worthy of his example. Equality of rights—supremely enjoyed by the husband in the sphere of activities allotted to him, by the wife in that falling to her, and conjointly in matters common to both—will then be assured. Equity demands it. The contribution of the average wife to the family is fully commensurate with that of the average husband. Expediency demands it. Such equality would repress the tendencies in each that need repression, and would nourish those that need nutrition. Imperiousness and coarseness would be replaced by gentlemanly refinement; timidity and distrust by self-respecting confidence and courage. The most symmetrical and accomplished of women would then accept housekeeping and motherhood as not only the natural but the most desirable occupation of the sex. Husband and wife should be equal, blending partners in a firm which is the cell-unit of the body politic, the negative and positive poles of the same indivisible molecule.

Woman's responsibilities should be carefully correlated with woman's rights. Now "they have a right to their earnings and property, but have no duties to discharge in providing for themselves or their children." * Enlargement of woman's rights, unaccompanied by corresponding enlargement of woman's responsibilities, has increased the number of divorces, and to that extent has added force to the disintegrating elements at work in the republic. Chivalric legislation is wise above what is written. It is foolish. It ignores the nature and fitness of things. It concedes rights without imposing correlative duties, and bestows privileges without exacting their proper uses. Housewives, not technical "ladies;" bees, not butterflies; matrons who appreciate duty and responsibility as highly as right and privilege, are what Christian society desiderates in families.

Equal rights in children and to their earnings is a dictate of nature, and should be a maxim of law. Is there aught but injustice and cruelty in the statutes which refuse this equality to the wife? Equal rights in directing the policy of the family is none the less the demand of righteous wisdom. That he is the only one whose habits, and tastes, and even eccentricities

* Thwing's *The Family*, p. 120.

should be consulted may be the law of the land, but it is not the law of love, nor of the golden rule. The intelligent and wise exercise of parental authority—equally of the mother in her sphere as of the father in his—is another very special need of the family. Children trained in habits of purity, respect for the rights of others, and filial obedience, develop into the best spouses, parents, and citizens. Questions of personal right in wedlock, too delicate for handling in the pages of a religious review, force themselves into notice. Suffice it to say, that Christian marital intercourse is sensible, chaste, continent, religious; and that out of it spring other beings, well-born and originated under psychical and moral conditions most propitious to success in all temporal and eternal relations. Parents owe more to children than children to parents. They are responsible for the being of their children, and ought to enforce prompt and implicit obedience to regulations necessary for the formation of noble, rounded, perfect character; and should do it in a manner that commands absolute confidence and love. In order to the due fulfillment of parental duty, and as a matter of simple right, justice requires that husband and wife should be equals in the ownership of the family estate. The marriage settlements common in England, and other devices for promoting the unity and perpetuity of the family, should not in America stop short of this measure of equity.

How to adjust the individual rights of husband and wife to the highest Christian conception of the family is the serious and critical problem now pressing for solution. It must be accomplished by clear, clean good sense, rather than by chivalrous sentiment. The religious and moral elements of marriage must be brought conspicuously into view. Due notice, and publicity should be given to its celebration. Opportunity should be given for examining objections to the union. "Marriages contracted in haste are most prolific in separations." National uniformity of law concerning marriage and divorce seems to be one of the necessities of the times. The State laws governing divorce are now as various as the sizes and names of the respective commonwealths.* The amendment, by incorpo-

* Judge Noah Davis, in the *North American Review*, vol. cxxxix, No. 1, pp. 39, 40, presents the following impressive illustration of the evils of differing State laws on marriage and divorce: "A. is married in New York, where he has resided

rating three words, of the Constitution of the United States, would bring order out of this "confusion worse confounded." "Congress shall have power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, *marriage and divorce*, throughout the United States," is a provision that, if in the organic law as thus written, would aid in the production of uniformity, check excesses in divorce, and conserve the family institution. To effect such an amendment, and to establish the family and the nation on the sure foundation of reason and righteousness, is the appropriate and special work of the Church of Christ.

for years, and has a family, and is the owner of real and other estate. He desires divorce and goes to Indiana, where that thing is cheap and easy. Upon complying with some local rule, and with no actual notice to his wife, he gets a decree of divorce, and presently is married in that State to another wife, who brings him other children. He again acquires new estates; but, tiring of his second wife, he deserts her and goes to California, where in a brief space he is again divorced, and then marries again, forming a new family and acquiring new real and personal estates. In a few years his fickle taste changes again, and he returns to New York, where he finds his first wife has obtained a valid divorce for his adulterous marriage in Indiana, which sets her free and forbids his marrying again during her life-time. He then slips into an Eastern State, takes a residence, acquires real property there, and after a period gets judicially freed from his California bonds. He returns to New York, takes some new affinity, crosses the New Jersey line, and in an hour is back in New York, enjoying so much of his estate as the courts have not adjudged to his first wife, and gives new children to the world. . . . He dies intestate. Now, what is the legal status and condition of the various citizens he has given to our common country? and what can the States of their birth or domicile do for them? A few words will show how difficult and important these questions are. The first wife's children are doubtless legitimate and heirs to his estate every-where. The Indiana wife's children are legitimate there, but probably illegitimate every-where else. The California children are legitimate there and in New York (that marriage having taken place after his first wife had obtained her divorce), but illegitimate in Indiana and elsewhere; while the second crop of New Yorkers are legitimate in the Eastern States and New York, and illegitimate in Indiana and California. There is real and personal property in each of these States. There are four widows, each entitled to dower and distribution somewhere, and to some extent, and a large number of surely innocent children, whose legitimacy and property are at stake. All these legal embarrassments spring from want of uniformity of laws on a subject which should admit of no more diversity than the question of citizenship itself."

Art. V.—HELEN HUNT JACKSON.

There is in Colorado a grave aloof from other graves and "far from the madding crowd" of the living. Where our eastern mountain front breaks rapidly down from Pike's Peak upon Cheyenne, to re-appear far south in the Greenhorn and the Spanish Peaks—there, 10,000 feet above the sea and 4,000 above the plain, is our first tomb of genius. One said to Emerson, "Is not Helen Hunt our greatest female poet?" His reply was: "Is it not better to omit the word 'female?'" The winner of such words from the great critic, himself an oracular poet, has a right of presentation at any literary gathering in the State of her affection, her choice for home and burial.

And what is it to be a poet? What is poetry? Such questions are fitting, and some answer would be a fair preliminary to a direct and personal inquiry after Mrs. Jackson's merits. If one of us be squarely asked, "What is poetry?" he instantly feels that in his own personal self the question is too wide for him. It is really beyond his own conceits and far beyond his actual experiences. His mind seems wrapped in a mist, luminous, indeed, yet a mist not transparent. He can talk of it, but to say just what it is, he finds not. For answer we must look to the broad convictions of the human race. One finds that critics agree (and as singers in chorus we must sing with the director's wand or keep silent) in saying that poetry is a representation of life. "Life" means whatever men perceive, feel, think, or do. This representation must be in language, not in color, form, or sound. When one called the Milan cathedral "a poem in stone," he took the same freedom in speech as he who called another cathedral "frozen music"—that is, stating a felt incoherency, such stuff as dreams are made of. This language, too, must be in verse or rhythm. Prose is *prorsus*, straight on, like Anthony's talk. We may call some prose "poetical," in the sense of *lively;* or we may call some poetry "prosy," in the sense of *dull;* but prose-poetry is something hybrid and monstrous, away from good taste and good sense.

But there may be a representation of life in verse or rhythm

that is yet not poetry. All looks fair, but life is wanting. Take this from Wordsworth's "Simon Lee":

> And he is lean, and he is sick;
> His body, dwindled and awry,
> Rests upon ankles swoln and thick,
> His legs are thin and dry.
> One prop he has, and only one:
> His wife, an aged woman,
> Lives with him, near the waterfall,
> Upon the village common.

Here is life represented in verse, but where is the poetry? Take now from the same Wordsworth this, "Poor Susan's Reverie," and we have poetry without the asking. We feel it whether we will or no:

> At the corner of Wood Street, when daylight appears,
> Hangs a thrush that sings loud—it has sung for three years;
> Poor Susan has passed by the spot, and has heard
> In the silence of morning the song of the bird.
>
> 'Tis a note of enchantment; what ails her? She sees
> A mountain ascending, a vision of trees;
> Bright volumes of vapor through Lothbury glide,
> And a river flows on through the vale of Cheapside.
>
> Green pastures she views in the midst of the dale
> Down which she so often has tripped with her pail;
> And a single small cottage, a nest like a dove's,
> The one only dwelling on earth that she loves.
>
> She looks, and her heart is in heaven: but they fade,
> The mist and the river, the hill and the shade;
> The stream will not flow, and the hill will not rise,
> And the colors have all passed away from her eyes.

Between these two pieces, called by the same word, "poem," what is the difference? Is it not something analogous to that which occurred to our Saviour's body when he brought three disciples into a high mountain apart and was transfigured before them? "His countenance did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light." True in every fold and outline, only lifted and illumined, and the disciples, too, are lifted and illumined as they gaze. Look now at these just quoted poems. In "Simon Lee" all is flat, nothing lifted, nothing illumined. In "Poor Susan" all is true—the thrush, the London streets, the meadows, and the cottage; true, but in

wondrous change of aspect. Her eyes for the nonce are with her heart, and that transforms the vulgar streets; and we, with her, see all in a light that never was on sea or shore. What faculty is this that has bodied forth in Wood Street the form of things unseen? that has lifted the common and familiar into the sublime and affecting, and makes our own faces glow as we look, and our hearts say, "It is good for us to be here?" This the imagination does. It is the transfiguring faculty, and this it is that sets "the poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling," and brings the dullest of us into something of his inspiration and his dream.

Poetry, then, is a transfiguration of what men perceive, feel, think, or do. The rank of a poet in his calling must clearly depend on the amount of life that he has transfigured. For this reason the dramatic poet has the highest place. He transfigures the actions of men, and actions are the outcome of perceptions, emotions, and reflections, so that the poetry of action includes that of the others. The poetry of perception is descriptive, that of feeling is lyrical, that of thinking is reflective, that of doing is dramatic, and the dramatist is the highest style of poet. The poet will have a hearing, for to life transfigured we cannot choose but listen. Meanwhile his work is his chief joy.

> To have the great poetic heart
> Is more than all poetic fame.

His audience will come, and come to stay. His place, to which he is born, is safer than other earthly dignities. Like our mountain peaks, he has nothing to fear from competition. He can say or sing, "I know my own shall come to me," and with patience await a fit audience, though few.

But we know that the great and inexhaustible thing called "life" is moral to its very core. By moral, we mean the tone and color of what man admires, loves, and longs for beyond the world of sense, something back of what the eye has seen and the ear has heard. Of this, poetry lays hold, not like religion, for action and behavior, but for contemplation only. The poet sees things noble, is thrilled by them and expresses them. That is the poetic limit. Beyond that it is religion and not imagination that bows the will, and makes him a doer as well as sayer of the beautiful. How, as in Byron, the behavior not agreeing with the vision, one sees "a mighty poet in his misery dead!"

The highest possible range of poetic perception, where the spiritual is recognized as interpenetrating the visible, is attained only by a religious temper. Among these mountains, our lowest feeling is that of animal exhilaration; the next, is the enjoyment of mass, outline, and color; above this, is that moral emotion that leads us to give to what we see the feelings of our souls in looking, calling them peaceful, grand, awful. Highest of all it is, when these material majesties are to us as

> Signalings from some high land
> Of One we feel, but dimly understand.

Some poets have begun at the bottom and risen through more or less of these grades of feeling. More have begun at the top, with the heart of man, his fortunes and destinies, and have at once come to the Unseen, with all its interest and dignity.

> O Life, O Death, O World, O Time,
> O Grave, where all things flow,
> 'Tis yours to make our lot sublime
> With your great weight of woe!

If this world is the vestibule of an eternal one—if there is One in whom we live and move and have our being—then our whole view of life ought to be affected thereby, and no great poet in grasping this life can jump the life to come. He must make account of it. Shakespeare may not have been a religious man, but as poet he takes life in a religious aspect. His noblest personages show most the stirrings of a spiritual nature. Their views of sin, of prayer, of pardon, and of judgment are sincere and affecting. This, then, is the highest poetry; it transfigures life, it sees the spiritual beyond.

It has seemed well to give this outline of analysis and definition, that there may be clear before us a standard to which we may steadily refer any given product in verse, to find whether or no it be poetical and its maker entitled to be called a poet. If in the verse life be transfigured, we have poetry. If in it life's moral aspect be also presented, it is poetry of a high order. If it is permeated and transfused with the spiritual, "something more than high endeavor, pure morality, strong enthusiasm," something of the world of power and destiny back of mortal life, then we have the highest poetry practicable to mortal powers.

Having thus preluded that we may have before us some fresh idea of what poetry is, and that we may thus know whom to call poet, and how to value his work, we turn to some outline of Mrs. Jackson's personal history.

The lady came of pure New England pedigree, and her line was Puritan of the Puritans. Students of a generation past used Fiske's *Manual of Classical Literature*, translated from the German by a professor of Amherst College. That professor in 1831 found one of the immortals born in his house, whose mother was of literary tastes and sunny temper. In the straight Calvinistic family the two sons died early. A daughter Anne is Mrs. Banfield of Wolfboro, N. H. Mrs. Fiske died when Helen was twelve, and the professor three years later. They both saw Helen as no vulgar child. She was bright as a star just above the horizon over against them. Versatile, full of life and sparkle, she at twelve was already a character in the quiet college town.

Delicate and difficult, with such a pupil, is the trainer's task. It is to the credit of such schools as the Ipswich Seminary, and that of Abbott in New York, that so fine a vessel was not marred upon their wheel while in process of enlargement and smoothing, for it was of fine clay and sensitive. At twenty-one she entered as bride an old New York family of high position, whose senior member, Washington Hunt, was then governor. Edward B. Hunt was major in the engineers, and Mrs. Hunt's wedded life of thirteen years was an army life as well, with its round of change, its novelties of scene and society. Major Hunt was killed in New York Harbor by the explosion of an invention of his own for firing projectiles under water. Thus at thirty-two a widow, Mrs. Hunt had already lost a son at eleven months; another, bright of temper and gifted, wise beyond his years, was snatched by diphtheria in 1865; and so, in thirteen years a domestic cycle was fully run: lover, bride, mother, widow, and childless. This last son, Rennie (Warren), bound to his mother by ties so naturally intense, made her promise not to take her own life to follow him, pledging himself to revisit her, should the conditions allow of that world whose gate swung unseen just before him. So sure was she that what he failed to do was simply impossible, that while the spiritual world was full welcome and familiar to her thought, the special doctrine

of "spiritualism" she utterly disavowed. For months she was unseen by her nearest friends. She then re-appeared from her cloud, radiant with her full glow of vivacity and kindness. She felt that life with her was done. "I alone am left, who avail nothing," said she bitterly, after burying her husband and boys at West Point. Yet outwardly she made no show of grief. She always shut her sorrows in her own heart. What she taught in song she learned in suffering, and her lines on the "Loneliness of Sorrow," tell us how:

> Majestic in its patience, and more sweet
> Than all things else that can of souls have birth,
> Down to its grave, with steadfast, tireless feet,
> It goes uncomforted, serene, alone,
> And leaves not any name on any stone!

Henceforth this was the rule with a woman of sorrows and acquainted with grief: "Her sufferings for herself, her sunshine for others." About this time (possessing, one may say, such wealth as sufficed for what place and style she chose) she made her home at Newport, R. I., and first came into contact with literary society. Her mind and manners, even her dress and social taste, drew admirers, but a new phase of life was now to open. She had early put some girlish rhymes in a Boston journal. It was left for her shocks of sorrow to open, as blasts open precious veins of metal in our mountains, the poetic gift. After Rennie's death she sent to the *Nation* a poem of fourteen lines, "Lifted Over," signed "Marah." It tells how "Our Father" had in his arms taken up the child and set him down beyond all harm of rough places, and how it was now for her to press on and overtake. To make poetry is an art, capacity for making it is a gift, and so "H. H." found it. At Newport she began to study closely the expression of the gift now stirring in her consciousness. She came rapidly into favor. The *Nation*, the *Independent*, for which she furnished three hundred and seventy-one articles, the *Hearth and Home*, the *Evening Post*, and finally the *Atlantic*, were her publishers. She exulted in this new-found calling. Her work was rapid but careful; she sought and welcomed criticism; she was modest and conscientious; but she took firm hold of her new gift and calling, to utter what was given her, whether listeners came or no.

Five years she was at Newport, counting summers in New

Hampshire and a tour in Europe. In 1872 she was an invalid in California. Getting small relief, she spent the winter of '73–74 in our State of Colorado. Here she met William Sharpless Jackson. At Colorado Springs every incident of her ten years' abode is remembered, as well it might be. The lady with whom she made her first home found her a charming guest. Intent on literary work, she had little leisure, perhaps little relish, for society, but she was full of kindness to all. Her rooms were beautifully furnished, and when her hostess was weary Mrs. "H. H." would give her the easiest chair and lavish upon her an hour of lively entertainment. "Now, my dear, you are rested, aren't you?" she would say, and turn to her own task. She became Mrs. Jackson in October, 1875. He, as we all know, is a Quaker. One might fancy that his repressed, undemonstrative bearing had in her eyes a special attraction, as offering safe anchorage to a versatile, impressible, and restless nature like her own. She built a home to her liking, and made its windows for the reception of the choicest views the fascinating region affords. Upon the adorning of the house she dealt with a lavish hand, and its grounds are beautiful with what Colorado can bear of flowers and greenery. To this day the servants to whom she gave it as a special charge are faithfully keeping it as she left it, and Colorado may boast of one poet's home—a shrine of the muses, on a quiet village corner, where a muse might dwell. Her writing-desk, her table, her chosen books, her portrait, challenge a silent reverence. She soon found on Cheyenne Mountain a "house not made with hands," where she says:

> Under the roof of waving thatch
> I lie all day to wait and watch,
> Where enter banner-gleams of sky
> As pomp of day goes marching by;

from which she looked

> To summer hours in sunny lands,
> To my next house, not made with hands.

She is well remembered in the little town. Her health, her tastes, and her literary engagements made her social circle small, but it was bright with many charms. Far though she was from her early literary centers, she beamed upon them

with growing radiance, like a star that seems larger, brighter, near the remote horizon.

In 1880 came a new phase, a final one in a life where several had now preceded. An ardor of literature now merged in a higher enthusiasm of humanity. She had always been benevolent, and toward the woes of our kind had shown neither want of thought nor want of heart. In Boston she heard Standing Bear and Bright Eyes tell of the wrongs of the Poncas in their ruinous and unlawful removal from Nebraska. At once she put her whole soul into advocacy of Indian rights and redress of Indian wrongs. Dropping other pursuits, she gave herself to study, travel, and correspondence for mastery of the Indian question. In 1883 she published *A Century of Dishonor*. It shows her not quite at home in prose, but it gives the simple, dreary annals of her poor clients in the red light of aroused, indignant sympathy. After visiting Norway for rest, she took a government appointment to examine and report on the "Mission Indians," those unfortunates whose sufferings from the fierce greed of the stronger are not yet ended. Of her work she made a careful, conscientious report to government, but she did not stop with that. The story of the missions, picturesque with simplicity, sacrifice, and devotion, touched her heart and stirred her imagination. She gave in the *Century* magazine a series of articles, quite other than her report, in which she allowed her facts to glow with sympathy and thrill with the pathos of indignation. All this culminated in *Ramona*, which appeared "all hot" in the *Christian Union* in 1884, the last of her intended and acknowledged publications; a plea for Indians as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was a plea for negroes.

Mrs. Jackson's sun went down while it should yet have been day. She went in 1884 to reside in Los Angeles, California, but maladies closed in upon her—a broken ankle, malarious ailings, and a cancerous affection. In these days of trial, far from old friends, her husband held by the needs of the Rio Grande Road, of which he was receiver, she found new friends and gave them all her heart. She says, "The new is older than the old," as if she had long waited for the friends latest in coming, and was so glad not to miss them. She speaks:

Dear hearts, whose love has been so sweet to know
That I am looking backward as I go,
Am lingering while I haste, and in this rain
Of tears of joy am mingling tears of pain.

She hopes they will say, "How she loved us! 'Twas that which made her dear." She wishes no words of praise but only these.

How full she was of love and sunshine in pain and the shadow of death! She was on good terms with grief.

Dost know Grief well? Hast known her long?

Indeed "H. H." had known grief in many a guise, and grief had been so transformed as to give

Smile to our smile, song to our song,
With songs and smiles our roses fling,
'Till men turn round, in every throng,
To note such joyous pleasuring,
And ask next morn, with eyes that lend
A fervor to the words they say,
"What is her name, that radiant friend
Who walked beside you yesterday?"

Nor was her comfort all of this world's ministering. From her sick bed

My eyes but stray
To eastward, and majestic, bright, arise
Peaks of a range that three days distant lies!
And of the faces, too, that light my day
Most clear, one is a continent away,
The other shines above the farthest skies.

Then, in half humor, she wrote "Habeas Corpus," addressed to Death, who comes to levy upon all that is left of her:

I grudge thee this right hand of mine,
I grudge thee this quick beating heart;
They never gave me coward sign,
Nor played me once a traitor's part.

A feeble, mighty human hand!
A fragile, dauntless human heart!
The universe holds nothing planned
With so sublime, transcendent art.

Ah! well, friend Death, for friend thou art,
I shall be free when thou art through;
Take all there is—take hand and heart—
There must be somewhere work to do.

Four days before her death she poured her soul into her "Last Prayer":

Father, I scarcely dare to pray,
So clear I see, now it is done,
That I have wasted half my day,
And left my work but just begun;
So clear I see that things I thought
Were right or harmless, were a sin;
So clear I see that I have sought,
Unconscious, selfish aims to win;
So clear I see that I have hurt
The souls I might have helped to save;
That I have slothful been, inert,
Deaf to the call thy leaders gave.
In outskirts of thy kingdom vast,
Father, the lowliest spot give me;
Set me the lowliest task thou hast;
Let me, repentant, work for thee!

This came from the recesses of a broken spirit, and with it the prayers and songs of Helen Hunt Jackson are ended. Her husband was now by her bedside to soothe her final hours, but in the order of nature calmness came on and deepened into unconsciousness. On August 12, 1885, she died, entering, let us hope, that Beautiful Gate of which she had said that there

Our crippled beggary, made rich by alms
Of God, shall leap and praise in grateful psalms.

After temporary interment in California her remains were brought to her Colorado home, and in the plainest manner, without eulogy or funeral array, they were laid, as she had directed, on Cheyenne Mountain, always her favorite resort. From this "house not made with hands" the eastward view is wonderful, as the plains spread to the far horizon under the sapphire sky. For the first year the grave was left to the kinkanik and the cards of pilgrims who climbed the steep from the cañon. Of late the visitors, each bringing a pebble, are raising a cairn over the grave, but no carving tells of the dust beneath. Such choice of burial place did not come of freak; it is in harmony with Mrs. Jackson's life, and, without her so meaning it, is a rebuke to the ghastly vanity that gorgeously disguises man's last most abject want—a grave.

"H. H.," as a Christian, calls for careful study. That she was devout, that she dealt justly, loved mercy, and walked hum-

bly with the Lord her God, there can be no doubt. In her poems she accepts Christ as Teacher, Example, and Friend, in love and reverence.

> My share! To-day men call it grief and death;
> I see the joy and life to-morrow;
> And through my tears I call to each, "joint heir
> With Christ, make haste to ask him for thy share."

The writer of "My Legacy" and "A Christmas Symphony," could not have been far from the kingdom of God. She clearly saw in Christ her peace. Many of us, who most deeply admire her, wish she had more openly confessed him as Redeemer, with his people in his sanctuary, but far from us be it, even in our thought, to shut from the heavenly grace those who adore our Master for their not seeing him in our light! At the simple funeral rites in San Francisco, Dr. Stebbins, of the Unitarian Society, officiated, reading her own "Last Words." Of her life and her death, as of her tomb, she said

> Do not adorn with costly shrub, or tree,
> Or flower, the little grave that shelters me;

and so she passes beyond us to the most worthy Judge Eternal.

Her works remain. They are given to the world and are open to its criticism. If it is chiefly as poet that she impresses us, let us remember that she was not poet only. Her literary work was of wide range and always of a high quality. In her prose her style is clear, energetic, and lively. Dr. Holland once thought of giving to her pen an entire number of the *Century;* he was sure that she could fill it with poetry, fiction, travel, criticism, wit, and wisdom: and he could have paid her no higher compliment. He would have run no risk. She touched nothing which she did not adorn. Her resources were great, and around all subjects she threw the fresh tropical light in which she herself saw them. One whose habit was to read her articles came to need no signature; her dash of joy and generosity, her inconsistencies and her errors (not few), were unmistakable and always fascinating. Her poetry belongs to all time, and is to live after her prose is superseded, for it is of the grade which the world cannot willingly let die. If poetry is, as was urged, a transfiguration of life, then here we have it in "The Village Lights."

Only a little village street,
Lying along a mountain's side;
Only the silences which meet
When weary hands and weary feet
By night's sweet rest are satisfied;
Only the dark of summer nights;
Only the commonest of sights,
The glimmer of the village lights.

I know not, then, why it should bring
Into my eyes such sudden tears.
But to the mountain's sheltering
The little village seems to cling,
As child, all unaware of fears,
Unconscious that it is caressed,
In perfect peace and perfect rest
Asleep upon its mother's breast.

No stir, no sound! The shadows creep.
The old and young, in common trust,
Are lying down to wait, asleep,
While life and joy will come to keep
With death and pain what tryst they must.
O faith! for faith almost too great!
Come slow, O day of evil freight!
O village hearts, sleep well, sleep late!

Here is the mother whose "Murray" at eleven months had left her bosom; here is the poet whose thoughts lie too deep for tears; here is life transfigured. Emerson counted her masterpiece to be the sonnet entitled "Thought":

O messenger, art thou the king, or I?
Thou dalliest outside the palace-gate
Till on thine idle armor lie the late
And heavy dews. The morn's bright, scornful eye
Reminds thee; then in subtile mockery
Thou smilest at the window where I wait
Who bade thee ride for life. In empty state
My days go on, while false hours prophesy
Thy quick return; at last, in sad despair,
I cease to bid thee, leave thee free as air;
When lo, thou stand'st before me glad and fleet,
And lay'st undreamed-of-treasures at my feet.
Ah! messenger, thy royal blood to buy
I am too poor. Thou art the king, not I.

"H. H." has no descriptive poetry. All is of higher grade, of what we feel, think, and do. Into none of her poems is more true power compressed than into this of "Spinning":

Like a blind spinner in the sun, I tread my days;
I know that all my threads will run appointed ways;
I know each day will bring its task, and, being blind, no more I ask.

I do not know the use or name of that I spin;
I only know that some one came and laid within
My hand the thread, and said, "Since you are blind, but one thing you can do."

Sometimes the threads so rough and fast and tangled fly
I know wild storms are sweeping past, and fear that I
Shall fall, but dare not try to find a safer place, since I am blind.

I know not why, but I am sure that tint and place
In some great fabric to endure past time and race
My threads will have: so from the first, though blind, I never felt accurst.

I think, perhaps, this trust was sprung from one short word
Said over me when I was young—so young I heard
It knowing not that God's name signed my brow, and sealed me his, though blind.

But whether this be seal or sign within, without,
It matters not. The bond divine I never doubt.
I know he set me here, and still, and glad, and blind, I wait his will;

But listen, listen, day by day, to hear their tread
Who bear the finished web away, and cut the thread,
And bring God's message in the sun, "Thou poor blind spinner, work is done."

The poet's work grows upon the critic's mind. Three years from her death, who can declare the verdict of posterity? Yet one may take this risk and say, that no man in America, no woman using our English tongue, has to this time taken place above her. She has redeemed from rebuke a generation called unpoetic. From the wondrous music of her "Gondolieds" we may adopt this—the future may have as good or better:

We close our eyes;
Cold wind blows from the Bridge of Sighs:
Kneeling, we wait to-morrow.

The thoughts of men seem great in their own day, but the ages roll, and soon, as to the traveler eastward from our mountain-chain, all but the noblest sink from view. Is it extravagant to say that the poet whose grave is on Cheyenne will glow afar in the horizon of literature until the hill shall melt away, and the grim old Peak shall, frowning, guard her grave no longer?

Art. VI.—BULGARIA.

By Bulgaria we mean the territory more or less inhabited by the Bulgarian people: in other words, the whole of Turkey in Europe; embracing an area of 85,000 square miles, with a population of 7,000,000.* In this country the missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal and Congregational Churches have labored for the last thirty years.

The Country.

In point of position, Bulgaria is not only unsurpassed, but well-nigh unrivaled, in Europe. It is the home of the descendants of a great people, and is invested with rich historical and poetical associations, and has been the scene of great historical events. In days of persecution it was a safe asylum for religious refugees; the Paulicians sought and found refuge there. To Bulgaria are turned the eyes of the world even now. Here is to be the battle-field on which is largely to be decided not only the political future of Europe, but also the religious condition of millions of Slavs. The conflict has begun. What shall be the result to Christ's kingdom? Will Russia throttle the infant Protestant Church which is struggling to make its way, or will Bulgaria be conquered for Christ?

Bulgaria was the first of the European nations to resist the Greek and Roman ecclesiastical power. The two opposing parties were obliged to recognize her patriarch as early as the tenth century. She was among the earliest of European countries which had the Scriptures translated into its own language, and the services in the churches performed and prayers offered in the vernacular of the people. The topography of the country is eminently suited for agriculture; the land is of excellent quality, the surface being alluvial, which frequently reaches a depth of fifteen feet. The mountains belong to the aristocracy of mountains; they are not only rich in forests, but wood and pasture land alternate, being grouped in such a way that it both benefits the flocks and adds beauty to the scenery, which lies spread

* [The population of the Bulgarian Principality is usually set down as about 3,000,000. The writer must, therefore, intend his figures to include all the Bulgarians in European Turkey.—Editor.]

out in beautiful plains and undulating and gently rising hills. Some of the land on the very top of the mountains is cultivated for summer crops. But to see the mountains is a sight worth traveling thousands of miles—the hillsides being wooded with fine spreading elms. The mountain ranges run at right angles to each other, making the climate so varied as to find in Bulgaria the arctic, the temperate, and almost the torrid zones.

Nature has given advantages to Bulgaria which few countries in the world possess. The ordinary products of food and manufactures are seen in abundance, and, in addition, there are but few rare and valuable productions which she cannot boast of producing, while there are other articles which find a home in Bulgaria alone. We never speak of Macedonia as a very productive country, though outsiders seem to think so. What Herodotus said of it is true to-day. He said:

> The ear of wheat and barley is four digits broad, but the immense height to which sesamum stalks grow, although I have witnessed it myself, I dare not mention, lest those who have not visited the country should disbelieve my report.

The soil yields to-day no less than three hundred-fold of corn and nearly a hundred-fold of wheat. In some parts it bears two crops a year.

The People.

They are grave, serious, and sincere; quiet, peaceful, industrious, and frugal; earnest, reverent, and devout; docile, loyal, and honest, so that even their enemies praise them for their integrity. In appearance they are in all respects European; their stature is usually above the medium height; cheeks ruddy; hair generally light, but sometimes dark. In their every-day life they are polite and kind. They honor their parents, love their children, and respect those in authority. As soldiers they exhibit the fiery valor of the Gaul and the invincible courage of the German; to these they add a remarkable degree of patience. When they lay aside their warlike habits, they resemble the English. Their genius is inclined to the peaceful pursuits of agriculture and commerce. They wield the implements of war only when stern necessity compels them. War with them is a means of defense, not a trade. But once aroused, like their

forefathers, they sweep every thing before them with irresistible fury.

The ancient Bulgarians, according to Procopius, an author very unfriendly to them, were neither malevolent nor revengeful, but sincere and generous. They were hospitable, obliging, and humane. Although polytheists, they reverenced one supreme Creator, and believed in the resurrection of the dead and in a future life. They differed from other heathen in not sacrificing human beings. Their language, as that of the modern Bulgarians, has no word to express or acknowledge the rank of superior. They had no common people—all were nobles and of equal rank. The war captives were released from their bonds and made free as soon as they set foot upon Bulgarian soil!

The ancient Bulgarian language was perfect in its form, and copious in its expression, which it is even to this day. The Scriptures were translated into it in the ninth century. It has been and is the sacred language of many millions of Slavs. The modern Bulgarians, then, come of a powerful race, and have a great history. Read the history of the wars of the Middle Ages, and you will see how often the Bulgarian armies figured in the front of battle. More than once they carried their victorious arms to the very gates of Constantinople. Twice they penetrated the walls of that great city. Their heroic princes dictated more than once conditions of peace to trembling emperors. But their sterling character is best seen after their fall under the Turks. They withstood the Turkish genius of strangulation—an art by which every industry is strangled and the people impoverished, and all self-respect and ambition destroyed, and every motive to better one's condition is rooted out. Instead of being blotted out of existence, the Bulgarians, whose very name was almost forgotten, maintained their separate national existence under most unfavorable circumstances. They survived through five centuries of oppression very little changed from the time of Samuel, their famous king—their vitality and vigor being the same. Though enslaved, they rose from slaves to masters.

The Bulgarian is stolidly upright, full of shrewdness and good sense; he is naturally very industrious and frugal, and has a natural impulse to moral and religious advancement. He is not affectionate toward strangers; but win his confidence, and you

touch his tender fibers; then he becomes kindly and amiable. The American, however, is not a stranger to him. Dr. Hamlin says:

I, an absolute stranger and a foreigner, announcing myself as an American and a teacher, was always received with a respectful cordiality that was quite remarkable. There was a natural dignity and politeness in it that I should expect to find only in a much higher state of civilization. It seems to pervade their family life. Even the poorer inhabitants, whose dwellings were neat and clean, would receive you with profound respect, but without any sign of embarrassment.

The Bulgarians are a practical folk, bent upon improving themselves; and would you blame them if they have a tendency to distrust unsought friendship? Where are now Russia's professions? And where would they be had they trusted her as their best friend? The people are ambitious. They see that their only and best road to the recovery of complete independence and strength lies in the development of their productive country, morally, intellectually, and materially.

Bulgaria started, nine years ago, her political career with a young and inexperienced prince (who changed his political views half a dozen times in the first year of his reign); she started with a democratic constitution, modeled after the Constitution of the United States; an untrained army, having no leaders of her own, and not one man of any practical experience in government; her percentage of educated men was small—having a very intelligent peasantry, but few educated men—and her society was disorganized by war and Russian occupation. Russian policy compelled her prince to abdicate. This, instead of embarrassing her, as was expected, only gave her an opportunity to exhibit her genius for self-government, and for steering the ship of state out of difficulties, and at the same time making great speed in her progress. The administration was carried on as though nothing had happened.

The Marquis of Bath says:

The people are giving evidence of a political sagacity which might often be sought for in vain among the nations that have made the furthest advance in civilization.

A writer in the *Fortnightly Review* says:

By their wise and prudent policy, and by the self-restraint which has been exercised by the whole people, they have on the

one hand held their own, and on the other made an armed occupation difficult. Their spirit of independence was well known, but the ability which they have displayed in war and in finance was somewhat of a surprise.

In the war with Servia Russia withdrew her officers from the Bulgarian army, with the hope of embarrassing her and having her beaten by Servia. Instead of that, Bulgaria gave Servia a sound thrashing—a lesson not to be soon forgotten. The people of Samuel stood their ground against the unprovoked aggression with an energy worthy of Samuel himself. She is still withstanding Russia. What a day may bring forth we know not.

So far, in every conflict with Russia Bulgaria has won the battle. Her heroic resistance to Russian dictation revealed the material of which she is made. It is impossible to exaggerate the self-reliance and intensity of national sentiment. There is scarcely a man in Bulgaria who does not believe that they can work out their own political salvation, and be able to reach the summit of power and influence, if only left to themselves. Their platform is, "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians;" and they are willing to bide their time for the consummation of their hopes. How bravely she resisted Russia you have read in the dailies. Nor is it only a brave thing for 3,000,000 people to resist an empire of over 100,000,000 strong: a strong pathos mingles with the courage, for Bulgaria glories in the marvelous magnitude and strength of Russia. The people patriotically are ready to submit to any sacrifice to increase their strength, and thereby secure full independence. To resist Russia means the wounding of very tender feelings in Bulgarian hearts. For it makes Bulgaria seem ungrateful to her deliverers, unmindful of the ties of kinship, and apparently to desecrate the graves in which Russian and Bulgarian heroes sleep. Shakespeare represents the mighty Cæsar as disdaining to defend himself, and losing heart, when he discerned Brutus, his beloved friend, among the assassins. Not so with Bulgaria. She saw her friend, who saved her from the fire, trying to drown her. She controlled every feeling, however honorable, because she is faithful to her duty. She has adopted the soundest principles of government, has welcomed with enthusiasm the ideas that lead the world. She believes in education, and in

a free press; she relies upon popular suffrage. The people, as king, leads and is not led. Bulgaria clings to her rights and independence with a devotion of which she is not ashamed.

The Bulgarian horizon is overhung by a stormy element, which threatens her independence and lofty desires of improvement. This cloud is the extension of a system which is the negation of political life and progress, and the substitution for government of a procrustean militarism—the despotism and cruelty of Russia. Why did Russia take this step? To crush out of the principality the growth of liberalism and Protestantism that is taking root in that land of freedom. There is no station, no church, nay, not even an individual believer, but is known to Russia's agents. The writer in the *Fortnightly* just referred to says:

> Russia feels that Bulgaria is now, from some points of view, so close to Moscow that absolutism in Russia is at stake if liberalism is to prevail within Bulgaria.

Says another reviewer:

> The national superiority of the Bulgarians was always an obstacle to the Russian would-be military and civil administrators of Bulgaria; and the final result, as we have all seen, has been the complete expulsion of the intruders.

Religion.

Christianity entered Bulgaria first through captives taken in war, and in the middle of the ninth century the whole nation was baptized to Christianity by the two Bulgarian apostles, Cyril and Methodius. To narrate the circumstances under which Christianity was introduced into Bulgaria—the intrigues and quarrels of the Byzantine patriarch and the Roman pontiff, both seeking to incorporate the Bulgarian Church—the wise conduct of the Bulgarian kings to establish an independent Church—is a record at once interesting and honorable. Bulgaria was the first to be recognized both by Rome and Constantinople as a Christian and independent Church. The Armenian and Nestorian Churches were independent, but they were anathematized as heretical; and as Bulgaria could not be persuaded to give up her God-given right to praise and thank God in her own vernacular, her language was accepted as another scriptural language, and it became the ecclesiastical

language of all the Slavs. To Bulgaria belongs, also, the first honor for persevering opposition to ecclesiastical tyranny, corruption, and oppression. She raised the first contest during the Dark Ages which was a guiding star to the succeeding reformers. From Bulgaria sprang the Bogomiles, Cathari, and many other forerunners of the Reformation. She was the first to break through the crust of superstition and prejudice. She did not mind threats and persecution; but four hundred years before the burning of John Huss, the first Slavic martyr, dared to raise her voice and proclaim liberty of conscience and of speech.

The Bulgarian Church was an independent Church, excepting for about two hundred years, from the ninth to the eighteenth century (1777), when its patriarchate was abolished by the Sultan. Then followed the most cruel oppression. All Bulgarian books were burned, schools closed, the national language was excluded from every thing pertaining to the church, the Bible and all religious books were printed and the church services performed in Greek, which language was unknown and repulsive to the people. The clergy were superseded by rapacious Greeks, who, not knowing even the language of the people, and holding their places solely as means of gain, and aiming only to keep the people under the galling yoke of ecclesiastical tyranny, thought only of extorting the last penny from their unhappy flocks.

The so-called Christianity in Bulgaria is not Christian at all. While there may be many devout souls for whose salvation we may entertain a large hope, the religion, as a system, is universally degenerated into bare superstition, in which the object of worship is not God, but, as in the Romish Church, the Virgin Mary and a host of saints. Crucifixes and images of saints confront you every-where—in the churches, on the highways, and in the homes. These are as real idols, and are regarded by a large proportion of the people in the same light as in India are the images of Vishnu and Shiva by their devotees. The church doctrine has degenerated to formalism, which leaves the heart untouched and the life unchanged. The people are without the knowledge of the Bible, the priests keeping it as far as possible from them, fearing lest their eyes be opened, and they desert their superstitions and idolatry.

The priests have no regard for the truth; they tell big stories about the Bible. They are often drunkards, and are shamelessly licentious; their ruling faults are ignorance, avarice, and wantonness. They dethrone Christ and obscure his salvation; they make the ordinances a means of subsistence, and the bishops dispensers of grace. For the "one Mediator between God and man" there are scores of mediatorial priests, who receive the confession of murderers and wink at the crime for part of the price.

Missionary Work.

The country was occupied in the year 1857, but the work has been difficult to prosecute and slow to develop, the Bulgarians not taking kindly to religous teachings from those of a foreign race and country. But we must remember that centuries of Ottoman misrule and Greek rapine probably intensified, if not created, this antipathy. In spite of this the missionaries have succeeded beyond reasonable expectation. Some expected and required of the missionaries to exert a much greater influence than the Gospel has yet done in Christian lands. When the conversion of the world is announced, we will know that the millennium has come. Not being quite ready for the millennium, we must be satisfied with the quiet dissemination of gospel truth throughout the world, to prepare the people for that happy consummation.

The question, then, is not, Is Bulgaria converted to Protestantism? but, What progress has been made to prepare the way for her evangelization? To appreciate the work, and its extent, one must go among the people. So long as the people were themselves ignorant, the ignorance of their priests did not trouble them; but as soon as their eyes were opened they became aware, not only of the deficiency, but also of the wickedness of their pastors. They found the clergy vicious, and delighting in the pleasures of this world, and spending their time in the taverns, drinking and gambling. The missionary work has weakened the power of superstition, has multiplied schools, taught even the old to read, increased general intelligence and knowledge of truth, and promoted enterprise—in short, it has made Bulgaria what she is to-day.

The first thing the missionaries did was the translation of the

Bible into modern Bulgarian, as the ancient had become obsolete. Next, they published school-books and newspapers. These wrought a great revolution; from about three hundred schools, in the whole of Bulgaria, there are now more than ten thousand. In these schools the ceremonial usages of the Greek Church were inculcated, accompanied by a little reading and writing. The first exercises in writing were in a trough full of sand by the finger, followed by lead-pencil and ink. The lessons were learned aloud by the whole school at once. When admonition failed, bodily pain was inflicted, by the rod, by placing the pupils in an uncomfortable position, by imprisonment, and by keeping them late at school. In place of these there are now, all through Bulgaria, schools which will compare favorably with the public schools in the United States. There are primary schools for the elementary subjects. Then come schools similar to the German Realschulen for history, foreign languages, national science, music, and drawing. When the parents cannot pay, the children receive their education gratis, and if they wish to go to college the government sends them to the European universities, where there are hundreds of Bulgarian students.

I mention education under the missionary work because it is the result of that work. Religious toleration, too, has followed in the wake of the missionary. Religious freedom is carried into effect both in creed and worship, even to public processions and other religious demonstrations. Nay, Bulgaria has gone a step farther. She engages Turkish Hodgas to instruct the Turkish children, Jewish masters to train the Jewish offspring, and Greek teachers to keep together the Greek youth.

Work of Evangelization.

Most of the people who can read possess the word of God. Hundreds of hearts have been touched by the Spirit of God and are true Christians. They stay out of the Church because they have had no occasion for confession of their faith, though there are many who desire and purpose to acknowledge Christ before men. Others suppress this desire by their self-diffidence or ignorance. Mr. Jenney, a missionary, says:

I have met such men and women who have been Protestants for a year or two, who have had no opportunity to speak to us;

and on questioning them I have found that they had formed a correct judgment on fundamental truths.

Peace is one of the things most essential to progress. The dew is not shed forth in the torrent of the storm. It is distilled on every blade of grass on a calm summer evening. No man has time to enjoy the beauty of the flames when his own house is on fire. There has been a constant struggle in Bulgaria—first, with the Greek Church; then with the Greeks and Turks; now, with the Greeks, Turks, and Russians combined! In the midst of this turmoil the Spirit of God has been working. Men have left the State Church and have thrown their lot with the persecuted few.

"Is there no missionary," asked a Macedonia Bulgarian of the visiting missionary—"is there no missionary to come over to us and live here? We want to be taught the truth as it is found in the gospels. Do you see that house and garden?" (pointing to a new house and a large garden.) "I will give any missionary the use of them rent free, if one will only come and occupy them!"

The American missionaries brought to Bulgaria many and great endowments of illumination. These they did not focus so that the light be thrown upon themselves. They hid themselves in the splendor of their genius. They entered a great darkness; the torches which they held in their hands they lifted above their heads, and while they themselves stood in darkness, unobserved by any one at home or abroad, their light went forth to lighten the nation.

What is thought of their success we will hear from their enemies, the men at the head of the Bulgarian Church. These, speaking of the present trouble, say:

There is a greater evil than Radicalism and Nihilism in Bulgaria, which, while growing quietly and almost unobservedly, still surely is sapping the vital forces of the country. Is it not a shame that the Catholics and Protestants come to us as to some wild and pagan tribes? Here is the chief trouble, the cause of the internal disintegration, of discontent, of atheism, and of enmity to Russia. The Protestants are more dangerous than the Catholics; they are very numerous and powerful, counting among themselves our most important leaders. Robert College is another source of evil. During the eighteen years of its existence that college has given education to more than six hundred Bul-

garians! Some of them, being Protestants, play very important roles in the Bulgarian politics of to-day.

You have it, then, from the mouth of the most bitter enemies of the missionaries, that the principality's young patriots, many of them, were educated by Christian teachers at Robert College; that these were intelligent students of the history and of the constitution of the United States; that these disgusted the Russian agents and the bishops; and that the people themselves have been led by the quiet and unassuming American missionaries.

There are many who are convinced of the truth of the Gospel, but they sever themselves slowly and reluctantly from their connection with the State Church. The passion of nationality —and there is no Bulgarian who is destitute of it—is so strong that their yearning love for their native country is mistaken for love of the State Church.

Besides the general influence of the work there are individual conversions; living and evangelical churches have been formed; a native ministry is being raised; and books and Christian periodicals are spread broadcast.

The Need is More Men and Money.

The Bulgarian youth who receive their education in the universities of Europe return skeptics or, what is worse, open infidels. Their influence is to be counteracted by Christian teaching and living, example being more potent than eloquence.

If Bulgaria has survived the strangulating policy of Turkey for five hundred years, and Greek rapine for one hundred years, it follows that there is something in her which deserves to be perpetuated. Her energy, her resources, her faculties, her tastes and proclivities, and every thing that she has, have been preserved by Providence for some future usefulness. If they are kept by Providence for some special purpose, it would be aiding God to give to her people the Gospel. Nothing else has the power to rouse her mind, or make her a power in the world of civilization. Whatever that garden of the world is to contribute to the world's welfare has to come from the germination of the seeds now planted. What they shall be is to be decided by the Protestant Church in the United States.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

DR. CURRY'S VACATED CHAIR.

As the reader has doubtless already noted, Dr. Goodsell elsewhere records the leading facts in the honorable career of our beloved and lamented Dr. Curry. With these facts he also gives an appreciative analysis of his unique and truly great character. Nothing, therefore, need be said here except that his death is a serious loss to the *Review*, as it is also to the Church. The weight of his impressive personality, the breadth of his thought, the largeness of his views, the boldness of his criticism on current events, and his singularly conservative progressiveness will be sorely missed by those who have so long derived both pleasure and profit from the products of his exuberantly fertile pen. But God willed his departure, and it is not for men to complain.

On the 7th of June last the Doctor wrote me, saying, "I have it in mind, if my health shall improve, to give myself a vacation of two or three months, and if so I shall be glad to place the *Review* under your care for that time." But instead of taking a vacation he, after a period of painful suffering, was taken to his everlasting rest. Just before that sad event occurred, immediate action being imperative, the Book Agents, influenced, I presume, by the intention expressed in the above named letter, requested me to proceed at once with the preparation of the November number. I did so. At a meeting of the Book Committee, summoned as early as was practicable by its chairman, Dr. Crooks was elected to be Dr. Curry's successor. Much to my regret that highly accomplished gentleman declined to serve. Before receiving his declination the committee adjourned, but before its adjournment it requested me, in case of the Doctor's non-acceptance, to supervise the *Review* until next May. If I had been a possible candidate for election to its chair by the coming General Conference I, too, should have refused to accept this responsibility. But though my age and health make my candidacy for its chair a thing not to be thought of, I yet thought I might perform the temporary service required by the action of the Book Committee. Hence I consented to supervise the issue of four numbers of the *Review*. I therefore temporarily *occupy*, without pretending to *fill*, Dr. Curry's chair, for "what can the man do that cometh after the king?"

Necessarily the present number has been hastily prepared, and what is done in haste is rarely well done. The last weeks of the departed Doctor's life, had he been well, would have been spent, at least in part, in its preparation. But as that was impossible it fell into my hands at a date that made it necessary to do every thing quickly. Aided, therefore, by the venerable Dr. Longking, I hurried to the printing office such contributions as the Doctor had wholly or partly agreed to accept,

Dr. Goodsell then kindly consented to prepare the biographical paper on Dr. Curry, and I gave myself to the writing of editorial articles and reviews of books. With these frank statements I leave what has been done to the friendly judgment of the readers of the *Review*.

DANIEL WISE.

BISHOP HARRIS.

OF the death of Bishop Harris the Church is but too well informed. He too was a king among men—a man who was beloved by all who knew him, but best loved by those who knew him best. Though heavily burdened by manifold official duties, Dr. Buckley, in response to my very earnest request, has consented to write an article on the bishop's life and character for the January number of the *Review*, which will also contain his portrait.

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE SUPPRESSION OF BRIBERY.

IT is an observation of Johnson that "every government, say the politicians, is perpetually degenerating toward corruption." This remark, which is substantially a deduction from the history of ancient nations, is true in so far as it recognizes the fact that in every age human depravity, under every form of government, (our own not excepted,) constantly seeks to make the administration of governments tributary, not to the highest welfare of society, but to the aggrandizement of self-seeking individuals. The religious and moral sentiment of a nation may so counteract this depravity as to prevent the absolute degeneration of its government. Yet the tendency of wickedness will always be in that direction. In the Roman Empire, owing to the feebleness of religious sentiment, depravity triumphed, and its government finally became irredeemably corrupt. Under Christian constitutional governments depraved men are held in check by the strong restraints of public opinion. Yet as riches and luxurious living increase, such men struggle to obtain possession of their legislative and administrative offices as means of increasing their wealth, and of feasting on the flatteries which men love to whisper in the ears of the possessors of power. And in this desperate struggle they do not scruple to use their riches as instruments of corruption. They become buyers of men, offering them money "as a motive to the performance of functions for which the proper motive ought to be a conscientious sense of duty." This is what is popularly known as bribery, which is a vice having its roots in the selfism of him who offers a bribe, and begetting in him who accepts it a low desire to acquire money by a base surrender of moral principle. And because bribery corrupts its dupes, corruption and bribery, though not properly synonyms, are very generally used as equivalent terms.

The prevalence of bribery in our political life, if not general, as one may reasonably hope it is not, is yet so common that one at all familiar with political affairs will not dispute its existence. It is too well known that delegates to nominating conventions, electors at the polls, members of legislatures and of Congress, municipal officers, jurors, and even judges, are not unfrequently persuaded by gifts of money or promises of political place to perform their several functions not independently, as good citizens should, but subserviently, and contrary to their convictions of duty, as the briber may dictate. These are facts not to be intelligently denied. Opinions may differ as to the frequency of their occurrence; but no citizen who comprehends what is meant by the well known description of our government, as being of the people, by the people, and for the people—no moralist who recognizes the vital relation which moral principle sustains to the orderly maintenance of our political system—will deny that these facts, be they many or few, are dragons' teeth, destined, if not destroyed, to appear in the future of our national life as its destructive enemies. If our voters, legislators, and official administrators are to become the slaves of unprincipled rich men in numbers sufficient to make the laws and control the government, our boasted freedom will be little less than a farcical pretense. Instead of a self-governed people, we shall be slaves to the despotism of the unprincipled few whom Coleridge designates "sycophants of the populace;" wealthy scoundrels, skilled in the hateful art of perverting an admirable system of free government into an enginery of irresponsible despotism; men who make liberty a watchword, but

> "License they mean when they cry liberty;
> For who loves that, must first be wise and good."

But, it will be said, "This result, though theoretically possible, will never be reached in our case. The people will nip this growing evil in the bud." Perhaps they will. Yet from present appearances there is reason to apprehend that popular indifference will suffer it to grow until it blossoms and bears a heavy crop of its poisonous fruit. Though admitted by thinking minds to be "a contagion of the soul" which may "sink deeper and creep on to unsuspected lengths," it is yet viewed by the great public with what Coleridge describes as "that lazy half-attention which amounts to a mental yawn." The people generally are not keenly awake to its monstrosity as a political vice. They censure it, but they do so in feeble tones, and soften their detestation of it by indulging in laughter at the adroitness of those who are guilty of it. That the moral sense of the country will, by and by, assert itself, and create a public opinion which will blast the reputation and kill the prospects of the politician who seeks to buy his way to office with bribes, is scarcely to be doubted by any one who takes fair account of the religious forces at work in the nation. Our real danger therefore is, that our indifference may suffer it to grow into an evil of such magnitude, and to become so widely diffused throughout our political machinery, that its extirpation will be a

difficult and costly task. Corruption in the body politic, like poison in the human body, is deadly in its effects. It is surely wiser to administer an antidote before the plague is fairly working in the blood than to wait until the patient is almost beyond recovery.

Bribery has been called the inveterate vice of an imperfect civilization. It is a characteristic feature of Oriental despotisms. So debased is the moral sense of their subjects, that, as a well-informed writer observes, "It is difficult to get the Oriental mind to understand how it is reasonable to expect the temptation of a bribe to be resisted." In Russia, where the principles of a higher civilization and the teaching of a Church which, though spiritually dead, yet retains a theoretical hold of Christian truth, are in conflict with the Oriental spirit and practice, bribery is systematically practiced, both in its official departments and in its law courts. When officially discovered, which is not often, it is unmercifully punished. Yet, despite this severity, every department of its government is honeycombed by it, because public opinion is too unenlightened or too corrupt to condemn it.

England, though more highly civilized and better instructed, by purer views of Christian truth, has suffered much in the past from both official and electoral bribery. In the time of Walpole, who did not scruple to unblushingly assert that every man had his price, and to buy the votes of members of Parliament, official bribery was notoriously common. And in more recent times it is thought, not without reason, that railway and other profitable charters have been procured by means of Bank of England notes surreptitiously placed in the itching palms of members of the House of Commons, or by other equally immoral inducements.

Electoral bribery, though quite common in the early part of the eighteenth century, is said to be rarely practiced in the England of to-day. A close network of carefully constructed laws protects the purity of the ballot box, and a strongly expressed public opinion sustains those laws. Yet it is a curious fact, that, when it was the common practice of Parliamentary candidates to buy the votes of the small class of humble voters who, prior to the reform bill, which gave the right of suffrage to the great body of the people, possessed the electoral franchise "not by qualification but by privilege," bribery was viewed not as a crime, but as a deed of unselfish kindness to the needy voter! The candidate was ambitious to gain the honorable position of a legislator. He had abundant, even superfluous, wealth. The voter was poor. Where then is the harm, said an improperly educated public opinion, if this rich man gives that poor voter a price for his vote? The question assuredly denoted a surprising degree of moral blindness in those who asked it, inasmuch as it proved them unable to perceive wrong in the voter who sold his conviction of duty to the State for a golden gift to himself, and wrong in the candidate who tempted the poor man to make his greed of gold, instead of his sense of duty, the motive of his voting. Happily for England, since she has made suffrage practically universal, the moral sense of her people has become sufficiently acute to perceive that bribery is a vice too pernicious

to the common welfare to be tolerated. And to-day that opinion demands, on pain of legal penalties and social infamy, that her legislators shall be able without fear, and in the spirit of Samuel the prophet, to ask, "Whom have I bribed? Of whose hands have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes therewith?" Electoral bribery, if not extirpated, as it probably is not, is now esteemed scandalous in England, and men refrain from it, if not for conscience'sake, yet through fear of social censure and contempt.

In this connection, and as showing the inefficiency of laws against this degrading vice, unless strongly supported by popular opinion, it is well to note the statement of Sir Fitzroy Kelly, an eminent lawyer, who as late as 1854 said in the British House of Commons: "It is quite useless to add to the penalties by which the commission of bribery is now followed, either with respect to the voter or candidate. They had seen that imprisonment, unlimited except by the discretion or mercy of the judge, heavy pecuniary penalties, disfranchisement, disqualification to hold office, to vote, or to sit in Parliament, and even the punishment of transportation where perjury had accompanied bribery, had been all inadequate to repress the offense. For they had found that the bribery and every species of corruption that prevailed at the last general election equaled, if they did not exceed, that which had ever been known at any former period of our history." This scathing declaration was made little more than thirty years ago. If, therefore, it be true that bribery in English politics is becoming so odious a vice in the estimation of the public that the laws against it can be enforced, and its convicted perpetrators be socially ostracized, a long step toward its extirpation has been taken. The possibility of driving this great political immorality out of the political machinery of a self-governing community is pretty nearly demonstrated.

These facts, gathered in part from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and herein commented upon, are on the whole encouraging to those who deplore the practice of bribery in American political life. They show that while this hateful vice cannot be extirpated by law alone, it can be by law strongly supported by public sentiment. When the attention of the people is earnestly called to it—when they are made to study its hideous features, and to comprehend that the man who commits it is corrupt in heart and utterly unworthy to be intrusted with the responsibilities of office, either civic, state, or national—they will rise in the majesty of their strength and demand not only greater stringency in the law, if that be necessary, but also the most vigorous energy in its enforcement on the part of courts and their prosecuting officers. When a man known to be guilty of bribery is openly treated as a traitor to free institutions, for whom no man will vote, and whom no party will trust, then the vice, if it does not wholly disappear, will skulk in the deepest shades of ignominious fear.

The fact that some of the New York aldermen who so shamefully abused their trust by accepting bribes, for which they voted a valuable franchise to the parties who built the Broadway railroad, are to-day suffering the penalty of their crime in a state prison is evidence that the

American mind is beginning to look on bribery as a vice that must be no longer tolerated. The general satisfaction expressed when Jacob Sharp, the representative bribe-giver, was convicted and sentenced to a felon's doom; the regret of the public that two judges found what they considered legal grounds for granting stays of the execution of Sharp's just sentence, and the fear of many that the ingenuity of highly-paid lawyers who are more in sympathy with the culprit than with public morality will find some crooked way by which to wrest the hoary-headed criminal from the hands of outraged justice, are facts affording still stronger evidence that a tide of popular hostility to the odious and dangerous evil is slowly rising. Still it must be confessed and regretted that this hostile spirit is less widespread and less vigorous than the nature of the case demands. The public does not yet clearly recognize the palpable fact that, if the corrupt use of money to influence elections and to determine legislation becomes an established and tolerated practice, it will "eat away the very substance of our institutions." If unprincipled men can, by the purchase of votes, place a majority of their candidates in Congress and in our State Legislatures, they will establish a despotism more to be dreaded than that of legitimate monarchs whose governments are not regulated by constitutional restrictions. Such monarchs have permanent personal and family interests, which depend on the peace and prosperity of their subjects. These interests compel them to be more or less conservative in their administrations. But what would a despotism of bribe-givers be but a despotism of self-seeking scoundrels, recognizing no limit to their depredations on the wealth and liberties of the country but the sufferance of a people so far corrupted by their selfish greed for bribes as to be almost incapable of being moved by the impulses of a generous patriotism? If such men could, by bribery, so manipulate the machinery of political parties as to secure the election of themselves or their servile creatures, and thereby defeat the will of the majority of the people, nothing of freedom and self-government would be left them but empty names. The grand drama of American liberty would then be played out, and American freemen present to a disappointed world the spectacle of men acting a pretentious farce.

But it is said that the intelligence of the people will never permit such a political condition to be brought about. True; but that this is the tendency of bribery is self-evident. And to check this tendency it is needful that it be so clearly perceived and deeply felt by the whole people, that the now rising tide of hostility to this vice may swell into a flood. Neither electoral, legislative, judicial, nor administrative bribery will then be permitted. The man who strives to buy a nomination—who sends his henchmen to the polls to buy the votes of ignorant and greedy electors—will be both politically and socially banned. His candidacy will be scouted, his election defeated, and his reputation as a man blasted. In like manner the governor, the member of Congress, the senator, the judge, the state assemblyman, the juror, the mayor, or the alderman who is detected in accepting a bribe of any kind will be regarded as a political leper, and, even

if not legally punished, will be shunned by all whose patriotism is deeper than their desire for social recognition by a rich man whose hands are stained with this odious vice. When popular opposition to bribery rises to this height, there will be no serious difficulty in enforcing the laws which provide for the punishment of those who commit it. Recognizing the criminality of the act, men will learn to regard its perpetrator as a criminal. They will not cultivate intimate friendship with a man who, by giving bribes, demonstrates the corruption of his own heart, his disposition to be the corrupter of other men, and his utter lack of genuine patriotic feeling.

Is it objected that such ostracism is too severe? Is it contended that a patriotic citizen may innocently live in unrestrained social companionship with a notorious bribe-giver? Doubtless many do so contend, but why? The reason is, that the objector is not possessed by a true conception of such a man's criminality. He does not take full note of the fact that the bribe-giver tramples both on his obligations as a man and his duties as a citizen. These bind him to refrain from every act that tends either to the destruction or diminution of the happiness of society; they require him to implicitly obey the laws; to secure for every man, as far as he may, the enjoyment of his rights as a man and a citizen, and redress for his wrongs; to assist in the enforcement of the laws; to do all in his power to make his fellow citizens wiser and better, and to help select for official positions such men as are best qualified to perform their prescribed duties. These are the universally acknowledged duties of every citizen. But he who is guilty of bribery violates them all. When he buys a vote he corrupts a fellow-citizen, he disobeys the laws, he persuades a man to misuse his political right, thereby making him not a better but a worse man; in buying his own way to office he keeps out the man best fitted for it, and in securing it for himself he puts in one morally unfitted to fill it. Viewing him in this light, who can question the propriety of denying him the hearty social recognition and distinguishing courtesies due to a good citizen and an innocent man?

It cannot, indeed, be intelligently questioned. As we have said, bribery is a crime, and the briber is a criminal. Deadly diseases demand strong remedies. Hence, to kill the vice society must frown on the man who is guilty of it; it must also punish him as the law provides. In fact, it is impossible for men to really respect him, since, as John Foster observes, "By a law as deep in human nature as any of its distinctions between good and evil, it is impossible to give respect or confidence to a man who habitually disregards some of the primary ordinances of morality.... No man, even of the highest talents, can ever acquire, or at least retain, much influence on the public mind in the character of remonstrant or reformer without the reality, or at any rate the invulnerable reputation, of virtue, in the comprehensive sense of the word, as comprising every kind of morality prescribed by the highest code acknowledged in a Christian nation." In these words John Foster utters a profound truth, which not only bribe-givers need to observe, but which the men who seek to be the leaders of political parties will do well to consider and make practical in their choice of candidates

for the suffrages of the people. Political parties which seek to live by bribery will as surely be destroyed in the end as will the men who make bribery the ladder by which they hope to reach official positions. The moral sense of the people, already quickened, is becoming more acute. The time is therefore coming—is indeed at the door—in which good men will sternly insist on excluding all immorality from their politics, and all immoral men from the offices in their gift.

WESLEY'S ALLEGED RELATION TO THE ANGLO-CATHOLIC MOVEMENT.

Professor G. T. Stokes, in the *Contemporary Review* for August, after a brief portraiture of the character and career of Alexander Knox, an Irish gentleman who greatly admired John Wesley and had frequent correspondence with him, proceeds to show, by a citation from a letter written by Mr. Knox in 1806, that he (Knox) "occupied exactly the position taken up thirty years later by the Oxford tractarians." Mr. Stokes then adds: "For the philosophic student of history the most interesting point is, that he (Knox) himself traces all these mental movements of his to the teaching of John Wesley, so that we should attribute the fatherhood of the Oxford movement not to Hugh James Rose, or Pusey, or Newman—all of whom were mere recipients and transmuters of mental forces evolved before their time—but rather to the great evangelist of the last century; or, to put it in biblical phraseology, Wesley begat Knox, and Knox begat (Bishop) Jebb, and Jebb begat Rose, and Pusey, and Newman. This assertion strikes the casual reader as very strange, because the modern Wesleyans denounce in the strongest language the High Church movement, though they have themselves been most profoundly affected by it. A Wesleyan of Adam Clarke's or Jabez Bunting's day would scarcely recognize in the Gothic chapels and choral services and correct ecclesiastical costume of modern Wesleyanism a vestige of the very plain society in which they ministered. These things are all due to the Oxford movement, and yet it is no unfamiliar phenomenon to see large bodies influenced more by their opponents than by their friends."

Professor Stokes assuredly puts a forced construction on his facts when he sees the "profound" influence of the Oxford movement in the improved chapels and choral singing of the Wesleyan body. Gothic churches are familiar objects to English eyes, and it was natural that, as the pecuniary resources of the Wesleyans increased, they should improve the architecture of their chapels. And as the societies drew more people of higher culture and taste than formerly into their membership, these improved tastes, without profound Oxford influence, would incline some of them to introduce choral and even antiphonal services into their worship. If, therefore, the professor has no stronger evidences of Wesley's paternal relations to the Oxford movement than he gives of the influence

of that movement on the Wesleyan body, his assertions do not rest on very strong foundations.

The facts on which he relies to establish Wesley's fatherhood of the Anglo-Catholic reaction toward Romanism are:

1. That Mr. Knox had embraced the doctrine of justification as set forth by Mr. Wesley in the famous Bristol Minutes of 1770; that in a letter to Mrs. Hannah More in 1807, and in a formal treatise on justification in 1810, Mr. Knox maintained Wesley's theory, and then in 1838 John Henry Newman, in his *Lectures on Justification*, refers to the views of Knox, and quotes him in the Appendix as supporting his (Newman's) views in these words:

> Our being reckoned righteous *coram Deo* always and essentially implies a substance of righteousness previously implanted in us, and reputative justification is the strict and inseparable result of this previous moral justification. I mean that the reckoning us righteous indispensably presupposes an inward reality of righteousness on which this reckoning is founded.

On these facts it is only necessary to observe that Mr. Knox's putting of Wesley's theory is not sustained, either by the Minutes of 1770 or by the "declaration" signed by Wesley and fifty-three of his preachers in 1771, or by his sermon on justification. In neither of these publications did Wesley teach that "the justification of a sinner indispensably presupposes an inward reality of righteousness," on which one's actual justification is founded. This is the doctrine of justification by works which, said Wesley and his preachers in the aforesaid declaration, "We abhor, as a most perilous and abominable doctrine." Again, they said:

> We have no trust or confidence but in the alone merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ for justification or salvation, either in life, death, or the day of judgment; and though no one is a real Christian believer (and consequently cannot be saved) who doth not good works where there is time and opportunity, yet our works have no part in meriting or purchasing our salvation (justification) either in whole or in part.

It is obvious, therefore, that Mr. Knox gave an interpretation to Mr. Wesley's theory which that clear-headed man never taught. His theory of good works antecedent to justification only required "works meet for repentance," and was insisted upon to correct the antinomian tendencies of the extreme solifidianism of his day. But Mr. Knox's unintentional misrepresentation of it enabled Mr. Newman to find in it a ground on which to defend his Romish doctrine of "justification by inherent righteousness," and of "faith as a part of that righteousness." If, therefore, it were true that Newman learned his papistical theory from Knox, through Mr. Rose and Bishop Jebb, it is obvious that Knox could not have learned it from Wesley, who never taught it.

2. Professor Stokes lays much stress on Knox's assertion that he learned his High Church views of the sacraments and of the rights of the Christian priesthood from Mr. Wesley. That in the early part of his career Wesley held very high opinions on these questions is not to be disputed. But it is also well known that as early as 1747 he had very greatly modified them.

Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*, Lord King's *Primitive Church*, and the necessities providentially created during the development of his wonderful work, had made him, if not a "Low," yet, as Tyerman puts it, "a very inconsistent Churchman." In the Minutes of 1747 "a national Church is pronounced merely a political institution:" three orders in the ministry, though early introduced, are said to be nowhere enjoined in Holy Scripture; the divine right of episcopacy is denied, and the obligation to obey the rules and governors of the Church is limited to things that "we can do consistently with our duty to God."

Now, it is a fact that Wesley's High Church opinions had been thus modified eighteen years before he formed his first acquaintance with Knox. It is not therefore probable that in his intercourse and correspondence with that gentleman he supported the opinions he had wholly or in part renounced, but those which he avowed in 1747. These latter views, it is true, were never entirely freed from some phases of his former more pronounced High Churchism, but most assuredly the Tractarian movement was not seminally in them, as Professor Stokes claims. Accepted with candor, with Wesley's interpretations of some equivocal phrases, and in the light of his public actions, they could not have justified Mr. Knox in claiming a Wesleyan paternity for those of his own peculiar theological views said to have been so influential in determining the career of Mr. Newman. Mr. Knox was no doubt indebted to Wesley for his Arminianism, for guidance out of the empty formality of a mere churchly piety into a personal spiritual life, and for aid in his struggles to escape from his mental tendency to overmuch self-introspection. His affection for Wesley appears to have led him to read whatever Wesley had written, and to absorb those of his ideas most congenial to his own modes of thinking, and chiefly those which his spiritual father had either renounced or modified. Yet they entered into the thought of Mr. Knox, and gave color to all his subsequent theological and ecclesiastical conceptions. Thus, without intending to be unjust to the great divine he so truly loved and greatly admired, he wrongly attributed to him opinions that were begotten partly by Wesley's early teachings, and partly by his own wide reading and his own meditations through the years of his long-continued invalidism.

By similar omissions to view Wesley's opinions of the sacraments and of the priestly office in the light of his modifying statements and his practice, Knox claimed support for the doctrines on sacramental grace contained in his "Remains" and also in his son's correspondence with Bishop Jebb. As Mr. Moore observes in his remarks on Wesley's sermon on "the ministerial office," Wesley's love to the "Church" frequently "led him a little too far." He leaned too much toward the Church, and therefore sometimes appeared less consistent with himself than, when properly understood, he really was. It was easy, therefore, for Mr. Knox to find apparent evidence that his own views, which Newman cited approvingly, were identical with those of Wesley. In point of fact there was nothing in the strongest utterances of Wesley on sacramental questions so differing from those of

other High Churchmen, nothing so idiosyncratic, as to furnish grounds for a special "affiliation of thought," connecting him with Newman and the other Tractarians. On the contrary, Wesley's teaching, taken as a whole, was utterly at variance with the root-thoughts of those gentlemen. In their view the "Church was too sacred to be touched by the heads of the secular authority:" in Wesley's estimation a national Church was "a political institution." They aimed to revive the doctrine of apostolical succession: Wesley said: "I deny that the Romish bishops came down by uninterrupted succession from the apostles. I never could see it proved, and I am persuaded I never shall." They claimed that the "deposit of faith" was given to the bishops; Wesley claimed that the Scriptures contain that precious deposit. They insisted that the Bible was an unsafe book unless interpreted by the Fathers; but Wesley gloried in being "a man of one book," and taught all men to test their faith by Holy Scripture. They taught that the human soul was fed from without, by supernatural influences lodged in the episcopate and conveyed to the people through a priesthood receiving its divine consecration in the sacrament of ordination, but Wesley held that the soul is fed directly by the indwelling Spirit through the truth proclaimed by men, ordained or unordained, but moved by the Holy Ghost to preach the Gospel. Finally, the Tractarians insisted that the spiritual needs of humanity are to be supplied through a divinely ordered apostolical succession, baptismal regeneration, and sacramental grace. But Wesley, while not wholly denying—perhaps conceding too much to the doctrine of sacramental grace—taught men to look for pentecostal effusions of the Holy Spirit. Seeing, therefore, that Wesley differed so fundamentally from the Tractarians, does it not appear absurd to affirm that he was, in any logical sense, the father of their movement?

What, then, is the value of Professor Stokes's statement that the opinions which Alexander Knox attributed to Mr. Wesley's teaching wrought certain changes in the theories of Bishop Jebb and H. J. Rose, and, through them, in the views of Mr. Newman? It is admitted that Newman, Pusey, and other tractarians cited Knox, which proves that they had read Jebb's correspondence and the "Remains" of Knox, and that, finding support in them for their theories, they had made citations from them after the manner of all controversial writers. But this does not prove that they derived their special theories from that source. That they found confirmation of them there does not prove that the theories themselves were begotten by either Jebb or Knox. If, therefore, it be admitted—which it is not—that Knox fairly expressed Wesley's ideas, it does not follow that the Tractarian dogmas were the children of Wesley's thought. Their parentage must be looked for elsewhere.

Moreover, it is by no means historically clear that either Jebb or Rose had such intimate relations to the birth of Tractarianism as Professor Stokes claims. Rose was not, indeed, closely intimate with Newman, and it was Keble, not Newman, who was the original Tractarian, albeit Newman's greater force of character soon gave him the leadership of the movement.

It is tolerably certain, however, that Keble, Newman, Pusey, and Froude were all more or less moved by as much of the spirit of the Methodistic revival as had found its way into the Church, and had been the life of its evangelical party, but which, after doing a good work within it and in the nation generally, had well-nigh exhausted its force. Organized Wesleyanism, which was still vigorous in every part of England, no doubt also contributed largely to the serious spirit which animated them. Possibly the spiritual tone of the writings of Knox deepened their seriousness. But neither Wesleyanism nor its great founder can be made responsible for the papistical dogmas they embraced. As Newman shows in his *Apologia*, it was primarily the influence of Keble and Hurrell Froude that turned him in the direction of his destiny. Next came his readings in the patristic Latin theology. Political movements, culminating in the suppression of the Irish bishoprics, added fuel to the already burning flame. The preparation of tracts "to circulate right notions on apostolical succession" gave intenser impulse to his mind, until, step by step, he advanced to the portals of the Romish Church, seeking repose from his doubts in her authority. These influences, and not Knox's versions of Wesley's alleged sacramentalism, were, therefore, the roots of the Anglo-Catholic dogmas and of the agitation which culminated in the perversion of many Churchmen to the mediæval doctrines and worship of the Romish Church.

AN UNPRECEDENTED FACT IN MODERN MISSIONARY HISTORY.

That there are in America and England, as is currently reported, more than a thousand young men, mostly students, asking the Churches to send them into the ripening fields of waning heathenism, is a fact hitherto unprecedented in modern missionary history. That the missionary contributions of the Churches are insufficient to send these young evangelists into the dark places of the earth is discreditable to our Protestantism, which, if its benevolence were proportionate to its resources, would promptly furnish means necessary to send these candidates to the millions whose needs, if not their words, are loudly crying to the Churches, "Come over and help us!" But while these young men are waiting to hear what reply the Churches will give to their request, no lover of the missionary enterprise will refuse, at least, to consider the significance of their demand and the possibility of giving it an affirmative response.

As to its significance one may very naturally inquire, From what does it arise? Is it an impulse derived from the spirit of the times or from the Holy Spirit? There is in modern society a growing passion for extensive travel into distant lands. Many are becoming cosmopolitan in their sympathies. The writings of explorers and travelers have filled the imaginations of men with strange imagery, and begotten strong curiosity to see the things of which they have read. There is also in the Churches a very

general missionary enthusiasm, a spirit of Christian propagandism, which is apt to beget in youthful minds a sentimental interest in missionary work which, not being rooted in real love for Christ and humanity, is sure to be evanescent and unfruitful of self-denying work. It is not unbecoming, therefore, to ask if this impulse, so simultaneously developed in so many young men on both sides of the Atlantic, is born of this enthusiasm and of the spirit of society, or is it the product of the silent operation of the Holy Ghost, transforming their knowledge of the needs of the world into convictions of duty? Of course, this is a problem that only the Searcher of hearts can authoritatively solve. But seeing that these young men are, many of them, theological students, having tolerably full knowledge of the toils, self-denials, trials, and very moderate support inseparable from missionary service, one may reasonably conclude that not mere sentiment, or desire to see foreign lands, or superficial enthusiasm, but the motions of the Spirit of Jesus are the root of their request to be sent to distant parts to preach the Gospel of life to dying men. Viewed thus, is not their call also a call to the Churches? If Christ is bidding them "go," is he not at the same time bidding his Church to send them?

But how is this to be done? It cannot be done at all unless the Churches become more fully awake to their responsibility, to their obligation to "go up at once and possess" the world for their Lord. This obligation, profoundly recognized, would so inspire their love to Christ and to humanity as to cause them to pour into the treasury of their respective missionary societies the money necessary to put as many of these heroic young men as may be deemed competent into the lands of the spiritually destitute.

The missionary editor of the *Homiletic Review*, apparently doubting the possibility of doing this through existing agencies, remarks that "there is a wide-spread feeling that the only solution is, that *individual churches shall have their own fields and missionaries.*"

Nothing but stern necessity will dispose a general to take new positions for his army when in the midst of a great battle. Yet this is substantially what the above cited remark suggests to the Churches, which are in the thick of a great battle with the evil one for the possession of the world. Their method of doing foreign missionary work, through organized societies having power to receive and disburse their gifts and to arrange for the employment, distribution, location, and supervision of their respective missionaries, has hitherto been, and still is, marvelously successful, all things considered. The proposal is for individual churches to act independently of these organizations. Of course none but large, wealthy churches could do this, because only such could annually raise money sufficient to support a missionary and meet the incidental expenses of his mission. In doing this they would naturally, if not necessarily, cease to support their respective missionary societies, and thereby greatly reduce their incomes and cripple their work. Moreover, the success of the plan is more than problematical. Even in the selection of its missionary, prepossessions arising out of local sympathies might often cause a church

to lay its hand on an indiscreet candidate. Its choice of a field for him, in the absence of the full information possessed by organized boards, would have to be determined mainly by the missionary's judgment or by the caprice of large donors. Its supervision of his work could be merely nominal, and in case he met with little success the zeal of his supporters would be very likely to cool and give place to discouragement and indifference. Besides these embarrassments, the location of missions by individual churches would not always be governed by plans judiciously formed for the proper occupation of a particular territory, as it may be by boards familiar through much correspondence with the needs of a country and its occupation by other churches. Other objections lie against this suggested change, unless, indeed, its author means nothing more than that individual churches shall pledge themselves to become responsible for the support of a missionary in some designated field under the control of the organized board with which it is denominationally associated. To this no serious objections can, perhaps, be made; and it might lead in many instances to large increase of missionary contributions by wealthy churches. Meantime, it is better to reply to the request of the thousand heroic young men who are eager to enter the growing army of missionaries by pouring a flowing tide of gifts into the treasuries of existing boards. In our own Church, "a million from collections alone" this fiscal year will be a fair beginning, and will open a door for some of these waiting candidates. Next year, it is to be hoped, will be still more fruitful in gifts to our missionary treasury. The fields are ripening. The harvest time is at hand. The reapers are ready. It is for the Church to furnish means to place them amidst the ripening grain.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

THE RUSSIANS IN ABYSSINIA.—The Russians have of late taken a strange fancy to the Abyssinians. About three years ago they sent thither an expedition of forty so-called "Free Cossacks" under the guidance of an intelligent leader, who has not been idle. A scientist accompanied the party, who has lately made a report of his experience to the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, that contains much interesting information regarding the inhabitants which has hitherto been confined to the Russian journals.

It were more satisfactory if this gentleman had given us some hint as to the object of the expedition, for an object there undoubtedly was, but we are left to suppose that it was merely a desire of the Free Cossacks to see a foreign land and become acquainted with a people whom they regard as their brothers in faith. We are informed that these Free Cossacks consider themselves Russians, though they owe no direct obligations to the Russian realm. They live in Asia Minor, on the banks of the Euphrates.

This little troop of Cossacks consisted originally of fifteen men, but it was on the way increased to twenty-five. They took ship at Odessa, and traveled *via* Alexandria and Suez; and on passing through the English and Italian custom-houses reported themselves as merchants traveling to India. In the fall of 1885 they reached Abyssinia with a heavy stock of Russian wares and fire-arms. The Abyssinians show but little hospitality to any body, and least of all to Europeans, but the Russians were received with open arms and hospitably entertained. At the residence of the Viceroy they had a triumphal entry, which they reciprocated by giving to the official and his subordinates handsome presents. After ten days of junketing the party proceeded to King John, who received them cordially and with great pomp.

The expedition remained eight months in Abyssinia, had free entrance every-where, and were treated as brothers by the people. These Abyssinians hate the Moslems, and are at continual war with them, and have quite as little love for any thing from Europe; hence the failure of the Catholic as well as of the English missions. Apart from the Russians the Abyssinians sympathize only with the Greeks, because from these they have their religion. Their social and civil life is very patriarchal. The population is divided into castes, but their way of life is not very different. The people are poor, and in a very low scale, engaging principally in agriculture and the raising of cattle. They have but little trade, and their income consists mainly of the booty of war. Thanks to a favorable climate, they need but little; they live mainly in tents, and even the king goes generally barefoot. The people are very ignorant of religious matters, and their priests are destitute of any religious culture; their strongest hold on the people is the fact that they live by the labor of their hands, and thus require no support. Now when this story is told it needs no very penetrating intelligence to perceive that the bond between the Russians and the Abyssinians is that of their religion; and through this, and generous patronage, the Russians propose gaining on the Red Sea that foothold that England and Italy need to fight for.

THE GERMANS ARE NOW IN ITALY engaged in mission work. The pastors recently met in Naples to compare notes in regard to their fields of labor, and Pastor Wessel, from Florence, described the character of the Lenten sermons of the famous city as preached by one of the most brilliant orators of the Romish Church. The great cathedral was filled with listeners, who applauded the striking passages by the clapping of hands. Each sermon was stenographed and printed in the daily journals, meeting with a large sale. The pastor divides these sermons into two classes, the one Rationalistic, and the other Catholic; the former treated of the existence of God, of religion, suffering, etc.; the latter of purgatory, the Virgin Mary, and so on.

Père Agostino is a Franciscan monk of great eloquence, and perfectly acquainted with the Italian character. He does not hesitate to quote Bossuet, and even Naville and Bersier, of the French Protestant Church.

His sermons were the talk of Florence—a fact that proves that in the Romish churches there is a strong demand for the living word. Agostino seldom took a Bible text, but frequently quoted Dante, Cicero, and other illustrious men. Several of his Catholic sermons called forth replies from the Protestant workers, and these were numerously attended. The evangelical teachers tried through these means to stir up the religious enthusiasm of the people; it remains to be seen whether the effort has planted any living germs.

Pastor Trede, of Naples, spoke of the images and the image worship of southern Italy in the field of the Roman Catholic Church. He regards the creations with brush and chisel from the first century down to the present period as rare illustrations of church history, showing every-where in color and in stone the words of the Church, and its deep fall from Bible truths into heathendom.

There is also in Naples a French Protestant congregation, with Pastor Tissot, formerly from St. Gall, in Switzerland. In Italy the Germans and the French make out to meet on the same Christian platform, and the French missionary gave an interesting account of his work in the French congregation over which he had presided. This movement on the part of the French and German Protestants to enter Italy is quite gratifying, though it is a little peculiar. It is not, as ours, so much a mission to the Italian people as it is on the part of the Germans and the French an effort to look after their lost sheep; namely, their own countrymen in a distant land. These are apt to stray from every fold in a Catholic country, where they can never hear the Gospel in their own faith unless from the mouth of the missionary.

The Reformed Church of France recently held a private or non-official synod in one of the old Protestant strongholds, because the government still declines, through fear of excitement or under the influence of the radical element, to grant the official General Synod. The French Protestants did well in making this demonstration, and showing what the genuine Reformed Church is doing.

They reported 414 congregations as represented in this body by 475 pastors; there were also present delegates from Geneva, Neufchatel, the Vaud in Switzerland, as well as from Belgium, England and Scotland, all desirous of showing to their brethren in France a proof of the community of faith and spirit. The discussions on the occasion passed off in great harmony and peace. One of the most important questions was that of the theological faculty of Montauban. A few months ago the Minister of Public Worship sent to said faculty a young teacher of philosophy without saying as much as "By your leave," and the affair caused quite an excitement, as the Church is not willing to yield its right of nomination. The synod took very energetic measures to insure the appointment of the teacher of positive faith, whom they had recommended by a two-thirds vote.

For some years this non-official synod has granted to orthodox theolog-

ical students certain stipends to aid them in their studies. This good work they agree to continue in increased measure, and a committee of three of the faculty was appointed to decide on the sum to be raised. Last year about 40,000 francs were applied in this line. The synod also adopted a formula for the ordination of their candidates, and resolved to accept none who will not accept it. This is a very important measure, as it draws still more clearly the line that divides the Orthodox from the Liberals.

This evangelical wing of the Reformed Church looks forward with calmness and confidence to the near approach of a separation of Church from State, when the former will be thrown entirely on its own resources. To prepare for this event they collected in a few days about 100,000 francs. This is a very fine beginning, which encourages them to great hopes for the future. The financial status of the synod is in the main quite satisfactory, for the sum of 50,000 francs signed by the members of the first synod, in 1881, has now risen to 84,000. The theological preparatory school, founded six years ago in Journon, has in this short time prepared about thirty students, and thus supplements the school in Paris at Batignolles.

In the matter of divorce the synod took a positive stand; namely, that the indissoluble character of the marriage tie, except in the case of adultery, is proclaimed by the Lord himself, and, in view of the purely civil character of French legislation, the Church may deny the consecration without affecting the legality of the marriage bond. Therefore the pastors are admonished to exert all their influence to prevent divorces; and the power is granted to each individual pastor to deny the consecration of a new marriage to divorced persons, no matter for what cause the divorce may have been granted. In conclusion, the synod resolved to celebrate the 17th of November of the current year as the centennial anniversary of the famous "Edict of Toleration" of 1787, by which the Protestants acquired a legal civil status.

THE VATICAN has been very active of late in the line of advancing Italian art for use and exhibition at the coming papal jubilee. The high honor conferred by Bismarck on the pope, in making him the arbiter between Spain and Germany in the matter of the Caroline Islands, was made to do full civil duty in its time, but it is now revived with another aim. A medal commemorative of the event has been struck, which bears on its face a portrait of the holy pontiff. On the obverse appear three allegorical figures: the Curia in the center, with Germany on one side and Spain on the other, arched with the superscription, "The promoter and founder of peace."

There is to be a Vatican Exposition at the papal jubilee, the proprietors of which will doubtless do a good business. A Spanish artist is to exhibit a bas-relief which will relate to posterity one of the greatest deeds of the "Pope of Providence," namely, his peace-bringing intermediation between Spain and Germany. In this work the pope stands between Bismarck and Canovas, the Spanish minister, while above the group the

Emperor William and the Spanish king are clasping hands; but below is seen a group of Capuchin monks who are departing to bear the light of the gospel to the Caroline Islands.

But still further, in the line of Italian art, we may mention that a speculative photographer in Rome has multiplied the portrait by the Roman painter Pacelli of the pope kneeling before a portrait of the Madonna, presenting to her a rosary with prayer. After the present pope blessed the late Luther centennial year with his rosary breviary, in which he offered full indulgence for sin for 1,500 Ave Marias and 150 Lord's Prayers, it is not surprising that a painter was inspired to depict the scene. But it was necessary for the pope to see this work of art and bless the maker of the photographs. This purpose was obtained through the good offices of the Cardinal-vicar, who induced the pontiff to inspect the picture and give it his blessing as a means of cultivating the adoration of the rosary in Catholic families. The unlimited lord of the Catholic conscience deigned to examine the pious creation of the artist, express his full satisfaction with the execution, and accord to it his blessing. All this according to the report of the court journal of the Vatican, the *Osservatore Romano*. And all this, we observe, with a view to secure for it a large circulation and an immense sale, to the profit not of the artist alone by any means. The above organ also gives the picture a mercantile puff by praising the accurate likeness not only of the great pontifex, but of the man of God whose prayers avert the wrath of God.

In Scandinavian lands, where one would least expect it, the crime of unchastity is largely on the increase, so that public attention is being called to it, and Christian men are in council as to the best means of stemming the tide of impurity. By common consent it is acknowledged that the great incentive to this vice is given by the immoral literature of the day. In Denmark the social democracy is openly preaching the doctrine of free love, and has become so insanely mad in its pool of filth as to demand text-books in the schools regarding the laws of sexual intercourse. In Sweden a certain "naturalist" has carried his theories so far that the director of a gymnasium in Stockholm has found it necessary to issue an earnest admonition to parents and teachers concerning such books in the hands of youth. He complains bitterly of the immorality of the pupils, and attributes it largely to the teaching of this vile "gospel of the flesh," as these malefactors call their doctrine. Said teacher assumes it to be a duty of the State to take up the sword in this conflict against this moral life of the nation. Norway has also a number of such "naturalists" to curse its youth, who make it a business to trample under foot all feeling of moral purity. There the State has already interfered and seized some of the filthy publications, and public opinion is divided for or against this measure. The current just now seems in favor of common decency, and a protective association has been formed containing hundreds of students. This society aims at enforcing purity for men as well as women, and is now engaged in circulating tracts against impurity in both sexes.

In Brazil the Protestant Germans have succeeded in establishing a regular synod, at which their hearts are much rejoiced. There is a large German emigration to certain parts of Brazil, and they settled there on the condition of full liberty in their faith, and this has been loyally accorded to them by the liberal Emperor Dom Pedro. They have at last grown strong and enthusiastic enough to have a common reunion, which bears the name of the "Synod of the Rio Grande." After the usual opening with divine service they began the discussion of a list of subjects of prime importance to them in their new home.

They presented a living picture of the difference between a synod that is convened, as in the fatherland, under the rule of the government, and one that is fully free in all its actions. *Pro forma* synods affect the clergy for a little while, and then all is still again; but this synod was called at the request of the laity of the Church, who had a good deal of interest in the matter, and desired to express their opinions as to many things in the management of the churches, of which there are now twenty-five in Brazil. The matter of synod or no synod was put to vote in the congregations, and a large majority expressed themselves as favorable to the measure. This action insured sympathy and attention, and carried the discussion of many questions into the separate churches. At first there was suspicion, to which came the explanation; then came questions, and these were followed by answers; so that gradually all eyes were opened and all hearts awakened. And on the last Sunday before the pastors left for the synod, the meeting of the people was larger than ever before, on account of their interest in the new movement. The German emigration to Brazil has been very large, and there bids fair to be a large German province in that country, as they settle closely and remain together.

Leipzig seems to be the head-quarters of the friends of Jewish missions in Germany, and these workers recently met in council for their labors. In view of the coolness with which the Jews themselves welcome these efforts for their welfare, it is quite creditable to the many Christians interested in them that they work on without discouragement in the desire to make one flock and one Shepherd.

There was a period when the people of Israel were themselves engaged in a species of mission work. When the more enlightened of the heathen began to tire of their idolatrous faith, and seek to come nearer to some sympathizing divinity, then the more intelligent Jews sent messengers to them to teach them the nothingness of their idol-worship, and the loftiness of divine revelation over all the wisdom of the wisest of men. And of Hillel it is related with what gentleness and wisdom he sought to win them for Judaism. Wherever there were synagogues there was collected a circle of heathen, of whom many worshiped the God of Israel. Even in Rome some from the highest classes turned from idolatry to the Jews. But when the Christians began the mission work the Jews ceased theirs. It is not very clear why. Perhaps because it was in many lands forbidden; but this prohibition did not deter Christians from the work. The real

truth was doubtless because the Jews had no longer a mission to the world; for the revelation which was first intrusted to Israel found its completion in Christianity, and Judaism, which separated from it, lost its proud vocation. Judaism was to bring to the world truth, justice, and peace, but Christianity brings still more, for the Christian faith proclaims a peace founded on Jesus, whom the Jews rejected. It were a brilliant victory for Christianity to bring even the Jews into this truce with God, and it is gratifying to see so many engaged in this work of but little promise.

SOUTHERN GERMANY seems at present to be the arena of quite a raid against Protestantism. A Catholic journal comes to the front in this matter, urging the faithful on in their attacks on heresy. The teachings of the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII. are clearly seen in its ebullitions of spleen and wrath; for instance:

> What is good among Protestants is Catholic, and what is not Catholic is bad. . . . It is the best of the Protestants that come over to the Romish Church, while from the Catholic only the worst elements go over to Protestantism. . . . The doctrine of Protestantism is abominable in theory and immoral in practice; it is vicious in respect to God and men, injurious to society, and in violation of plain common sense. . . . You must hate Protestantism with all your heart, and if you meet Protestants among your friends, companions, or neighbors, you must do what the ancient Christians did in Rome when they came in contact with Protestants—as far as possible they avoided them.

In short, these "pestilential sects" are the mother of nihilism, anarchism, and all that is dangerous in the State and Church and immoral in society.

IN FRANCE the elementary school system is being largely developed, both by the State and the Church. The latest official report tells about this story: There are 35,000 schools, with 5,500,000 pupils. Of these, on the day when the statistics were taken, there were 88 per cent. of the scholars present in the schools. These are not all public schools; over 13,000 of them are private. Of the public schools 10,000 are taught by clerical teachers. Of the private schools 4,000 are in the hands of the laity, and 9,000 in the hands of the congregations or orders. In the entire elementary school system 142,000 persons are employed. Of these 3,000 are "Christian brothers," and over 14,000 the so-called "sisters." This would seem to be in violation of the law that all public schools must have secular teachers. But in certain sections these cannot be procured, or in some way, in spite of the law, in certain communities, the members of the orders succeed in getting the control of the schools, and hold it with a pertinacity that is backed by the will of a population that is in the hands of the priest. A great many so-called "free schools" are in the hands of clerical teachers who run an active opposition to the state or secular schools.

BELGIUM is becoming quite alarmed at the increased use of intoxicating liquors and the already very palpable results. The matter was recently brought before the Parliament in a discussion on the means of checking

this fearful and expensive vice. During the last thirty years the thirst for drink has increased in a ratio double that of the increase of the population, and the use of gin has largely gained on that of beer. Twenty-five years ago nine liters of gin were drank where now thirteen are consumed. Belgium spends yearly about sixty-five millions of francs for intoxicating drinks, of which the working classes pay more than the half.

Cases occur frequently in which the working-men let their wives and children starve that they may gratify their inordinate passion for liquor. The result is clearly seen in the growing disorder of family life, and the inclination of the rising generation to all kinds of criminal excesses. The Belgian criminal records attest that three fourths of all crime may be traced to strong drink. The social misery of Belgium would never have reached so alarming a point if the pest of rum were not so prevalent. The general result is, that no nation in Europe is now so tormented by all sorts of industrial disorder, and with such a general inclination on the part of high and low to cultivate private and public scandal.

FRENCH MISSIONS seem to be growing at an encouraging rate. Sixty-four years ago the Reformed Church of France resolved to have a mission house for their new society in the capital, but nothing was done in the matter of any import until quite recently, when a new impulse to mission work seemed to arise, and this house is a fixed fact owing to the untiring zeal of Dr. Gustave Monod. Last spring the building, which is on the Boulevard Arago, and cost 238,000 francs, was dedicated with a very small debt; and in spite of this strain on their finances the friends of missions in France and French Switzerland succeeded in wiping out the deficit of last year, which was about 62,000 francs.

Besides that sum about 20,000 francs were raised for the Congo Mission; and that on the Zambesi is now being aided. At present there is a still hunt among the French pastors for some one well calculated to start another mission on the Congo. The Paris Mission of the Protestants is now working in four fields: in South Africa, among the Bassutos, with fifteen stations and nineteen missionaries; on the Zambesi, with five; and on the Senegal, with three missionaries. They have also a station with five missionaries in Tahiti. The French Protestants are thus doing good work.

THE HOLLANDERS have lately had quite a tussle with the king in the matter of public education. His majesty seems to want to control the matter in his own rather conservative way, while the Liberals desire, of course, to have matters in their own style. The affair caused quite a struggle on the floor of Parliament, and the Conservatives carried the day by a small majority. The difference was settled thus: The royal authorities regulate the different grades of instruction, and investigate the capacity and moral character of teachers, and the king renders to the Parliament a regular annual report-progress. Looking behind the scenes, we judge the trouble to be a fear on the part of the king of too much med-

dling on the part of the revolutionary party with the education of the young, and the final result has been obtained by a coalition of the Clerical and the anti-revolutionary Liberals.

DENMARK has been learning some strange facts while endeavoring to settle the question of pensions for the preachers of the State Church. There are now two hundred and four pensioned ministers in the State, and the average year of cessation of activity is sixty-nine. The investigation led to the discovery that while the ministers are at work their rate of mortality is less than that of any other class, but after they are pensioned, their death-rate is greater than that of any other class of the same age. In the first year after retirement their mortality is about as that of other pensioned officials, but still a little greater than that of active preachers. Then a great increase is observable, especially in the second and third years; while in the fourth year a normal status obtains. An *emeritus* minister in Denmark lives, on an average, after his retirement, nine years.

BERLIN is paying a heavy penalty for the honor of becoming the capital of the great Empire of Germany. The city is not only fast becoming a much dearer place to live in for all classes, and especially for the working-men and the widows and their children, but the statistics of all the vices are growing in alarming proportions. The social democracy is teaching its lessons with fearful effect; there is a veritable festering of the lowest vices that presents an alarming perspective for the future. The fearful social ulcer of prostitution is now demanding the attention of the city authorities, who seem quite baffled as to the means of stemming the tide of its growth. How to combat the evil is the great question. Some would endeavor to control it, at least, by official trammels; while others believe in moral suasion through the schools, the churches, and the press. But all are awake to the need of doing something.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG is running a well contested race with that of Berlin. This latter city, in becoming a political capital, found it for a while, at least, not so easy to keep up the controlling character of its great school, and in the meanwhile Leipzig leaped ahead. Then Berlin plied the oars with greater energy and again took the lead, which she just now holds. The last report from Leipzig was over 3,100 students, and more than half of these not native Saxons. From the German Empire at large were 2,835, from the remaining European states 170, and 49 from non-European states. The theological, judicial, and medical faculties are on the increase, while the philosophical faculty is declining. The theological department indeed now leads all others, we think, in Germany—there were 639 enrolled in it last year. The university at large is growing in the foreign attendance, and is becoming also a favorite place for Americans.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE MISSIONS OF THE AMERICAN BAPTIST UNION.—The success of the American Baptist Missionary Union, which is the foreign board of perhaps 600,000 or 700,000 Baptists in the Northern and Western States, and the second oldest foreign missionary society in this country, has been quite remarkable. Its first field was Burmah, where it has planted a vigorous, intelligent, and self-supporting Christianity, which, with its admirable system of schools and its missionary spirit, is making constant inroads on heathenism. Since Upper Burmah was opened to the world by the overthrow of King Thebaw and his atrocious government, the Union has been sending missionaries into that kingdom, to open centers of gospel influence among a benighted people. The Union has also a very strong mission in India, among the Telugus, thousands of whom were gathered in during the remarkable awakening in South India some years ago. Besides these missions the Union has others in Assam and Siam, China, Japan, Africa (in Liberia and on the Congo), and in Europe.

The European missions are in Sweden, Germany, France, Spain, and Greece, and their totals in membership foot up more than the Asiatic and African missions. In Sweden and Germany the work may be said to have passed the missionary stage. There are regular churches, ordained ministers, and associations of churches and ministers. In Sweden alone there are 460 churches, a gain of 26 the past year, 483 preachers, and 31,064 members. In Germany there are more members (33,451) but fewer churches and ministers. The latter number 450, of whom 300 are unordained, and the churches count up to 168 only. The work of the year was very successful, if we may judge from the fact that there were 3,473 baptisms in Sweden, and 2,530 in Germany. Doubtless not a few of the members in both countries find their way to the United States yearly in the stream of immigration. Indeed, it is stated in the statistical report of Sweden that 335 "emigrated to America." An effort is being made to reach the Finns, of whom there are about two millions, and who are said to be in a state of dense darkness spiritually. They seem anxious, says a missionary, to know the truth and be saved, but are in a lamentable state of ignorance. The amount of contributions in Sweden last year was $79,187. The appropriations of the Union for salaries for four ordained missionaries and for teachers and evangelists was $5,700. It also gave $2,000 to the theological seminary at Stockholm.

Germany received $5,628 from the Union, raising among its own churches 395,600 marks, or $98,900. The German Baptist Union, consisting of thirteen associations, embraces, it is to be noted, churches or missions in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Russia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Denmark, and Africa. The mission was begun, as every body knows, in Germany by Johan Gerhard Oncken, a German who married and settled in England and became an Independent. Traveling in Lower

Saxony, as an agent of a Bible and a tract society, he organized a Baptist church in that kingdom and became its pastor. This was in 1834. Next year he was appointed missionary of what is now the American Baptist Missionary Union, and he went all over Germany and Denmark preaching and baptizing. From this beginning have sprung all the churches and missions in connection with the German Baptist Union. There is an association in Austria embracing 5 churches, 62 stations, and 930 members; one among the Poles, with 8 churches, 52 stations, and 2,624 members; two in Russia, with a total of 18 churches, 183 stations, and 5,026 members; one on the Baltic with 4 churches, 9 stations, and 1,206 members; one in Denmark, with 22 churches, 101 stations, and 2,181 members; and one in South Africa, with 3 churches, 16 stations, and 676 members. It is a significant fact that of the 395,600 marks contributed by the churches of the German Baptist Union last year 122,500 came from the churches outside of Germany. Just now the great need is said to be church buildings, and the churches in Warsaw, St. Petersburg, and Buda-Pesth are especially anxious on this point.

To return to the Asiatic missions of the American Baptist Union, we notice that of the 58,108 members which are returned from the Asiatic and African missions 26,574 are in Burmah and Siam, showing an increase for the year of a little over 700. To the list of stations is added that of Mandalay, the capital of Upper Burmah. Bhamo, a station which has been occupied two or three years, is also in Upper Burmah. A special difficulty in the work in Burmah is the fact of the division of the population in language and race characteristics, requiring distinct missions to the Burmans, the Karens, the Shans, the Kachins, and the Chins. And these separate missions are to be found in the same territory, in the same towns and cities. In Henthada, for example, there is a Burman, a Karen and a Chin department; and the Karens are sometimes divided into the Red-Karen, Bghai-Karen, and Paku-Karen departments, and there are still other varieties of Karens. The great majority of the members in Burmah are Karens, who are an inferior people and were formerly slaves to the Burmans. The number of the latter who have become Christians is comparatively insignificant, scarcely reaching 1,000. The total of baptisms in Burmah last year was 1,794. The appropriations from the Union aggregated about $100,000, to which the mission added about $35,000 for churches, schools, and general benevolence. The missionary force is 107, and the number of ordained and unordained ministers 513. Of the 510 churches, 310 are reported as self-supporting. In the 7 stations in Assam are 1,922 members, gathered in 30 churches, of which four are self-sustaining. The field in India is among the Telugus. This was for many years a fruitless mission, and so hopeless did it seem that the Union was minded at one time to withdraw from it; but it now reports more members than the Burmah mission, and it was the most fruitful mission last year in the list of the Union, returning 1,000 of the 1,668 net gain of all the missions. The center of this field is Ongole, and this curious circumstance is given in the report for the year. Cholera broke out in Ongole, and a panic ensued. Many of

the heathen fled, only to die of the disease in their flight, and those who remained called frantically on their gods to save them. The Christians met quietly in their places of worship and prayed the prayer of faith to the only true God, and not one of them, nor any member of their families, took the disease. Connected with the station are thirty-eight preachers, most of whom itinerate and superintend the workers in surrounding villages. They report at a meeting in Ongole every quarter. Of the 51 churches among the Telugus only one is self-supporting.

The mission in China reports 1,516 members in 18 churches, of which 4 are self-supporting. There are 519 members in Japan, with 18 churches, only one of which pays its own expenses.

The African mission is yet in its infancy. A few years ago the mission received the Congo mission from the Livingstone Inland Mission, an undenominational organization which had its head-quarters in Cardiff, Wales. There are now seven stations on the Congo, one being at Stanley Pool and one at the equator, above the Pool. The history of the year is thus given in the report:

> The past year has been one of marked interest in the mission on the Congo. For several years much faithful and patient work had been done in acquiring the language, in translating hymns and portions of Scripture, and in preaching the Gospel to the people as opportunity offered, but without large apparent results. In August, 1886, a remarkable movement manifested itself among the Congo people, who began to throw away their fetich idols, and to profess the religion of Jesus Christ. The interest centered at Banza Manteke, where, in the course of a few weeks, one thousand and sixty-two professed themselves followers of Christ; but the tide of feeling overflowed to other stations of our own mission, and to those of other missions.
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> The first Christian church in the Congo Free State was organized Nov. 21, 1886, at Banza Manteke, of forty-two members. The missionaries have been very cautious in receiving candidates for baptism; but, up to the last advices, ninety-seven had been baptized at four stations, and others will be received from month to month, as the brethren are able to satisfy themselves that their faith is sufficiently intelligent to enable them to adorn their profession as members of the body of Christ. There is an encouraging interest at all the stations; and especially at Banza Manteke the missionaries are tasked to their utmost in the work which presses upon them of training the Christians, teaching inquirers and providing for the innumerable demands of the new work which has suddenly assumed such hopeful proportions.

The Missionary Union, summing up the result of its efforts for upward of threescore and ten years, has, as now appears, a total of 125,530 members in its mission fields, who are gathered in 1,265 churches and ministered to by 1,730 preachers; and the total of baptisms last year in connection with these missions was 9,342. The income of the Union from all sources was $406,639.

Disturbances in the Pacific Islands.—The islands of the Pacific seem to be having a good deal of trouble just now, from one cause or another; and the missions, which have made these islands what they are, have had a hard time of it, in most cases. We have already described the persecutions in Tonga, which well-nigh destroyed the native Wesleyan Church in that island, and brought the people to the verge of a civil

war. Since our September number was made up a revolution in the Sandwich Islands has occurred, which has driven King Kalakaua, who had been carrying it with a high and extravagant hand over the Hawaiians, to the acceptance of a constitutional government. This change is interpreted as favorable to the mission interests in this group, though it is possible that Kalakaua's powers have only been curtailed that an uncrowned tyrant may hold the rod of oppression over the people's heads. The churches had been compromised by the king's political schemes, through their deacons, who had been used much as old King George used some of the Christian men of Tonga. The revolution has, the missionaries say, released the churches from this degrading bondage and left them free to engage in their legitimate work. It is proposed now to re-organize them in order that their efficiency may be increased.

For many years the Presbyterians have been patiently at work among the savages of the New Hebrides, slowly but thoroughly Christianizing and civilizing them. Some of the islands have been entirely wrested from heathenism. One of the faithful pioneer missionaries, Dr. Geddie, who passed away after years of successful toil, has a monument to his memory, with an inscription which runs like this: "When he came to us there were no Christians; when he left us there were no heathen." On this group of islands France has been casting covetous glances. She wants to annex it, and negotiations are now pending with England having this object in view. France desires the consent of England to annexation, which England does not feel inclined to give. The feeling in Australia is very strong against French occupation; so strong, indeed, that the home government is warned that serious consequences will follow if it gives way to French pressure. A prominent Australian, in a letter to the London *Times*, says:

> He would be a bold minister who would resolve on repeating Lord Derby's risky experiment, for, in doing so, he would be plainly precipitating a crisis between the colonies and the mother country. The fact is, and the sooner it is practically recognized the better, that the Australians are the people whose interests and sentiments must be considered first and foremost in the settlement of this question, for it is they, and they alone, who are directly affected by the ultimate disposal of the New Hebrides, and who will have to suffer all the painful consequences should an irretrievable mistake be made by the Colonial Office in London. If only both England and France could acquire some adequate appreciation of the strength of Australian native sentiment with respect to foreign aggression in the Pacific, all these needlessly protracted diplomatic negotiations would speedily terminate, and both countries would see the propriety of rigidly respecting the provisions of the existing treaty, and regarding the New Hebrides for the future as neutral territory.

What will be the outcome of the diplomatic correspondence now being carried on it is impossible to say. Meanwhile the French New Hebrides Company is giving the missions all the trouble it can. French men-of-war bring Catholic priests to the islands, and the missionaries are informed that they must expect sharp antagonism. France in her colonial policy is intensely Catholic, and if the New Hebrides becomes French territory it will be difficult, if not impossible, for the Protestant missionaries to go on

with their work. The outlook of the mission otherwise is full of promise. The natives of Futuna, one of the islands, have, with their own hands, just removed the "sacred stones" and symbols worshiped by their fathers, and Santo Espiritu, an island densely populated with cannibals, has just been occupied by two missionaries intent on winning it from heathenism to Christ and civilization. If moral considerations had weight in diplomacy the New Hebrides would remain neutral territory.

A year or more ago Spain took possession of the Caroline Islands, a group lying north of New Guinea and to the west and south of the Sandwich Islands. Whatever Christianity and civilization are to be found in this group are due to the American Board, whose missionaries have been at work in it for thirty-five years. The Rev. E. T. Doane, who is now sixty-seven years of age, has spent thirty years in this mission. For some years he has resided on Ponape, and when that island was turned over to Spain he was the medium of communication between the Spanish authorities and the chiefs, and was treated with so much consideration by the former that it was hoped the mission would remain undisturbed. Spanish favor, however, is not a thing to be counted on by Protestants. Mr. Doane enjoyed it while he was useful to the Spanish governor, but the time soon came when the governor changed his attitude toward him, and for reasons which do not yet fully appear he seems to have decided to persecute him, and so get rid of him if possible. Mr. Doane, to his great surprise, was placed under arrest in May last, and imprisoned. The first charge he heard of in connection with his arrest was, that in a protest he had sent in against the seizing of certain mission lands, he had used the word "arbitrary" in characterizing the act of seizure. He was imprisoned fifteen days on a Spanish steamship, at the end of which time his imprisonment was extended, though no specific charge was made or definite reason given for the arbitrary proceeding. After Mr. Doane had been held on the steamship six weeks, he was sent to Manila, a port of the Philippine Islands, for trial. The charges on which he was to be tried were, as he learned just before sailing, in substance these: 1. Putting a girl in irons. 2. Inciting the natives to attack the Spanish steamship. 3. Asking the natives to pray that the steamship might sink or be wrecked. 4. Storing guns in his house. 5. Interfering with the trade of certain foreigners. Mr. Doane was put at great disadvantage by being conveyed to Manila, far away from all his witnesses. But fortunately the governor-general had different ideas as to justice or expediency from those of the governor of Ponape, and on a strong representation being made to him by the American consul on behalf of Mr. Doane he promised to release him and send him back to Ponape, afford him protection in his work, and restore his property. The consul is to ask also for damages to the amount of $5,000 or $10,000. The captain-general, it is said, is profuse in his apologies for the wrong done Mr. Doane, and proposes to remove the governor of Ponape for his arbitrary action. All this may be true, but it would not be wise to build confidently upon Spanish promises of

impartiality or even toleration in religious matters. One of the missionaries in Ponape writes as follows concerning the state of the mission:

Never was the island in so good a condition as when the Spaniard came. The work never prospered so well as during the last year. Church work, schools, every thing was in good order. The wreck that has been made in three months seems impossible. The public schools, with the exception of two, he has closed. The church services at one station are closed, and we live in hourly expectation of a notice to close the boarding-school. As it is, we have to watch the girls day and night to keep them from being stolen and placed where they will learn, to say the least, no good. . . . If it is a fact that we must leave and resign all to Spain, then as soon as possible we want to hear this from you [the American Board], not from a foreign power. Unless forced to leave the work, as Mr. Doane has been, we will not yield one inch of ground or slack up one particle in our teaching until we hear from you.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH MISSION IN UGANDA.—Affairs in Uganda, Central Africa, improve little, if at all. The missionary of the Church Society, Mr. A. M. Mackay, remains there, virtually a prisoner, and the young King Mwanga keeps the executioners busy. Mr. Mackay says it is a mercy that he is still living (his last letter was dated March 6 last). He has "nothing to report but tears and groans." There has been a period of respite, but another reign of terror seems to be at hand. He writes:

Less than a month ago we had another *scare* on a Sunday morning, and I had to dismiss our little congregation suddenly. The king had given out that he intended making another onslaught on the Christians, but happily he has hitherto been prevented from his bloodthirsty design. One or two of those in hiding had ventured to come to light, and nothing was done to them. Then another one or two prisoners for the faith were liberated, and intimation was made that all others in hiding might return. One ventured. He had been a page, and was at once sent by the king to the Katikiro, but has no more been seen. There is, in fact, sufficient evidence that he was secretly murdered in that official's inclosures.

The next thing to engage the royal attention was the Koran. This the king both read himself and ordered every body else to read, the Arabs using the opportunity to urge "His Fickleness" to sacrifice Christians so as to bewitch those who were disobedient to him. Says Mr. Mackay:

One and another of the pages were ordered to read Arabic, and the head of the pages (successor of Mukasa Bali Kidumbe, who lost his life for venturing to interpose on behalf of Bishop Hannington) was sent for to his country-seat that he might be forced to learn the Koran. The Arabs were all present with the king and their book, when, suddenly, fire broke out in the women's quarters. The wind was blowing fresh from the south, as it generally does at midday. The flames spread, and almost all the king's huge houses were reduced to ashes. He fled to the Katikiro's, but the sparks followed in the air, and that chief's houses and property were also quickly consumed. The king's property was saved, however, although several store-houses were burned.

It is just a year since the royal premises were formerly burned to the ground, and similar threats and charges of witchcraft were made against the Christians as now. No wonder that our people are all uneasy and alarmed. But we are upheld by your prayers and protected by an Arm infinitely mightier than Mwanga's.

Mr. Mackay heartily approves the application of Emin Bey for a British protectorate over the equatorial provinces of Soudan. Mr. Mackay says

if England would establish this protectorate she could soon make that center of African slavery a center of peace and liberty for half the continent. At present those persecuted in Uganda have nowhere to flee, for the king has made enemies of all the surrounding tribes. On the south is the impassable barrier of Lake Nyanza; east is the Nile, issuing out of the lake, with cruel enemies beyond; north is a country constantly at war with Uganda; west is the river Katonga, seldom fordable, and such fords as there are perpetually guarded. It may be that Stanley, who was the first to bring Uganda and its king Mtesa to the attention of the missionary societies, will help to settle the future of this region in his present march to the relief of Emin Bey.

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Methodist Episcopal mission in Bulgaria in July, encouraging reports were presented from pastors, preachers, teachers, and colporteurs. The meetings in Loftcha have been better attended than ever before, and the prejudices of the people seem to be relaxing. In Plevna there is still some persecution, which, perhaps, will serve to call more attention to the mission and its work. The village work in the Lower Danube district is reported to be quite encouraging, and the mission at Varna has made some advance. The great obstacle in Bulgaria just now is, of course, the unsettled state of the country. Russia, apparently, is determined not to allow the establishment of any permanent government that is not of her own choice. She is maneuvering for advantage, and hoping that internal disturbances, or some other pretext, will be given her for seizing the principality. The prospect of an early solution of the Bulgarian question is not promising. Meantime our missionaries can do little but hold their own.

A SUCCESSFUL MISSION IN NORTH INDIA.—The United Presbyterian Church of this country, though embracing less than a hundred thousand communicants, has large and successful foreign missions. It used to have missions in India, China, Syria, Trinidad, and Egypt, but for some years it has concentrated its energies on India and Egypt. The field in India is on the Punjab, on the borders of Cashmere, under the shadows of the Himalayas. The mission was begun in 1855, but its growth was slow down to 1880. It did not confine its work to low castes or high castes, but sought to reach men of all castes. The majority of its members, however, are from the low castes, which seem every-where to be the most accessible. The mission is divided into eight districts, which are crowded with villages. The work is almost entirely among these villages, and the communicants represent no fewer than 380 villages. In one district alone—the Zafarwal—the number of villages containing Christians is 156. Among this village population Christianity is spreading with astonishing rapidity. In 1880 there were in all this mission but 337 communicants; now the number is 4,019, and of the seven years no one was so fruitful as the last. The return of the previous year was 2,176, showing an increase for the past year of 1,843, or a percentage of 84. There was a cor-

responding gain in the Christian population, which numbers 5,873 against 3,245 in the previous year. The number of adult baptisms was 1,930, or 93 more than the net increase. The schools increased in number by 55, there being 127 in all, but the gain in scholars was only 40. Of Christian helpers there are 136, a gain of 47. The prospect of another successful year is very encouraging, the baptisms of adults in part of the mission during the first month being 122. The mission is organized as a presbytery known as the Sialkot Presbytery, taking its name from one of the districts.

CATHOLIC OUTBREAK IN MEXICO.—There has been much discussion recently in the Roman Catholic press of this country concerning an observation of Bishop Hurst, to the effect that the disgraceful spectacle of Mexican bull-fights would never end until Spanish Catholicism is superseded by American Protestantism. The Catholic papers seem to think this a rather harsh remark, and defend their Church as best they can. But they have a difficult task. Bull-fighting is not, however, the worst thing that Mexican Catholicism allows. There comes from Ahuacuatilan a horrible story of assassination of a native Protestant preacher and two supporters at the instigation of a priest of the Roman Catholic Church. The story as told by the Rev. J. M. Greene, of the Presbyterian Mission, fixes the responsibility for the crime directly on Father Vergara, the members of his flock being his ready instruments. The victims were the Rev. Abraham Gomez, a young Indian, ordained less than a year ago, Miguel Cipriano, and the wife of Felipe Zaragoza. A Presbyterian society had been in existence at Ahuacuatilan, in the State of Guerrero—which lies in the southern part of Mexico and borders on the Pacific Ocean—for some years, and the governor of the State, having been informed that Mr. Gomez was to be appointed to the pastorate, promised all needful protection. Mr. Gomez began at once to plan for a church building, but a Catholic mob interfered with his plans and put an end to his life on the 7th of August. The day before Father Vergara, the Catholic priest at Teloloapam, three miles from Ahuacuatilan, came to the village and celebrated mass. In the course of his sermon, according to Mr. Greene, he appealed to his hearers to "make an example of the minister of Satan" who had come among them, adding that they might "kill him" with all safety, counting upon his own protection and that of the chief of police. Vergara had been given the parish of Teloloapam by the Bishop of Guerrero on condition that he would exterminate the Protestant congregations in all that region. We give Mr. Greene's account of the crime:

> This was on Saturday. The following day at midnight seven drunken women appeared in the Protestant quarter of the town and began to commit disorders, which seemed to deserve rebuke at the hands of the authorities, and Abraham with six of the brethren visited the judge and presented their complaint. Strangely enough, the only reply given was the arrest and imprisonment of five of the brethren, and the dismissal of Abraham and of Felipe Zaragoza, who returned full of anxiety to the house of the latter. Very soon after the judge ordered the church bell to be rung, and thus gathered some two hundred men and

women in the court-room, to whom he gave his instructions, and sent them forth on their bloody mission. Like infuriated savages they made their way at once to Zaragoza's house, and being unable to force the door they tore up the roof, and with machete and pistols killed first Mrs. Zaragoza. Felipe, seeing the danger of Abraham, ran to him and threw his arms about him, but was immediately torn away and disabled by a pistol shot in his left arm. He was then stretched out on the floor and his Bible placed under his head as a pillow in derision. This done the ruffians turned to Abraham, who sat on the bed with his head resting on his hands, and dealt him a terrible blow with a machete, then he was shot with a pistol, and his poor mangled body, lifeless and bleeding, was dragged from the house out into the street and along the highway, receiving all sorts of indignities, being literally hacked to pieces with machetes.

Not content even with this, the murderous ruffians returned to the house, stole the money, clothing, and books of our dear brother, and again sallied forth in quest of a third victim, Miguel Cipriano, whom they killed in the same manner as the rest. The following day the three bodies were buried in the public cemetery. Nearly all our surviving brethren have been arrested and remain under guard. Only seven of the assailants are prisoners, and even they fully expect to be liberated speedily, being sure of the favor and protection of the local authorities.

It is doubtful if a single Catholic paper will condemn either priest or bishop. Such cases have occurred before and some excuse has usually been found. Nobody expects that the priest will be removed, nor that the bishop will suffer any inconvenience as the result of this crime, which both appear to have abetted, unless the State should call them to account. The Church has been slowly regaining the power and influence it lost with the downfall of the empire and the establishment of the republic, and the missionaries fear, if the reaction goes on, that it may become extremely difficult for them to carry on their work in peace. The Rev. Samuel P. Craver, a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Queretaro, in a careful review of the history of the past thirty years, says:

We find a decided reaction in favor of the Roman Catholic Church. The masses are less accessible now than they were ten years ago, and the struggle of the priesthood to regain their prestige and get control of public affairs is persistent, earnest, and largely successful. It is true the Reform Laws have not been repealed, but in many parts of the country they are almost a dead-letter. Processions of the host, the priestly vestments, clanging of bells, and other flagrant violations of the law are extremely common. The authorities in many places connive at these violations, and in others lack the nerve to execute the law against the will of the fanatical masses. These facts in themselves indicate something of a reaction, but there are others which point to a decided "revival of Roman Catholicism in Mexico."

The other facts referred to by Mr. Craver are the activity observable in the repairing of old churches and the building of new; the establishment of schools on a large scale; the increase of pilgrimages to sacred shrines; the greater frequency of "missions" carried on by "missioners," whose great ambition appears to be to increase the blind fanaticism of the people and their hatred of Protestantism; the constantly augmenting influence of the Church party in government affairs; the increasing subserviency of the people in general to the mandates of the priests, and their consequent imperviousness to the influence of Protestantism. But the Liberal element will not allow the old state of things to be restored

without at least a sharp conflict, and the Liberal press is even now giving warning against the encroachments of the Church.

THE ENGLISH BAPTIST CONGO MISSION has sustained a heavy loss in the death of one of the chief missionaries, the Rev. T. J. Comber. He was one of the pioneers, and was possessed of fine qualities as a leader. He died of fever. A brother and a sister died in the mission field, one at Ngombe, the other at Victoria, and the only surviving brother of this devoted missionary family is connected with the mission on the Congo.

A NOTABLE CORRESPONDENCE has taken place between the Bishop of Rangoon (Anglican) and Dr. Wright, a representative of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Secretary of the American Baptist Missionary Union, Dr. Murdock, concerning an edition of Judson's Burman Bible, with certain changes in the words standing for baptism. Dr. Wright's proposal was, that the word baptize and its cognates be rendered by some neutral term, or by the transliteration of the Greek. If the Union would allow the change to be made the Society would freely circulate the Judson New Testament as well as the Old. Otherwise it could not, as its constitution does not permit it to circulate a "sectarian" Bible, and the use of the words "dip" and "dipping" makes the Judson Bible sectarian. Dr. Murdock writes sharply in response, declining the request. He says:

> We desire that the Burmese New Testament shall mean to the Burmese what the Greek New Testament means to those who are able to read it—nothing more and nothing less. We should be sorry to have the minds of our native Christians disturbed on this point, and never with our consent or complicity will a change be made which will leave their minds in doubt or obscurity on a thing so important.

There will be, in consequence, as Dr. Wright's letter intimates, a new translation of the New Testament, under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

THE *Westminster* (English) for June discusses the character and career of Mr. Chamberlain, whose position in English political affairs is a matter of much interest to all parties, and, as might be expected from the temper of the magazine, is not at all complimentary to Mr. Chamberlain, whose defection from the Gladstonian leadership has caused profound excitement, as well as painful disappointment. The supremacy of Mr. Gladstone seems, in the English Liberal mind, to be so necessary to the unity of the Liberal party that his admirers are unwilling to concede to any one else the liberty of action which the great leader claims for himself. The article is an excellent illustration of the height to which party passion rises in England. While the temper of this paper is not scurrilous, it is

yet as severe as any one we have seen in the highest range of American political excitement.

A paper of very great importance and interest bears the peculiar title, "Form of Capture in Marriage Ceremonies," a subject to which the late J. F. McLennan gave importance by interpreting it as symbolical. Repulsive enough in some of its aspects, the subject is highly picturesque and fascinating in others. Great interpreters, like McLennan and Herbert Spencer, have found it one of the most perfect and most easily intelligible illustrations of the methods of social archæology. McLennan first set out to track these marriage customs to their source in the ideas and tribal arrangements of a more archaic social state, and in so doing he has come upon some strange secrets concerning the social life of our ancestors in the remotest past, a past compared with which the earliest times that philology has penetrated are but modern. He was the first to note the wide deviation of the form of capture in marriage ceremonies. McLennan finds this feature in the marriage ceremonies of half-civilized people in all parts of the world, and in many highly civilized he finds traces of their former existence. The passage of an actual fight for the possession of the bride into a sham fight seems to mark an advance in civilization. The custom is found in Africa, in India, among the Mongols of the Ortous, and it is certainly remarkable that the customs in respect of marriage among the Mussulmans of India and the French of Berry should so closely resemble each other, when these people have so little in common in history, religion, or social arrangements, and are so widely separated geographically. Among the Croats a similar mock siege takes place, and there are many other distinct traces of the form of capture among the south Slavonians generally. Among the English there is no trace of bride capturing unless pelting the bridal pair with rice and slippers be one, but in Welsh, Scotch, and Irish popular history there are many traces of it. The cases cited belong to present or recent times, but the literature of Greece and Rome, the Hebrews and the Arabs, shows traces of a similar custom. An interesting variation is that obtaining among the Kirghis. The bride, armed with a formidable whip, mounts a fleet horse and is pursued by all the young men who make any pretensions to her hand. She will be given to the one who captures her, but she has the right, besides urging on her horse to the utmost, to use her whip, often with no mean force, to keep off those lovers who are unwelcome to her, and she will probably favor the one whom she has already chosen in her heart. Strangely enough, this custom seems historically to have had a direct relation to female infanticide. Female children among savage tribes being a source of weakness to the tribe, the resulting scarcity of adult women compelled the men to seek wives from neighboring tribes; and as they were in a state of constant hostility they had to take the women by force.

A paper of peculiar interest to our readers is that on "American People and their Homes." Ambitious American ladies are informed in this article that by a recent order of the Lord Chamberlain American

ladies may be presented to the queen, but are not eligible to the court festivities. The writer holds that the reason why English and American people never quite understand each other, and why there is a succession of furious quarrels and profuse amenities, lies in the fact that the American climate is full of oxygen; it is prone to extremes; it is crude; snow falls one day and the roses bud the next. This extraordinary fitfulness has affected the appearance, the nerve, the character, and the conduct of that offshoot of England known as America. The American finds the men whom he calls cranks at home preferred by London society to himself. They are not eager to welcome the gloomily respectable, of whom they have the best examples at home. This baffling indiscrimination applies more strongly to women. The genius of American civilization, according to this critic, often leads the American woman into a sort of exaggeration—an unintentional falsehood—which is misunderstood in England. Society in American cities, according to this writer, needs a head; conversation needs a model. American women, as a rule, know nothing about politics, and therefore miss one of the important inspirations of conversation. The peculiar inspiration of American women leaves them indefinite and inaccurate. The English voice, owing to the English temperament, is beautifully rich and resonant by nature: the pronunciation clear and neat. The American voice is poor, and the pronunciation slovenly. The houses of New York, according to the Duke of Argyle, are costly and ostentatious far beyond those of London, but the writer fears the Duke did not see the comfort of these American interiors as compared with an English house. Our house-heating furnaces are not to be commended; we bake ourselves as well as our meats, and come out shining tributes to malaria and influenzas. Americans have entered upon their epicurean era; New York palaces have taken on a Venetian aspect. America, like Venice, is free, commercial, republican. But the English dining-room has taken firm hold of the American taste, while France sends her clocks, the East her carpets and curtain stuffs, the Saracens their arabesques, China and Japan their porcelain, Spain and Morocco tiles and stamped leather. The writer admits that for beauty, durability, and taste the homes of America challenge competition with the world, needing one ennobling touch—the touch of the artist in painting and sculpture, and one beautifier—time.

The *Quarterly* (English) for July has as its most noticeable paper of American interest a discussion of great men and the doctrine of evolution. Mr. Lilly, the author of *Chapters on English History*, having boldly attacked the Spencerian theory of evolution in its relation to the importance of personality, this article is a review of his work. It contains the following passage of great interest to Methodists:

> Among the figures conspicuous in the history of England in the last century there is none, perhaps, more worthy of careful study than that of John Wesley. Make all the deductions you please for his narrowness, his self-conceit, his extravagance, and still it remains that no one so nearly approaches the fullness of stature of the great heroes of Christian spiritualism of the early and Middle Ages. Nor

is the rise of the sect which has adopted his name by any means the most important of the results of his life and labors. It is not too much to say, that he and those whom he formed and influenced kept alive in England the idea of the supernatural order amid the dull materialism and selfish coldness of the eighteenth century.

He holds Wesley (with Hildebrand, St. Augustine, and a few others) to be one of the great personalities who are the real shapers of history.

The August *Blackwood* has very little to say of American interest beyond an account of a fall hunt in the Rocky Mountains, which is written with great spirit and life. Of general literary interest there are papers upon the Old Saloon, with a poem upon Socrates of much merit.

The *New Princeton* for September gives prominent place to a paper on "The Origin of Life," by our Professor Conn, whose able work we are glad to see have this important recognition. The animus of Professor Conn's paper will be found in the following sentences:

> The origin of life is shrouded in as deep darkness as ever, in spite of the statements sometimes heard that the solution of the question is close at hand. Many secondary problems have been and are being solved, but the real problem remains as yet untouched except by hypothesis and speculation. Vital processes may all be shown to be chemical and physical processes, but this will never explain why they are carried on automatically in living protoplasm only; and granting, if we are inclined to do so, that it is one of the physical properties of the complex composition of living protoplasm to direct this play of forces, there still remains the fact that to-day protoplasm can only come from other living protoplasm. Whence, then, came the first living protoplasm? To this question science offers, first, the law of continuity, in terms of which the spontaneous generation of life is a necessity; and, second, various speculations which, though acknowledged to be entirely unfounded, in fact are regarded as showing that in the boundless possibilities of the past spontaneous generation might well have taken place, provided it be granted that life is simply the result of complex chemical and molecular composition. This is certainly no very great result.

Standing as our Church does in the front rank as an advocate of constitutional prohibition, many of our readers will be greatly interested in the article by Gov. Colquitt, entitled, "Some Plain Words on Prohibition," which is enthusiastically in favor of legal prohibition of the liquor traffic. The author makes short work of the arguments with which temperance reformers are confronted, meeting the sophistry of the phrase "sumptuary laws" by saying: "If this means that the government has no right to say what we shall eat or what we shall drink, what right has the State to say that no man shall sell a kit of mackerel or a barrel of flour before it bear the stamp? Why say to the butcher that he sins against society and must be taxed because he turns his fats into oleomargarine?"

All missionary authorities will welcome the leading paper in the July number of the *Presbyterian Review* on "Co-operation in Foreign Missions." While there is less ground of complaint than in former times, it is yet to be admitted that the scandal and shame of Protestant missions in foreign countries has been the interference of rival churches with preoccupied fields, in which the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal

Church have been, perhaps, the most offensive sinners. But, as has been intimated, recent action shows a much better state of things, with a far more successful tendency to avoid conflict of fields, laborers, and operations, and needless expenditure of money.

In the postulates of physiological psychology Professor J. Marks Baldwin, of Princeton, sets forth the importance of the relations of the so-called new psychology, without being ready to admit that it is a new psychology at all, the key-note of his article being found in the sentence:

> As long as consciousness is immediate and matter is mediate, there can be no question as to the ultimate adjustment of their claims; and there should be no hesitation in widening the borders of the philosophy of mind, at the same time that we do not presume to draw the dividing line which nature still conceals.

The July *Bibliotheca Sacra* discusses the relation of the American Board to church councils, and finding the church council idea inadequate, proposes a new plan by which to bring about the simplicity of a corporation, which might do for a bank but does not do for the conduct of missions for the churches, into better relations with the contributing body. The paper indicates a wide divergence of opinion as to the best method of adjusting the difficulties arising from the spread of the new theology. A very interesting paper upon a not over-fresh subject comes from the pen of the Rev. P. D. Cowan, of Wellesley, Mass., on the question, "How was Abraham Saved?"

The writer holds that simple belief in God on his part, of which a striking instance is given us in the 15th of Genesis, is clearly set forth as the act through which he attained justification by faith and entered into peace with God. What Abraham did was to accept the promise of God as though it had been already performed. "Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness." Nothing is here said of Christ; there is no reference to any atoning work of his. Of course, the author takes care to add that he does not say that Abraham was, or that any one else can be, saved without Christ. In the plan of God the sacrifice of Christ was provided from the foundation of the world. If the Christian is asked, "What gain is there in the Gospel over the truth which Abraham possessed?" the answer is given by asking another question: "Is there any gain in the splendor of the noon-tide over the dimness of the dawn?" The importance of this is seen in the statement which follows:

> The heathen, therefore, who have never heard of Christ do not on that account require a probation after death in order to have a fair chance of salvation. They have a fair chance without such knowledge of Christ, so that the theory of a future probation becomes utterly gratuitous. Once admit in the case of Abraham the principle of salvation by grace through faith without a knowledge of the Gospel and you have a principle which will apply to every class which is without the Gospel.

It is very pleasant to find the teaching with regard to the possible salvation of the heathen which our Methodist fathers advanced here finding publication and apparent acceptance in the sturdy and orthodox *Bibliotheca Sacra.*

An interesting examination of spiritualistic theories is that contributed by Prof. H. W. Parker, of Iowa College, on "False Revelations of the Unseen." The *Bibliotheca* has certainly gained by its removal to the West, and in its fifty-seventh year displays a most scholarly spirit.

The September *Forum* reaches with that number its fourth volume, and opens with a discussion of the Sixteenth Amendment by Senator Ingalls. He does not find a very great demand for female suffrage in the willingness of women to use the opportunities which have already been given. In 170 of the 347 cities and towns in the State of Massachusetts, from 1879 to 1886 not one woman has ever registered or voted; in 200, or more than one half, no woman has ever voted, though in 30 of them a few have occasionally registered. Out of 486,310 female voters in 1885 there registered in 1886 4,219, and 1,911 voted, being one in 254 of those who were eligible.

The author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, writes Concerning Men, but her time is chiefly taken up in discussing women. Like some others, she states that although we find continually exceptions—women as strong as many a man, and men tenderer than most women—still the creed that woman is the lesser man does in the main hold good, intellectually as well as physically. Morally she doubts. She is afraid that absolute equality between men and women is impossible. She holds that the instinct of woman, or at least the nobler half of woman, is not only to live but to worship, to make herself a mat for the man's feet to walk over; to believe every thing he does and says is right; to live or die for him, and to merge her own identity completely in his. We shall wait with profound interest for the attack upon this paper by the woman suffragists, which will be as lively as it is inevitable.

Professor E. D. Cope attempts something more than a catechism answer to the question, What is the object of life? discussing the matter from a scientific and philosophic stand-point. Among the chief objects in life he finds the consideration of the relation of human life to the universe in general, and to the present existence of the earth. Good health and physical tone are essentials of happiness; the exercise of faculties necessary for protection and defense is pleasurable in healthy persons. The intense forms of pleasures and pains are due to our social natures. Persons cast in unpleasant surroundings have generally the opportunity to change these relations, and it is a work of high philanthropy to place no obstacle in the way of this change, and to assist it. The pleasure of improving environment by voluntary effort is a very great one. To contribute to the sum of human happiness apart from one's own immediate enjoyment is a well known source of pleasure. The supply of mental necessities, the opportunity and fact of ethical culture, add much to the enjoyment of life.

Professor C. A. Young, one of the highest authorities in the country, discusses great telescopes—those of Lord Rosse, Lascelle, and especially sketching the great success of the Clarkes of Cambridgeport. Particular

attention is given to the great Lick telescope. For ordinary work enormous instruments are not advantageous; those of moderate dimensions will do far more easily and rapidly the work of which they are capable. It is poor economy to shoot squirrels with 15-inch cannon. But the great telescope has two advantages, which are decisive. In the first place it collects more light, and so makes it possible to use higher magnifying power, and thus virtually to draw nearer to the object than can be done with a smaller one; and in the next place, in consequence of what is known as diffraction, the image of a luminous point on all the large lens is smaller and sharper than that made by a small one. Atmospheric disturbances very seriously affect the use of large instruments. "The power of the prince of the air," which is to the astronomer the very type of the total depravity of inanimate things, on nine clear nights out of ten deprives a great telescope of much of its superiority, so that on an ordinary night a good observer with an aperture of ten or fifteen inches can make out all that can be fairly seen with an instrument of much greater size.

Professor John Bascom, whose fairness of mind fits him peculiarly for the discussion of the labor question, attempts to give its gist, so that it may readily be perceived. He concludes that we must recognize labor organizations and control them by aiding them. We must decisively check immigration that increases unoccupied labor; we must encourage co-operation; we must guard against such an accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few as destroys fair competition; we should so order taxation that it should not fall heavily upon those who have lost or are losing foothold in the economic world. We should guard against combinations among capitalists which are designed to maintain prices by limited production; and all combinations among workmen to maintain or to advance wages by shutting the doors of progress on their fellows. But the most fundamental of social evils is, in the thought of Professor Bascom, as in the thought of all who think, the moral one. Men must improve in order to improve their condition.

Professor Alexander Winchell criticises with great vigor Ignatius Donnelly's comet, by which he supposes much damage was done to the earth in past times. There is a mild vein of satire in this paper which makes it very pleasant reading.

The *Homiletic Review* is publishing a brilliant series of papers in criticism of great preachers. The September number is given to the consideration of Phillips Brooks. While admitting his greatness, the author finds his style often careless and sometimes obscure, and that his references to Scripture are not always accurate; but believes that the largeness and large-heartedness of this messenger of truth rebuke all petty fault-finding. The writer expresses what many others have felt, when he says that Phillips Brooks as a preacher is a noble contagion.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Apologetics; or, the Scientific Vindication of Christianity. By J. H. A. EBRARD, Ph.D., D.D. Translated by Rev. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A. 8vo, pp. 423. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

In this second volume of his *Apologetics*, Ebrard first examines the theories of Darwin and of Häckel, "his most eminent disciple," on the Origin of Species. Unawed by the great reputation of the former, or by the audacious self-assertion of the latter, he assails with the confidence of a master the scientific accuracy of both in their statement of facts fundamental to the anti-Christian portions of their theories, and triumphantly defends the harmony of the Mosaic record with the ascertained facts of science. With trenchant wit he pushes the materialistic assertions of Häckel to their logical conclusion, that "bestiality is the morality of materialism." He next discusses the pantheism of Spinoza, as developed by Hegel, and by a strictly logical processd emonstrates that Hegelianism ends in both "ethical and metaphysical bankruptcy." Having thus disposed of materialism and pantheism, he proposes to treat of Christianity as an historical fact in its organic connection with the general history of religion. In approaching this topic he begins with a comprehensive survey of the religions of men. Under this head he describes the principal features of the religion of the Aryan Indians, the Iranians, the Greeks, the Egyptians, the Canaanites, and heathen Semites, and the races of the north and west of Europe. The third and final volume of his *Apologetics*, soon to be issued, will treat of revealed religion. Dr. Ebrard is learned, wise, logical, witty, and loyal in his adhesion to the truth as it is found in Holy Writ. His *Apologetics* cover a vast variety of topics, and are of great value to students who are interested in meeting the objections invented by skeptical scientists and philosophers against theism and Christianity.

An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament. By Rev. BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, D.D., Professor of Theology in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 16mo, pp. 225. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 75c.

The design of this treatise is to prepare students to exercise the art of textual criticism, and to enter upon the study of the science in such standard works as *Hort's Introduction* and *Dr. Gregory's Prolegomena to Tischendorf's Eighth Edition.* Its "Introductory" defines the word "text" as the *ipsissima verba* of a document, which criticism seeks to sift out from such corruptions as may have found their way into copies of it. It then treats of the "Matter," the "Methods," the "Praxis," and the "History" of criticism, in that lucidity of style which implies the writer's mastery of his themes. Its author disclaims all pretense to originality, but he must be credited with the ability with which he has put the results of profounder works into this comprehensive digest, which is all that its author claims for it.

A Hand-book of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. Based on the Revised Version and the Revisers' Text, for the Use of Students and Bible Classes. By N. BURWASH, S.T.D., Professor of Biblical and Systematic Theology in Victoria University. 16mo, pp. 256. Toronto: W. Briggs.

This volume is more valuable than its modest title-page seems to imply. We know of no book of its size that throws so much light on Paul's great theological epistle as this "hand-book." Taking as his key to its elucidation the theory that St. Paul wrote it not alone in response to the unbelieving Jews, but also and mainly in opposition to the heresy of Ebionitism, which, though not then speculatively developed into a formal system, was nevertheless rudimentally existent in unsystematized theories and in antinomian practices, Dr. Burwash is able to discover a completeness in the logical unity of the epistle which many expositors have failed to find. Hence his exposition of its confessedly difficult parts is eminently clear, and in the main very satisfactory. In his exegesis, which, though not pedantic, is yet sufficiently learned, he is clear and skillful; in his reasoning on the various interpretations given to obscure passages he is generally convincing; in his criticism he follows the historical method, while distinctly recognizing the inspiration of his author. He finds in Paul's theology a system of thought which harmonizes with the Arminianism of Methodism; and he says in his preface, that "while dealing more directly with the intellectual aspects of this great book, we have not lost sight of the fact that intellect is quickened into its highest life by the profoundest emotion, and that he who would understand Paul aright must feel with him."

Psychology. The Motive Powers — Emotions, Conscience, Will. By JAMES MCCOSH, D.D., LL.D., Lit.D. 12mo, pp. 267. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1 50.

In a previous volume Dr. McCosh treated of the cognitive powers, in this he unfolds the characteristics of the motive powers, that is, "the feelings, the affections, the sentiments, the heart." These latter powers he discusses under three heads, the emotions, the conscience, the will. The venerable doctor writes with the authority of a master in philosophy, as he has the right to do. In a style that is lucid, terse, vigorous, and attractive, he explains with singular simplicity and comprehensiveness the nature, operation, and effects of the manifold motives which influence the operations of the self-determining will. It is rich in felicitous illustrations of principles, and thus adapted to secure the attention of a student, and to attract him to the study of the phenomena of the mind. The venerable author, having learned the art of teaching through long practice in the class-room, has produced a text-book which teachers of mental science will find exceedingly helpful.

The Appeal to Life. By THEODORE J. MUNGER, Author of the *Freedom of Faith.* 12mo, 339 pp. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1 50.

Mr. Munger is a strong thinker, a fascinating writer, and an eloquent advocate of what is known as "progressive orthodoxy." In this volume

we have fourteen discourses from his pen, which, though not as pronounced in their presentations of his characteristic opinions as the sermons in his *Freedom of Faith*, are nevertheless based upon them. Though containing much that is stimulating to religious thought, to spiritual aspirations, and to pure ethical feeling, they are so permeated by sentiments which have their roots in the theology of Schleiermacher that their tendency is to subtly undermine men's faith in the Gospel as interpreted by most evangelical thinkers. These objectionable sentiments are plausible and attractive. There is much in them one may innocently wish were true. But in their logical outcome they teach "another gospel" from that which one's understanding, unbiased by mere sentiment, finds in the New Testament. Therefore, though there is much to be commended in these discourses, they should be read in the clear light of the words of Jesus as illustrated in his wonderful life, and in the further light of those demonstrations of their divine source which every man may find, if he will, by receiving those words into his heart and making them the guides of his practice.

Methods of Church Work, Religious, Social, and Financial. By Rev. SYLVANUS STALL, A.M., Author of *How to Pay Church Debts*, etc., etc. Octavo, pp. 304. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. $1 50.

"All at it and always at it," was the watchword of early Methodism, which aimed to make every converted soul a winner of other souls. Hence the spirit of this volume is necessarily Methodistic, albeit its author is a Lutheran. In its treatment of methods of church work it is catholic, in that its suggestions are in the main more or less adapted to the needs and peculiarities of all denominations. Its value is chiefly in its suggestiveness. Since methods must ever be modified by the circumstances of individual churches, no one way of working can be strictly applicable to all. The principle, the obligation to work for Christ, is, however, universal, is binding on the conscience of every believer. Therefore this book may be helpful to all, but especially to pastors and officers of churches. It treats of every sphere of Christian work, showing in its first part the importance of method and how to make a working church. Its second general topic is, that of saving the young, under which head it explains the methods and uses of such organizations as the White Cross Army, the White Ribbon Army, the Boys' Brigade, etc. Religious meetings, including Sabbath and week-day services, revival efforts, prayer-meetings, class-meetings, etc., are next very sensibly discussed. Part four is devoted to social meetings, including reading circles, literary societies, Chautauqua classes, etc. Part five treats of such "Pastors' Aids" as deaconesses' training schools for laymen, the King's daughters, etc. Part six is financial, and part seven is on such benevolent work as may be done by means of guilds, working-men's clubs, industrial training schools, etc. It is consequently very comprehensive as to its themes. In its treatment of them it is neither narrow nor dogmatic, but forcibly suggestive and often very instructive. For its composition Mr. Stall deserves

the thanks of Christian workers of every name; and while we may not indorse every thing the book contains, we are yet confident that its extensive circulation can scarcely fail to increase the measure of that working godliness by which alone the knowledge of our Lord's infinite love can be made the possession of mankind.

The People's Bible. Vol. VI. By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The sixth volume of a great work. The plan of the work is unique. It is not a commentary in the ordinary meaning of that word. It consists of discourses upon Holy Scripture, selected notes on special passages, and short, pithy outlines on a few detached verses, which are styled "Handfuls of Purpose for all Gleaners." The present volume is a worthy successor of those previously issued. It bears the mark of its gifted author on every page. The personal sketches suggested by the Book of Judges, the annotated text of Ruth, and the thirty or more discourses contained in this volume abound in suggestive thought, and will richly repay the attentive reader. The prayer preceding each discourse should not be overlooked. While the ministry represented in part by the successive volumes of this work continues to attract one of the most numerous and select congregations in the Christian world, it is idle to assert that the interest of thoughtful Christians in the study of the Bible is on the decline, or that preaching which really helps earnest students in seeking to understand the Scriptures is not attractive.—C.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Life of Rev. George C. Haddock. By FRANK C. HADDOCK. Pp. 541. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. $2.

George C. Haddock was, without doubt, a man of extraordinary natural ability. He was strong in heart and brain. What he saw he saw clearly. His moral sense being acute, his convictions were deep and strong. He also had the courage of his convictions. And when his strong sense of duty to God and to man moved him to speak and act, no consequences, however threatening, could keep him silent. These qualities made him a reformer whose speech, though not always tempered with wisdom, quickened the consciences of men, stirred the sympathies of kindred spirits, and fell like arrows tipped with fire on the consciences of guilty men, either winning them to repentance or kindling their rebellious passions to a white heat of indignation against the brave man who dared to call their sin by its right name. Thus endowed, he became a successful Methodist preacher, who filled the most important pulpits in his Conferences if not with universal yet with very general acceptance. Notwithstanding these highly creditable facts, it is by no means probable, had he died an ordinary death, that his memory would have been embalmed in such a bulky volume as this. His ministerial career, successful

though it was, was not in itself so different from that of many others as to interest the general public in the minute details of his personal history. But in the performance of his ministerial duty George C. Haddock, seeing how seriously the drinking habits of society impeded the progress of the Gospel, became deeply interested, and exceptionally active, in promoting temperance by advocating the necessity of laws prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks. In this, especially in seeking to enforce the violated laws of his State in Sioux City, Iowa, he proved himself such a mighty foe to the liquor-saloon interest that its supporters in that place conspired against him, and procured his death by means of an assassin's bullet. Thus his enemies made him a martyr to a principle on the success of which the prosperity of society and the triumph of the Gospel largely depend: that martyrdom is the justification of the volume under consideration. Details not important to the public in an ordinary life take on an aspect of their own when that life ends in a martyr's death. Men want to know all the particulars in the history of a man whom the enemies of free speech and public morality thought it worth their while to kill.

As to the book itself, viewed as the production of an affectionate son aiming to honestly photograph his father's character, one is not disposed to read it with a coldly critical eye. It is better to read it as a work of love. It is enough to say of it here, that its author writes with considerable skill; that it is a very readable volume; that it contains a rich store of facts and arguments in favor of prohibiting the accursed liquor saloon, the brewery, and the distillery, and that no candid mind having healthful moral instincts can rise from its perusal without being moved to say, at least in his heart, "The liquor saloon, with all its adjuncts, must either be destroyed by society, or society will be itself destroyed by it. The saloon shall be destroyed!" Thus the spirit of the martyred George C. Haddock speaks strongly in this book. To extend its circulation is, therefore, to contribute to the success of the principles of prohibition and, through the avails of its copyright, to the maintenance of the martyr's widow, by whose womanly sympathies he was much and uniformly encouraged in the work for which he died.

A Short History of the Mediæval Church. By JOHN F. HURST, D.D. With Illustrations. 16mo, pp. 120. New York: Chautauqua Press, 805 Broadway. 40 cents.

This little volume is a marvel of condensation. It divides the history of the Mediæval Church into three periods. The first from Charlemagne to Pope Gregory VII.—A. D. 768–1073; the second from Gregory VII. to the removal of the papal see into France—A. D. 1073–1305; the third from 1305 to the Reformation, A. D. 1517. Of necessity it bristles with historical and biographical facts briefly stated, but with such vigor of style and lucidity of statement as to fasten the attention, impress the imagination, and inform the mind. It contains the cream of the history of the Papal Church for nearly seven hundred and fifty years.

History of the United States. Written for the Chautauqua Reading Circles. By EDWARD E. HALE. New York: Chautauqua Press, 805 Broadway. 12mo, pp. 312. $1.

This compactly written volume relates in succinct style the history of our country, beginning with the legendary and romantic accounts of the visit made to our Eastern coasts by the Northmen in the year 1000, and ending with the events of the war of 1812. To compress the multitudinous events of this long period into a volume of this size, without being dull and prosy, was no easy task, but Mr. Hale accomplished it in a manner creditable to his own skill and acceptable to the reader who seeks an intelligible digest of American history. It is lively in its narrations, vivid in its sketches of character, and clear in its statements of the causes which governed the course of the leading events of the history of the United States.

Methodism of the Peninsula; or, Sketches and Events in the History of Methodism in the Maryland and Delaware Peninsula. By Rev. ROBERT W. TODD. Introduction by Rev. Bishop JOHN F. HURST, D.D. 12mo, pp. 343. Methodist Episcopal Book Room, Philadelphia. $1 25.

To the country generally the Maryland and Delaware Peninsula has been until lately almost a *terra incognita.* Its comparative isolation led to the growth of idiosyncrasies of thought, habit, and character in its inhabitants. These peculiarities necessarily affected their religious as well as their social life. Hence its Methodism took on a somewhat exceptional type, and produced some remarkable characters. Many such singular personages, white and black, are freely sketched in this entertaining volume, which, while largely anecdotal, is so written as to bring into view the racy quaintness, the felicitous humor, the deep piety, the characteristic vices, and the fidelity of its people to their accepted principles. It contains materials for the future historians of American Methodism, and is so eminently readable that it must be popular with those of our people who love live books.

Beams of Light on Early Methodism in America. Chiefly Drawn from the Diary, Letters, Manuscripts, Documents, and Original Tracts of Rev. Ezekiel Cooper. Compiled by GEORGE A. PHOEBUS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 337. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $1 25.

Mr. Cooper was one of the leaders of early Methodism. He had the confidence of the men who wrought on its foundation. He saw events not as a spectator, but as a participant in the councils of those who produced them. Hence he writes as a witness of the facts he left on record. In bringing out his hitherto unpublished papers from their hiding places, Dr. Phoebus has done valuable service to the Church. He has produced one of the books from which history is made. Whoever loves to study the planting of our Methodism, its organization, its struggles with the slave power, and its contests on the still vexed presiding elder question, will find some of his old impressions corrected, and, as Dr. Curry says in his introduction, be enabled "to properly estimate the purpose and actions of those who, under God, laid the foundation and began the con-

struction of the portly edifice of organic Methodism." *Beams of Light on Early Methodism* is therefore no misnomer, but its fitting title.

Woman, First and Last, and What She has Done. By Mrs. E. J. RICHMOND. 2 vols., 12mo. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $2.

These two volumes contain sketches of ninety-three women, beginning with Eve, the mother of our race, and closing with Miss Hosmer, an artist of our own times. In sketching these varied characters, most of whom won a conspicuous place in history, Mrs. Richmond has aimed, as she tells us in her preface, to prove "the power of woman for good or evil." This she does, not in elaborate biographical essays, but in plain, lucid outlines of the characteristic incidents of their several lives. One may not accept all her estimates of their worth; yet viewing her sketches as biographical condensations written in unpretentious, simple, agreeable style, one may safely commend them as digests of many historical facts, adapted to inform the general reader, and to quicken the desire of youthful minds for fuller information of the times in which these women lived, of the circumstances which made them what they were, and of the impress they left for good or ill on the communities in which they performed their several parts in the great drama of life. They are desirable books for the youth's department of the Sunday-school library and for the family book-case.

LITERATURE AND FICTION.

Classic German Course in English. By WILLIAM CLEAVER WILKINSON. New York: Chautauqua Press, 805 Broadway. 12mo, pp. 327. $1.

Professor Wilkinson has done valuable service to English readers who, though without a knowledge of the German language, yet desire an intelligent acquaintance with German literature. After giving a comprehensive sketch and characterization of the literature of Germany from the uncertain age which produced the *Nibelungen Lied*, the Iliad of the German-speaking race, down to the present time he gives broad outlines of the lives, with critical estimates of the writings, of Luther, Klopstock, Lessing, Wieland, Herder, Richter, Gœthe, Schiller, the Romancers, and Heine. The biographical outlines, though brief, are so judiciously drawn as to give the reader the leading facts which contributed to the development of their genius and the environments that influenced their career. His critical expositions, illustrated with translations, original and selected, from their respective works, are candid, independent, luminous, and, in the main, sound. By frankly stating the reasons of his critical judgments, the Professor generally persuades his readers that they may safely accept them. In one thing he is especially to be commended. He brings both his authors and their works not only to an intellectual, but also to a moral touchstone. He tries them by the high standard of Christian ethics. The glory with which popular acclaim has surrounded great

names does not blind him to their faults, nor hinder him from censuring a bad man whom he finds it just to praise as a superior writer. Hence the moral tone of his work is eminently healthful. Its style is lively, vigorous, varied, and lucid. It will be read with avidity by all who love good books, and, while it adds to the information of the people, will contribute not a little to their enjoyment.

Poetry and Philosophy of Goethe. Comprising the Lectures and Extempore Discussions before the Milwaukee Literary School in August, 1886. Edited by MARION V. DUDLEY. 12mo, pp. 300. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

The Milwaukee Literary School has been called an imitation of the Concord School of Philosophy, albeit it has thus far given itself more to literature than philosophy. That the two schools are one in spirit is shown by the fact that of the eight lecturers at the first session of the Milwaukee School five were from Concord. These lectures, viewed as pieces of literary work, are creditable productions, the fruits of more or less cultured minds and evidences of respectable critical ability. Their authors appear to be worshipers at the shrine of Goethe's genius. To them the author of *Wilhelm Meister*, *Faust*, *Elective Affinities*, etc., is one of the gods of the literary world, ranking with, if not above, Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and Milton. In maintaining their extravagantly high estimate of Goethe's productions they read ideas into them which none but minds illumined by the light of transcendentalism could find, and they are so in love with Goethe's æsthetical brilliancy that they seem blind to his ethical deformities. Indeed, one of them sees little else than superior virtue even in that essentially bad book, *Elective Affinities*, and attempts the impossible feat of bringing "a clean thing out of an unclean!" From such extreme opinions of the moral worth of Goethe's writings we dissent; and, these lectures to the contrary, must continue to think that, despite his confessedly great personality and many-sided genius, he is a much overrated writer. With Lewes, his biographer, we hold that his *Wilhelm Meister* is "unintelligible, tiresome, fragmentary, dull, and often ill written;" and Lewes might have added, *immoral*. We also think Coleridge right in saying of *Faust*, "There is neither causation nor progression in *Faust*, he is a ready-made conjurer from the beginning; the *incredulus odi* is felt from the first line. The sensuality and the thirst after knowledge are unconnected with each other. . . . There is no whole to the poem; the scenes are mere magic-lantern pictures, and a large part of the work is to me very flat. The German is very pure and fine." Speaking of a proposal to translate *Faust*, Coleridge also said, "I debated with myself whether it became my moral character to render into English language much of which I thought vulgar, licentious, and blasphemous. . . . I never put pen to paper as a translator of *Faust*." By expressing these opinions of Goethe's works we shall displease the authors of these lectures, but for critical opinions, as Dr. Channing said of opinions generally, "we are answerable for their *uprightness*, not for their *rightness*."

A Blot in the 'Scutcheon, and Other Dramas. By ROBERT BROWNING. Edited with notes by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A. M., and HELOISE E. HERSEY. 16mo, pp. 245. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Browning wrote eight dramas, of which this volume contains three, namely, "A Blot in the 'Scutcheon," "Colombe's Birthday," and "A Soul's Tragedy." To those who take no interest in Browning as a poet because of his obscurity both of thought and style, caused, as Mr. Weiss asserts, by his "condensed energy and meaning," the admirable introduction to these dramas may serve to modify their prejudice. The editors say, with truth, that "the fact that Shakespeare is the only name suggested as we try to deal with Browning's dramatic quality is itself a testimony to the grade of his work. If the first drama in this book does not convince the reader of Browning's right to be judged as seriously as Shakespeare, then we much overrate "A Blot in the 'Scutcheon." But whoever wishes to enjoy either the lyrics or dramas of Browning must read them keeping in mind the observation of James Russell Lowell, that "we discover beauties in exact proportion as we have faith that we shall." To the unthinking, superficial reader, however, Browning's writings will always be as "a sealed book.' And it is not given even to every reflective reader to find, as his most enthusiastic admirers do, the genius of Shakespeare very largely reproduced in his dramas and poems.

The Minor Poems of John Milton. Edited, with Notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M., Lit.D. 16mo, pp. 229. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This volume belongs to the series of English Classics edited by Mr. Rolfe. It includes all Milton's minor poems except a few translations from the Psalms and from Horace. A sketch of his life, with extracts from Channing's admirable essay on Milton, is given in an "Introduction." Mr. Rolfe's explanatory and critical notes add much to the value of the book, inasmuch as they are real helps to a clear understanding of the obsolete words and obscure allusions used by the poet, and consequently to a higher appreciation of the beauty of his poems. Macaulay says, that "the sight of Milton's books, the sound of his name, are pleasant to us. . . . His thoughts are powerful not only to delight, but to elevate and purify."

Nineteenth Century Sense: The Paradox of Spiritualism. By JOHN DARBY. 16mo, pp. 222. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.

"Common sense," the proverb says, "is the growth of all countries," but the "sense" of this volume is the growth of spiritualism, so called, and is so uncommon that none but very uncommon minds can comprehend it. Possibly these may find wisdom in it. We cannot. As we see it, "spiritualism" is not truth but pretense.

A CORRECTION.—The article in the last number of the *Review* entitled "Polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church" was credited to Rev. E. S. McChesney of New York. It should have been Rev. E. S. McChesney, M.A., Allegan, Michigan.

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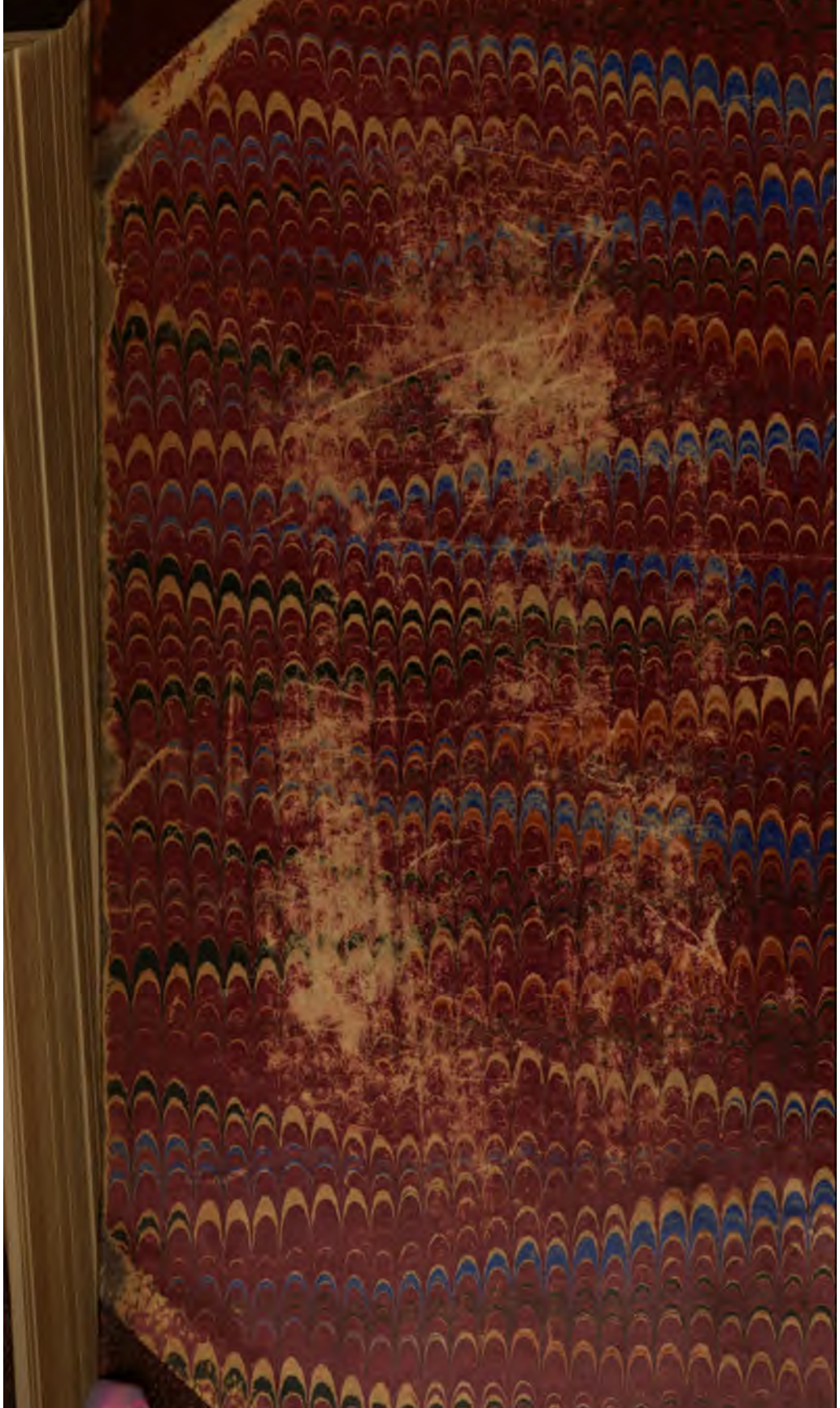
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